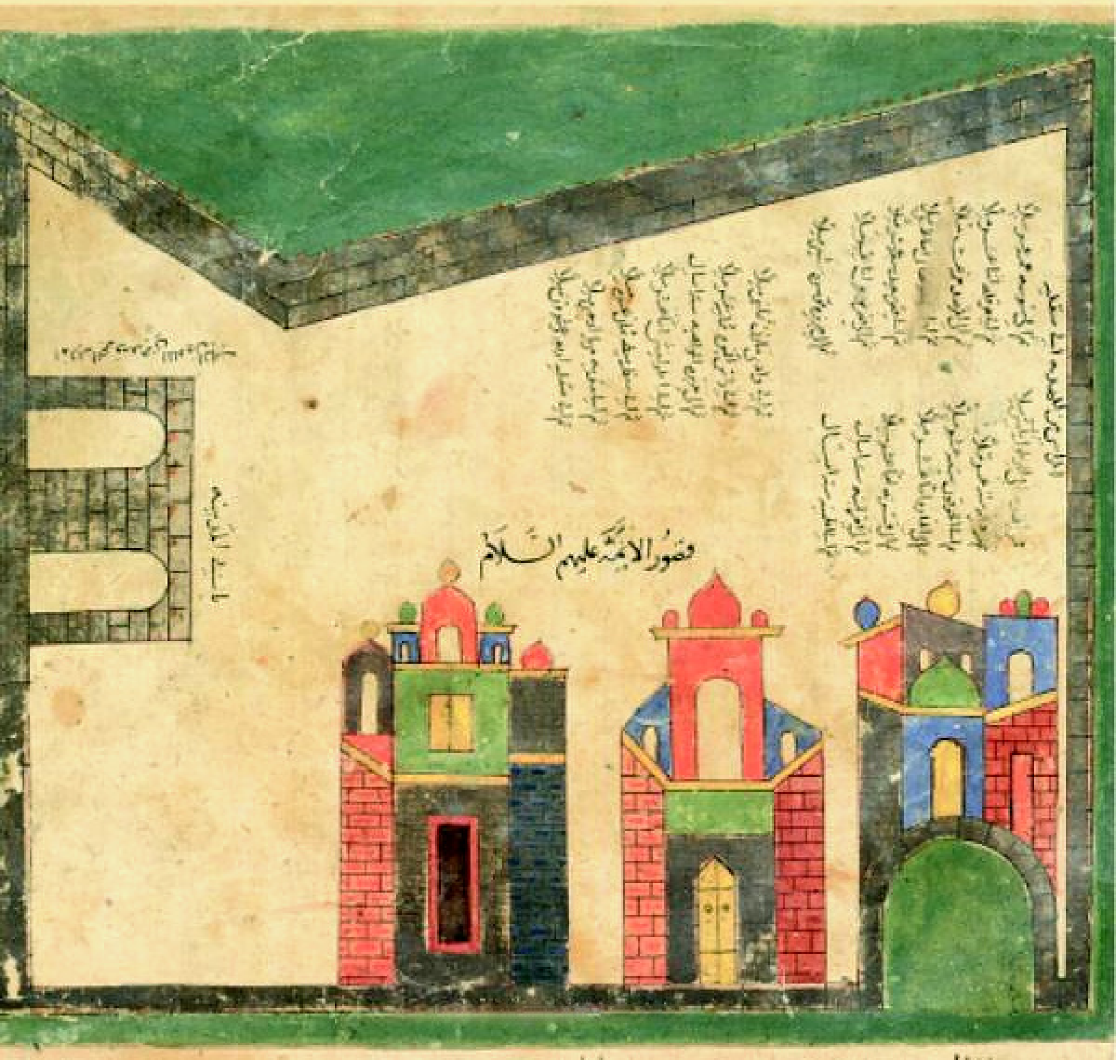
FARHAD DAFTARY

The Ismāʿīlīs

Their History and Doctrines

SECOND EDITION



The Ismāʿīlīs

Their History and Doctrines

The Ismāʿīlīs represent the second largest Shīʿī Muslim community after the Twelvers (Ithnāʿasharīs), and are today dispersed as religious minorities throughout more than twenty-five countries of Asia, the Middle East, Africa, Europe and North America. The bulk of the Ismāʿīlīs recognize the Aga Khan as their imam or spiritual leader. The second edition of this authoritative book, the product of more than twenty years' research, traces the history and doctrinal development of the Ismāʿīlīs from their origins in the formative period of Islam to the present day, a period of more than twelve centuries. It is the first comprehensive synthesis of the results of modern scholarship in Ismāʿīlī studies and draws on numerous primary sources and secondary studies on the subject, particularly on the Ismāʿīlī manuscripts which have only recently become available.

All the major phases of Ismāʿīlī history are covered. Beginning at the pre-Fāṭimid period, Dr Daftary conducts a detailed investigation, moving through the Fāṭimid 'golden age' and the troubled Ṭayyibī–Mustaʿlī period through the glorious age of Nizārī Ismāʿīlism in Iran and Syria to the Mongol onslaught. The final part of the book traces the modern development of the Ismāʿīlī community, explaining the revival of Nizārī Ismāʿīlism, particularly in Iran, Central and South Asia, and the socio-economic progress of the Nizārī communities in modern times.

The new edition has been thoroughly revised and incorporates an expanded bibliography and new illustrations. For all students of Islamic and Middle Eastern history, *The Ismāʿīlīs: Their History and Doctrines* will continue to serve as the most definitive account of the history of the Ismāʿīlīs and their teachings.

FARHAD DAFTARY is Associate Director and Head of the Department of Academic Research and Publications at The Institute of Ismaili Studies, London. He is a consulting editor of *Encyclopaedia Iranica* as well as the general editor of the Ismaili Heritage Series and the Ismaili Texts and Translations Series. An authority on Ismāʿīlī history, Dr Daftary's publications include *The Assassin Legends: Myths of the Ismaʿilis* (1994), *A Short History of the Ismailis* (1998), *Ismaili Literature: A Bibliography of Sources and Studies* (2004) and *Ismailis in Medieval Muslim Societies* (2005). Dr Daftary's books have been translated into Arabic, Persian, Turkish, Urdu and numerous European languages.

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Institute of Ismaili Studies

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Foreword

The study of the history of the Ismāʿīlī religion, which for long had depended largely on the polemical and often distorted accounts of its opponents, has been transformed since the time of the First World War by the discovery of large private collections of authentic Ismāʿīlī works in the Soviet Union and India. Many of the original texts, previously kept secret from outsiders by the Ismāʿīlī communities, have now been published or are accessible in manuscript to scholarly research. Although a relatively small number of scholars in the East and the West have actively pursued such research, progress in uncovering the story of the Ismāʿīlī movement in its various branches and the development of Ismāʿīlī religious thought has been steady. The major aspects and characteristics of this thought and its transformations in the course of often catastrophic events affecting the scattered Ismāʿīlī communities have become evident. There are, to be sure, still large gaps left in our knowledge of these developments, some of which may prove difficult to fill because of a lack of sources. Moreover, on some fundamental questions, especially concerning the early stages of Ismāʿīlism, consensus has not yet been reached among scholars. Yet these problems must not obscure the remarkable advances made in the study of Ismāʿīlism, which provide both a general outline of the history of one of the major branches of Shīʿī Islam and a sound basis for further detailed research.

In the present volume, Dr F. Daftary offers a first comprehensive and detailed synthesis of the complex history of Ismāʿīlism. His presentation fully reflects the progress of recent research, widely scattered in editions of texts, monographs and articles, and integrates it into an evenly readable account. In some areas, especially on the modern developments, entirely new ground is covered. The book will no doubt be widely appreciated as a general reference work by students and by all readers interested in aspects of Ismāʿīlī history from a scholarly point of view.

Wilferd Madelung
Laudian Professor of Arabic
The University of Oxford

Preface to the first edition

The Ismāʿīlīs constitute the second largest Shīʿī community after the Twelvers in the Muslim world and are now scattered in more than twenty countries of Asia, Africa, Europe and America. This book traces the history and doctrines of the Ismāʿīlī movement from its origins to the present time, a period of approximately twelve centuries.

The origins of Sunnism and Shīʿism, the two main divisions of Islam, may be traced to the crisis of succession faced by the nascent Muslim community following the death of the Prophet Muḥammad, though the doctrinal bases of these divisions developed gradually in the course of several centuries. In time, Shīʿī Islam, the minoritarian view, became subdivided into different groups, many of which proved short-lived. But Imāmī Shīʿism, providing the common early heritage for several Shīʿī communities, notably the Twelvers and the Ismāʿīlīs, was a major exception.

The Ismāʿīlīs have had a long and eventful history. In medieval times, they twice established states of their own and played important parts for relatively long periods on the historical stage of the Muslim world. During the second century of their history, the Ismāʿīlīs founded the first Shīʿī caliphate under the Fāṭimid caliph-imams. They also made important contributions to Islamic thought and culture during the Fāṭimid period. Later, after a schism that split Ismāʿīlism into its two major Nizārī and Mustaʿlian branches, the Nizārī leaders succeeded in founding a cohesive state, with numerous mountain strongholds and scattered territories stretching from eastern Persia to Syria. The Nizārī state collapsed only under the onslaught of the all-conquering Mongols. Thereafter, the Ismāʿīlīs never regained any political prominence and survived in many lands as minor Shīʿī Muslim communities. By the second half of the eighteenth century, however, the spiritual leaders or imams of the Nizārī majority came out of their obscurity and actively participated in certain political events in Persia and, then, in British India. Later they acquired international prominence under their hereditary title of Āghā Khān (Aga Khan).

The Ismāʿīlīs have almost continuously faced the hostility of the majority of Muslim dynasties and groups. Indeed, they have been amongst the most severely

persecuted communities in the Islamic world. As a result, the Ismāʿīlīs have been obliged for the most part to live clandestinely, guarding secretly their religious beliefs and literature.

Under such circumstances, the Ismāʿīlīs were until a few decades ago studied and judged mainly on the basis of the hostile accounts produced by their enemies, including the writings of the majority of the medieval Muslim historians, theologians, heresiographers and polemicists, as well as the fanciful stories related by the occidental chroniclers of the Crusaders. Having had confrontations with the Nizārīs of Syria, the Crusaders were also responsible for making these sectarians, followers of the Old Man of the Mountain, known in Europe as the Assassins; an unfortunate misnomer that is still occasionally applied by some writers to the entire Nizārī branch of Ismāʿīlism. The same anti-Ismāʿīlī sources provided the basis for the studies of the nineteenth-century orientalists on different aspects of the Ismāʿīlī movement.

However, Ismāʿīlī studies have been revolutionized in the twentieth century, especially since the 1930s, mainly by the discovery and study of a large number of Ismāʿīlī manuscripts preserved in India, Central Asia and Yaman (Yemen). Many of these Ismāʿīlī texts, including the classical treatises of the Fāṭimid period, have been gradually edited and published. The new availability of genuine Ismāʿīlī sources has enabled a small group of specialists, initially led by the late Wladimir Ivanow, to produce important studies in the field. As a result of the modern progress in Ismāʿīlī studies, we have now acquired a much better understanding of the true nature of the Ismāʿīlī movement, necessitating a drastic revision of previously held ideas on the subject.

This study aims to present, in a connected manner, the results of modern scholarship on the history and doctrines of the Ismāʿīlīs. Drawing on a large number of Ismāʿīlī texts and other primary sources, as well as the contributions of the modern authorities, it seeks to cover all the major phases and events in the development of Ismāʿīlism.

The genesis of this book dates back to more than [four] decades ago when I was a graduate student at the University of California, Berkeley, and began to correspond with Wladimir Ivanow, who was the original inspirer of my interest in Ismāʿīlī studies. The bulk of the manuscript was, however, written in Tehran between 1979 and 1987, the turbulent years of the Islamic Revolution in Iran. Subsequently, some sections were revised and many additions were made to the notes and references. In conducting my research, I utilized, over the years, the collections of several private and public libraries in Tehran, Paris, London and elsewhere. I am particularly indebted to The Institute of Ismaili Studies, London, for placing at my disposal their Ismāʿīlī manuscripts.

Professor Wilferd Madelung of the University of Oxford read the entire typescript of the book and made many valuable suggestions for its improvement, also saving me from several errors and inaccuracies. I owe him a very special debt of gratitude.

A number of friends accompanied me on field trips to Alamūt, Lamasar, Girdkūh, Anjudān, Dizbād, and other Ismāʿīlī sites in Iran, or in different ways contributed to the completion of this book. I am grateful to all of them. I am particularly indebted to Mithra Razmjoo for her literary judgement and keen editing; to Mohammad R. Moghtader for preparing an earlier draft of the (second) map; to Azizeh Azodi for letting me benefit from her profound knowledge of the German and Russian languages; and to Susan van de Ven for carefully preparing the final typescript for the Press. Iradj Bagherzade, extremely busy with his own publishing schedule in London, always found time to advise me on publishing matters. I should like to express my warm thanks to him. And I am deeply thankful to Farideh Agha Khan, who has been a constant source of inspiration and assistance over the years.

Finally, there is Fereshteh who not only encouraged the writing of this book and then bore with me while I was writing it, but who also photographed many Ismāʿīlī sites for me, at times with great risk to her safety, and typed the various drafts of the book. I can never thank her adequately; this book is dedicated to her as a token of my deep sense of appreciation.

Preface to the second edition

The bulk of the original text of this book was completed by the mid 1980s. After some minor additions, the first edition of the book was published in 1990. As the first comprehensive history of the Ismāʿīlīs, synthesizing the scattered results of modern scholarship in the field, this publication was well received by the academic community as well as the Ismāʿīlīs worldwide. As a result, it was reprinted several times, in addition to being translated into Arabic, Persian, Urdu, Turkish and Tajik (Cyrillic). The Persian translation of *The Ismāʿīlīs: their history and doctrines* also received the 'best book of the year award' in the Islamic Republic of Iran, an unexpected accolade.

Meanwhile, in 1988 I had joined The Institute of Ismaili Studies in London, which serves as an international forum for Ismāʿīlī studies. The progress in this field of Islamic studies has proceeded at an astonishing pace during the last two decades, as reflected in my *Ismaili literature: A bibliography of sources and studies* (2004), while my own Ismāʿīlī scholarship has moved beyond its initial stages in the 1960s and 1970s. All this has necessitated the production of a second revised edition of this book. In this new edition, many parts of all chapters have been re-written or otherwise revised, and much new material has been incorporated throughout the text of the book. In addition, doctrinal expositions and interpretations have been sharpened to reflect more recent academic perspectives on aspects of Ismāʿīlī thought. In order to improve the accessibility of the book, chapters have also been provided with relevant sub-headings. Finally, a systematic effort has been made to update the endnotes, annotations and references, accounting for the important publications of the last two decades. This second edition also contains an expanded 'select bibliography', in addition to new illustrations and another map.

A number of colleagues at The Institute of Ismaili Studies have assisted me in the production of this edition. In particular, I would like to express my gratitude to Nadia Holmes, for meticulously preparing the various drafts of the typescript, to Isabel Miller, for her keen editorial work, and to Patricia Salazar for expediting a variety of production tasks.

Note on the text and abbreviations

The system of transliteration used in this book for the Arabic script is essentially that of the new (second) edition of the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, with two modifications, namely, *j* for *dj*, and *q* for *ḳ*. To maintain consistency, the same system is utilized for transliterating Persian names and terms, except that *č* is replaced by *ch*, and sometimes *v* is used for *w*. Furthermore, an attempt has been made to reproduce the more elaborate vowel system of Turkish and Mongol names, thus Hülegü and not Hūlāgū. Common geographical names and certain Islamic terms which have acquired standard usage in the English language have not been transliterated.

The lunar years of the Islamic calendar are generally followed throughout the text and the endnotes (with the exception of chapter 1) by the corresponding Gregorian solar years (e.g., 6th/12th century). The years of the Islamic era, initiated by the emigration (*hijra*) of the Prophet Muḥammad from Mecca to Medina in July 622, commonly abbreviated in the Latin form AH (= *Anno Hegirae*), have been converted to the corresponding dates of the Christian era, abbreviated as AD (= *Anno Domini*), on the basis of the conversion tables given in Greville S. P. Freeman-Grenville, *The Muslim and Christian Calendars* (London, 1963). In Iran (Persia), a solar Islamic calendar was officially adopted in the 1920s. The Islamic dates of the sources published in modern Iran are, therefore, solar (Shamsī; abbreviated to Sh. in the Select bibliography), coinciding with the corresponding Christian years starting on 21 March.

Abbreviations

The following abbreviations are used for certain frequently cited periodicals and other sources in the Notes and Select bibliography:

AIEO	*Annales de l'Institut d'Études Orientales*
AIM	D. Cortese, *Arabic Ismaili Manuscripts: The Zāhid ʿAlī Collection in the Library of The Institute of Ismaili Studies*
AI(U)ON	*Annali dell' Istituto (Universitario) Orientale di Napoli*

APP	*An Anthology of Philosophy in Persia*: Volume II, ed. S. H. Nasr with M. Aminrazavi
BIFAO	*Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale du Caire*
BSO(A)S	*Bulletin of the School of Oriental (and African) Studies*
EI	*The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 1st edition
EI2	*The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, New edition
EII	*Encyclopaedia of Iran and Islam (Dānishnāma-yi Īrān va Islām)*
EIR	*Encyclopaedia Iranica*
EJ	*Eranos Jahrbuch*
ER	*Encyclopedia of Religion*
ERE	*Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*
EWI	*Encyclopaedia of the World of Islam (Dānishnāma-yi Jahān-i Islām)*
GIE	*The Great Islamic Encyclopaedia (Dā'irat al-Maʿārif-i Buzurg-i Islāmī)*
IJMES	*International Journal of Middle East Studies*
IMMS	F. Daftary, *Ismailis in Medieval Muslim Societies*
IOAM	D. Cortese, *Ismaili and Other Arabic Manuscripts: A Descriptive Catalogue of Manuscripts in the Library of The Institute of Ismaili Studies*
JA	*Journal Asiatique*
JAOS	*Journal of the American Oriental Society*
JBBRAS	*Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*
JESHO	*Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*
JRAS	*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*
JSS	*Journal of Semitic Studies*
MIHT	F. Daftary (ed.) *Mediaeval Ismaʿili History and Thought*
NS	New Series, Nuova Serie
REI	*Revue des Études Islamiques*
RHC	*Recueil des Historiens des Croisades*
RHCHO	*Recueil des Historiens des Croisades: Historiens Orientaux*
RSO	*Rivista degli Studi Orientali*
SEI	*Shorter Encyclopaedia of Islam*
ZDMG	*Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*

1

Introduction: progress in the study of the Ismāʿīlīs

A major Shīʿī Muslim community, the Ismāʿīlīs have had a long and eventful history dating back to the formative period of Islam, when different communities of interpretation were developing their doctrinal positions. The varying viewpoints of the then nascent Muslim community (*umma*) on certain central theological issues and the question of leadership after the Prophet Muḥammad were eventually elaborated in terms of what became known as the Sunnī and Shīʿī interpretations of the Islamic message. The Shīʿa themselves, upholding a particular conception of leadership and religious authority in the community, were further subdivided into a number of communities and smaller groups or sects. This was not only because they disagreed over who was to be their rightful spiritual leader or imam from amongst the Prophet's family, the *ahl al-bayt*, but also because divergent trends of thought and policy were involved.

By the time of the ʿAbbāsid revolution in 132/750, Imāmī Shīʿism, the common heritage of the major Shīʿī communities of the Ithnāʿashariyya (or Twelvers) and the Ismāʿīliyya, had acquired a special prominence under the leadership of Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq, their ʿAlid imam. The Imāmī Shīʿīs, who like other Shīʿī groups upheld the rights of the *ahl al-bayt* to the leadership of the Muslims, propounded a particular conception of divinely instituted religious authority, also recognizing certain descendants of the Prophet's family from amongst the ʿAlids, the progeny of the Prophet's cousin and son-in-law ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, as their imams possessing the required religious authority. The Ismāʿīlī Imāmī Shīʿīs, named after Ismāʿīl the son of Imam Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq, acquired their independent existence in the middle of the 2nd/8th century and, in the course of their history, the Ismāʿīlīs themselves became further subdivided into a number of major branches and minor groups. Currently, the Ismāʿīlīs are made up of the Nizārī and Ṭayyibī Mustaʿlian branches, and they are scattered as religious minorities in over twenty-five countries in Asia, the Middle East, Africa, Europe and North America. Numbering several millions, they represent a diversity of ethnic groups and literary traditions, and speak a variety of languages, including Arabic and Persian as well as a number of Indic and European languages.

Phases in Ismāʿīlī history

The pre-Fāṭimid period of Ismāʿīlī history in general and the opening phase of Ismāʿīlism in particular remain rather obscure in Ismāʿīlī historiography, not least because of the dearth of reliable information. It is a known fact that on the death of Imam al-Ṣādiq in 148/765 his Imāmī Shīʿī following split into several groups, including two groups identifiable as the earliest Ismāʿīlīs. By the middle of the 3rd/9th century, the Ismāʿīlīs had organized a revolutionary movement against the ʿAbbāsids. In 286/899, the unified Ismāʿīlī movement, designated by the Ismāʿīlīs themselves as *al-daʿwa al-hādiya*, the rightly guiding mission or simply as the *daʿwa*, was rent by its first major schism over the question of the leadership or imamate in the community. The Ismāʿīlīs were now divided into two rival factions, the loyal Ismāʿīlīs and the dissident Qarmaṭīs. The loyal Ismāʿīlīs upheld continuity in the Ismāʿīlī imamate and recognized the founder of the Fāṭimid dynasty and his successors as their imams. The Qarmaṭīs, centred in Baḥrayn, acknowledged a line of seven imams that excluded the Fāṭimid caliphs. By the final decades of the 3rd/9th century, Ismāʿīlī *dāʿī*s or religio-political missionaries were successfully active over an area stretching from North Africa to Central Asia.

The early success of the Ismāʿīlī *daʿwa* culminated in 297/909 in the foundation of an Ismāʿīlī *dawla* or state, the Fāṭimid caliphate. The Ismāʿīlīs had now entered a new phase of their history. The revolutionary activities of the early Ismāʿīlīs had resulted in the establishment of a state in which the Ismāʿīlī imam was installed as caliph, representing a serious Shīʿī challenge to the authority of the ʿAbbāsid caliph, the spokesman of Sunnī Islam. The Ismāʿīlīs, who as Shīʿī Muslims had elaborated their own interpretation of the Islamic message, now effectively offered an alternative to Sunnī Islam that was defined as the true interpretation of Islam by the Sunnī religious scholars supported by the ʿAbbāsid establishment. The Fāṭimid period was in a sense the 'golden age' of Ismāʿīlism, when the Ismāʿīlī imam ruled over a vast empire and Ismāʿīlī thought and literature attained their apogee. It was during the Fāṭimid period that the Ismāʿīlī *dāʿī*s, who were at the same time the scholars and authors of their community, produced what were to become the classic texts of Ismāʿīlī literature dealing with a multitude of exoteric and esoteric subjects. Ismāʿīlī law, which had not existed during the pre-Fāṭimid secret phase of Ismāʿīlism, was also codified during the early Fāṭimid period. It was indeed during the Fāṭimid period that Ismāʿīlīs made their important contributions to Islamic theology and philosophy in general and to Shīʿī thought in particular. Modern recovery of their literature clearly attests to the richness and diversity of the literary and intellectual traditions of the Ismāʿīlīs of the Fāṭimid times.

A new phase in Ismāʿīlī history was initiated on the death of the Fāṭimid caliph-imam al-Mustanṣir in 487/1094 and the ensuing Mustaʿlī–Nizārī schism

in Ismāʿīlism. The succession to al-Mustanṣir was disputed between Nizār, his eldest son and original heir-designate, and the latter's much younger brother Aḥmad who was actually installed as Fāṭimid caliph with the title of al-Mustaʿlī bi'llāh. Subsequently, Nizār rose in revolt to assert his claims, but he was eventually defeated and killed in 488/1095. As a result of these events the unified Ismāʿīlī community and *daʿwa* of the latter decades of al-Mustanṣir's reign was permanently split into two rival branches, the Mustaʿliyya and the Nizāriyya.

The Mustaʿlian Ismāʿīlīs themselves split into Ḥāfiẓī and Ṭayyibī factions soon after the death of al-Mustaʿlī's son and successor on the Fāṭimid throne, al-Āmir, in 524/1130. The Ḥāfiẓī Mustaʿlians, who acknowledged the later Fāṭimids as their imams, disappeared soon after the collapse of the Fāṭimid dynasty in 567/1171. The Ṭayyibī Mustaʿlians recognized al-Āmir's infant son, al-Ṭayyib, as their imam after al-Āmir, and then traced the imamate in al-Ṭayyib's progeny. However, all Ṭayyibī imams after al-Āmir have remained in concealment, and in their absence the affairs of the Ṭayyibī community and *daʿwa* have been handled by lines of *dāʿī*s. Ṭayyibī Ismāʿīlism found its permanent stronghold in Yaman, where it received the initial support of the Ṣulayḥid dynasty. By the end of the 10th/16th century, the Ṭayyibīs had divided into the Dāʾūdī and Sulaymānī branches over the issue of the rightful succession to the position of the *dāʿī*. By that time the Ṭayyibīs of South Asia, known locally as Bohras and belonging mainly to the Dāʾūdī branch, had come to outnumber their Sulaymānī co-religionists centred in Yaman. The Ṭayyibīs in general maintained the intellectual and literary traditions of the Ismāʿīlīs of the Fāṭimid period, as well as preserving a good portion of that period's Ismāʿīlī Arabic literature. The Ṭayyibīs, representing the only extant Mustaʿlian community, nowadays account for a minority of the Ismāʿīlīs. The history of Ṭayyibī Ismāʿīlism, in both Yaman and India, revolves mainly around the activities of different *dāʿī*s, supplemented by polemical accounts of various disputes and minor schisms in the Dāʾūdī Bohra community.

The Nizārī Ismāʿīlīs, concentrated originally in Persia and Syria, have had a completely different historical evolution. The Nizārīs acquired political prominence within the Saljūq dominions, under the initial leadership of Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ, who founded the independent Nizārī state and *daʿwa* in Persia. The Nizārī state, centred at the mountain fortress of Alamūt in northern Persia, lasted some 166 years until its destruction by the Mongols in 654/1256. After Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ (d. 518/1124) and his next two successors, who ruled as *dāʿī*s and *ḥujja*s, the Nizārī imam's chief representatives, the imams themselves emerged at Alamūt to lead their state, community and *daʿwa*. Preoccupied with their revolutionary activities and living in hostile surroundings, the Nizārīs of the Alamūt period did not produce a substantial body of religious literature. They produced mainly military commanders and governors of fortress communities rather than outstanding religious scholars. Nevertheless, they did maintain a literary tradition,

and elaborated their teachings in response to the changed circumstances of the Alamūt period.

The Nizārī Ismāʿīlīs survived the Mongol destruction of their fortress communities and state, and this marked the initiation of a new phase in their history. The post-Alamūt period in Nizārī Ismāʿīlism covers more than seven centuries, from the fall of Alamūt in 654/1256 to the present time. The Nizārī communities, scattered from Syria to Persia, Central Asia and South Asia, now elaborated a diversity of religious and literary traditions in different languages. Many aspects of Ismāʿīlī activity in this period have not been sufficiently studied due to a scarcity of primary sources. More complex research difficulties arise from the widespread practice of *taqiyya* (precautionary dissimulation of one's true religious beliefs and identity) by the Nizārī groups of different regions during most of this period when they were obliged to safeguard themselves under a variety of disguises against rampant persecution.

The first two post-Alamūt centuries of Nizārī history remain particularly obscure. In the aftermath of the destruction of their state, the Nizārī imams went into hiding and lost their direct contact with their followers. The scattered Nizārī communities now developed independently under local leaderships. By the middle of the 9th/15th century, the Nizārī imams had emerged in Anjudān in central Persia, initiating what has been designated as the Anjudān revival in Nizārī *daʿwa* and literary activities. During the Anjudān period, lasting some two centuries, the imams reasserted their central authority over the various Nizārī communities. The Nizārī *daʿwa* now proved particularly successful in Badakhshan in Central Asia, and in the Indian subcontinent where large numbers of Hindus were converted, the Indian Nizārīs being called locally Khojas. The modern period in Nizārī history, representing the third sub-period in post-Alamūt Nizārī Ismāʿīlism, may be dated to the middle of the 13th/19th century when the residence of the Nizārī imams was transferred from Persia to India and subsequently to Europe. Benefiting from the modernizing policies and the elaborate network of institutions established by their last two imams, known internationally by their hereditary title of the Aga Khan, the Nizārī Ismāʿīlīs have emerged as an educated and progressive Muslim religious minority. The chronological categorization discussed in this section provides the general framework for the structure of this book.

Ismāʿīlī historiography

Ismāʿīlī historiography and the perceptions of the Ismāʿīlīs by others, as well as stages in modern Ismāʿīlī studies, have had their own fascinating evolution, of

which we shall present a brief survey in this chapter. Ismāʿīlī historiography in particular has had its own distinctive features, closely related to the very nature of the Ismāʿīlī movement. The Ismāʿīlīs were more often than not persecuted as 'heretics' or 'revolutionary activists', which necessitated the observance of the Shīʿī principle of *taqiyya* or precautionary dissimulation. The Ismāʿīlī authors, who were for the most part theologians, served as *dāʿī*s in hostile environments. Owing to their training as well as the necessity of observing secrecy in their activities, the Ismāʿīlī *dāʿī*-authors were not particularly keen on compiling any type of historical account. This is attested by the fact that only a few works of a historical nature have come to light in the modern recovery of Ismāʿīlī textual materials. These include al-Qāḍī al-Nuʿmān's *Iftitāḥ al-daʿwa* (*Commencement of the Mission*), completed in 346/957, which is the earliest known historical work in Ismāʿīlī literature covering the background to the establishment of the Fāṭimid caliphate. In the later medieval centuries, only one general Ismāʿīlī history was written by an Ismāʿīlī author, the *ʿUyūn al-akhbār* (*Choice Stories*) of Idrīs ʿImād al-Dīn (d. 872/1468), the nineteenth Ṭayyibī *dāʿī* in Yaman. This is a seven-volume history running from the time of the Prophet and the early Shīʿī imams until the commencement of the Ṭayyibī Mustaʿlian *daʿwa* in Yaman and the demise of the Fāṭimid dynasty. It is noteworthy that the pre-Fāṭimid period of Ismāʿīlī history in general and the initial phase of Ismāʿīlism in particular remain rather obscure in Ismāʿīlī historical writings. There are also a few brief, but highly valuable, historical narratives of specific events, such as the *dāʿī* Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Nīsābūrī's *Istitār al-imām*, dealing with the settlement of the early Ismāʿīlī imam, ʿAbd Allāh, in Salamiyya in the 3rd/9th century, and the eventful journey of a later imam, the future founder of the Fāṭimid state, ʿAbd Allāh al-Mahdī, from Syria to North Africa.

There were, however, two periods in Ismāʿīlī history during which the Ismāʿīlīs concerned themselves particularly with historiography, and they produced or commissioned works which may be regarded as official chronicles. During the Fāṭimid and Alamūt periods, the Ismāʿīlīs possessed their own states and dynasties of rulers whose careers and achievements needed to be recorded by reliable chroniclers. In Fāṭimid times, numerous histories of the Fāṭimid state and dynasty were compiled by contemporary historians. With the exception of a few fragments, however, the Fāṭimid chronicles of Ismāʿīlī and non-Ismāʿīlī authors did not survive the downfall of the dynasty in 567/1171. The Sunnī Ayyūbids who succeeded the Fāṭimids in Egypt systematically demolished the renowned Fāṭimid libraries of Cairo, persecuting the Ismāʿīlīs and destroying their religious literature.

The Ismāʿīlīs of the Fāṭimid period also produced a few biographical works of the *sīra* genre with significant historical value. Amongst the extant works of this

category mention may be made of the *Sīra* of Jaʿfar b. ʿAlī, chamberlain to the founder of the Fāṭimid dynasty, the *Sīra* of Ustādh Jawdhar (d. 363/973), a trusted courtier who served the first four Fāṭimid caliph-imams, and the autobiography of al-Muʾayyad fi'l-Dīn al-Shīrāzī (d. 470/1078), who held the office of chief *dāʿī* in Cairo for almost twenty years. Other biographical works, such as the *Sīra* of the *dāʿī* Ibn Ḥawshab Manṣūr al-Yaman (d. 302/914) written by his son Jaʿfar, or the autobiography of the *dāʿī* Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Shīʿī (d. 298/911) quoted in al-Nuʿmān's *Iftitāḥ al-daʿwa*, have not survived. The Fāṭimid period was also rich in archival material of historical value, including a variety of treatises, letters, decrees and epistles (*sijillāt*) issued through the Fāṭimid chancery of state, the *dīwān al-inshāʾ*. Many of these documents have survived directly, or have been quoted in later literary sources, notably the *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshāʾ* of al-Qalqashandī (d. 821/1418).

The Nizārī Ismāʿīlīs of the Alamūt period, too, as we shall see, maintained a historiographical tradition. In Persia, at least, they compiled chronicles in the Persian languages recording the events of the Persian Nizārī state according to the reigns of the successive lords of Alamūt. All the official chronicles, held at Alamūt and other major Nizārī strongholds in Persia, perished in the Mongol invasions that destroyed the Nizārī state in 654/1256, or soon afterwards during the Īlkhānid period. However, the Nizārī chronicles and other documents were used extensively by a small group of Persian historians of the Īlkhānid period, notably Juwaynī (d. 681/1283), Rashīd al-Dīn Faḍl Allāh (d. 718/1318) and Abu'l-Qāsim Kāshānī (d. ca. 738/1337). These remain our major sources for the history of the Persian Nizārīs of the Alamūt period. The Syrian Nizārīs, unlike their Persian co-religionists, did not compile chronicles and instead they are treated in various regional histories of Syria, such as those produced by Ibn al-Qalānisī (d. 555/1160) and Ibn al-ʿAdīm (d. 660/1262). Much valuable information on the Ismāʿīlīs of different periods is contained in the universal histories of Muslim authors, starting with that of al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/923) and its continuation by ʿArīb b. Saʿd (d. 370/980). The Ismāʿīlīs of the Fāṭimid and Alamūt periods are also treated extensively in the universal history, *al-Kāmil*, of Ibn al-Athīr (d. 630/1233), who represents the culmination of the Muslim annalistic tradition.

The religious literature of the Ismāʿīlīs, which was not generally available to outsiders, is indispensable for tracing the doctrinal history of the community. The doctrinal treatises of the Fāṭimid period are also invaluable for understanding aspects of the teachings of the earlier times when the Ismāʿīlīs evidently propagated their ideas mainly by word of mouth. In addition, some of the Ismāʿīlī texts of the Fāṭimid period, such as the *majālis* collections of different authors, contain historical references not found elsewhere. Similarly, the Nizārī Ismāʿīlī teachings of the Alamūt period may be studied on the basis of the meagre extant literature

of that period, in addition to the accounts found in later Nizārī sources as well as those of the Persian historians of the Īlkhānid period. In the unsettled conditions of the early post-Alamūt centuries, following the Mongol destruction of the Nizārī state, the Nizārīs engaged in very limited literary activities. These were revived during the Anjudān period in Nizārī history, and the doctrinal works of that period, such as the writings of Abū Isḥāq Quhistānī (d. after 904/1498) and Khayrkhwāh-i Harātī (d. after 960/1553) do contain important historical details. Meanwhile, Persian Nizārī works had become permeated with Sufi ideas and terminologies. Other Nizārī regions, notably Central Asia and South Asia, developed their own indigenous literary traditions during the post-Alamūt centuries.

Anti-Ismāʿīlī writings of other Muslims

In the course of their history the Ismāʿīlīs were often accused of various 'heretical' teachings and practices and, at the same time, a multitude of myths and misrepresentations circulated about them. This state of affairs was a reflection of the unfortunate fact that the Ismāʿīlīs were, until the middle of the twentieth century, perceived and judged almost exclusively on the basis of evidence collected or often fabricated by their enemies. As the most revolutionary wing of Shīʿism with a religio-political agenda for uprooting the ʿAbbāsids and restoring the caliphate to a line of ʿAlid imams, the Ismāʿīlīs from early on aroused the hostility of the ʿAbbāsid–Sunnī establishment of the Muslim majority. With the foundation of the Fāṭimid state in 297/909 the Ismāʿīlī challenge to the established order had become actualized, and thereupon the ʿAbbāsid caliphs and the Sunnī *ʿulamāʾ* launched what amounted to an official anti-Ismāʿīlī propaganda campaign. The overall aim of this systematic and prolonged campaign was to discredit the entire Ismāʿīlī movement from its origins onward so that the Ismāʿīlīs could be readily condemned as *malāḥida*, heretics or deviators from the true religious path. Muslim theologians, jurists, historians and heresiographers participated variously in this campaign.

In particular, Sunnī polemicists fabricated the necessary evidence that would lend support to the condemnation of the Ismāʿīlīs on specific doctrinal grounds. They concocted detailed accounts of the sinister teachings and immoral practices of the Ismāʿīlīs while denying the ʿAlid genealogy of their imams. A number of polemicists also fabricated travesties in which they attributed a variety of abhorrent beliefs and practices to the Ismāʿīlīs. These forgeries were circulated widely as genuine Ismāʿīlī treatises and, in time, they were used as source material by subsequent generations of Muslim authors writing about the Ismāʿīlīs.

By spreading these defamations and forged accounts, the polemicists and other anti-Ismāʿīlī authors gradually created, starting in the 4th/10th century, a 'black legend'. Accordingly, Ismāʿīlism was depicted as the arch-heresy, *ilḥād*, of Islam, carefully designed by a certain ʿAbd Allāh b. Maymūn al-Qaddāḥ, or some other non-ʿAlid impostors, or possibly even a Jewish magician disguised as a Muslim, aiming at destroying Islam from within.[1] By the 5th/11th century, this fiction, with its elaborate details and stages of initiation towards atheism, had been accepted as an accurate and reliable description of Ismāʿīlī motives, beliefs and practices, leading to further anti-Ismāʿīlī polemics and heresiographical accusations as well as intensifying the animosity of other Muslim communities towards the Ismāʿīlī Muslims. The components of the anti-Ismāʿīlī 'black legend' continued to fire the imagination of countless generations of Sunnī writers throughout the medieval era.

Many of the essential components of the anti-Ismāʿīlī 'black legend', relating especially to the origins and early history of Ismāʿīlism, may be traced to a certain Sunnī polemicist called Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Rizām (or Razzām) al-Ṭāʾī al-Kūfī, better known as Ibn Rizām, who lived in Baghdad during the first half of the 4th/10th century. He wrote a major treatise in refutation of the Ismāʿīlīs. Ibn Rizām's anti-Ismāʿīlī tract, *Kitāb radd ʿalā'l-Ismāʿīliyya* (or *Naqḍ ʿalā'l-Bāṭiniyya*), does not seem to have survived, but it is quoted in Ibn al-Nadīm's *al-Fihrist*, completed in 377/987.[2] More importantly, it was used extensively a few decades later by another polemicist, the Sharīf Abu'l-Ḥusayn Muḥammad b. ʿAlī, an ʿAlid from Damascus better known as Akhū Muḥsin. An early ʿAlid genealogist, Akhū Muḥsin wrote his own anti-Ismāʿīlī tract, consisting of both historical and doctrinal parts, around 372/982. This work, too, has not survived. However, long fragments from the Akhū Muḥsin account have been preserved by several later authors, notably the Egyptian historians al-Nuwayrī (d. 733/1333), Ibn al-Dawādārī (d. after 736/1335), and al-Maqrīzī (d. 845/1442), who was the first authority to have identified Ibn Rizām as the principal source of Akhū Muḥsin while condemning both as unreliable.[3] The unreliability of Ibn Rizām had already been pointed out by his contemporary, the chronicler al-Masʿūdī.[4]

It was also in Akhū Muḥsin's polemical tract that the *Kitāb al-siyāsa* (*Book of Methodology*), one of the most popular early travesties attributed to Ismāʿīlīs, came to be cited. Used by several generations of polemicists and heresiographers as a major source on the secret doctrines of the Ismāʿīlīs, this anonymous tract evidently contained all the ideas needed to condemn the Ismāʿīlīs as heretics on account of their alleged libertinism and atheism. Akhū Muḥsin claims to have read this book and presents passages from it on the procedures for winning new converts that were supposedly followed by Ismāʿīlī *dāʿī*s, instructing them

through some seven stages of initiation (*balāgh*) leading ultimately to atheism and unbelief.[5] The same book, or another forgery entitled *Kitāb al-balāgh*, was seen shortly afterwards by Ibn al-Nadīm.[6] The heresiographer al-Baghdādī (d. 429/1037), who used polemical materials in his own defamatory account of the Ismāʿīlīs, even claims that the *Kitāb al-siyāsa* was sent by the founder of the Fāṭimid dynasty to Abū Ṭāhir al-Jannābī (d. 332/944), the leader of the Qarmaṭī state of Baḥrayn.[7] By this claim al-Baghdādī not only attempted to accord authenticity to this forgery, but also made the Qarmaṭīs subservient to the Fāṭimids in order to further defame the latter. Needless to add, the Ismāʿīlī tradition knows of these fictitious accounts only from the polemics of its enemies. At any rate, anti-Ismāʿīlī polemical writings provided a major source of information for Sunnī heresiographers who produced another important category of writings against the Ismāʿīlīs. The polemical and heresiographical traditions, in turn, influenced the Muslim historians, theologians and jurists who had something to say about the Ismāʿīlīs. The Sunnī authors, who were generally not interested in collecting accurate information on the internal divisions of Shīʿism and treated all Shīʿī interpretations of Islam as 'heterodoxies' or even 'heresies', also availed themselves of the opportunity of blaming the Fāṭimids and indeed the entire Ismāʿīlī community for the atrocities perpetrated by the Qarmaṭīs of Baḥrayn. On the other hand, the Imāmī Shīʿī heresiographers, such as al-Nawbakhtī (d. after 300/912) and al-Qummī (d. 301/913–914), who like their Sunnī counterparts were interested in defending the legitimacy of their own community, were better informed on the internal divisions of Shīʿism and were also less hostile towards the Ismāʿīlī Shīʿīs. In fact, these earliest Imāmī heresiographers provide our main source of information on the opening phase of Ismāʿīlism.

By the end of the 5th/11th century, the widespread literary campaign against the Ismāʿīlīs had been quite successful throughout the central Islamic lands. The revolt of the Persian Ismāʿīlīs led by Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ against the Saljūq Turks, the new overlords of the ʿAbbāsids, called forth another prolonged Sunnī reaction against the Ismāʿīlīs in general and the Nizārī Ismāʿīlīs in particular. A new literary campaign, accompanied by military attacks on the Nizārī strongholds in Persia, was initiated by Niẓām al-Mulk (d. 485/1092), the Saljūq vizier and virtual master of their dominions for more than two decades, with the full endorsement of the ʿAbbāsid caliph and the Saljūq sultan. Niẓām al-Mulk devoted a long chapter in his own *Siyāsat-nāma* (*The Book of Government*) to the condemnation of the Ismāʿīlīs who, according to him, aimed 'to abolish Islam, to mislead mankind and cast them into perdition'.[8]

However, the earliest polemical treatise against the Persian Ismāʿīlīs of the Alamūt period was written by al-Ghazālī (d. 505/1111), the most renowned contemporary Sunnī theologian and jurist. He was, in fact, commissioned by the

ʿAbbāsid caliph al-Mustaẓhir (487–512/1094–1118) to write a treatise in refutation of the Bāṭinīs, another designation meaning 'esotericists' coined for the Ismāʿīlīs by their detractors who accused them of dispensing with the *ẓāhir*, or the commandments and prohibitions of the *sharīʿa* or the sacred law of Islam, because they claimed to have found access to the *bāṭin*, or the inner meaning of the Islamic message as interpreted by the Ismāʿīlī imam. In this widely circulated book, commonly known as *al-Mustaẓhirī* and completed shortly before al-Ghazālī left his teaching post at the Niẓāmiyya Madrasa in Baghdad in 488/1095, the author elaborated his own notion of an 'Ismāʿīlī' system of graded initiation leading to the ultimate stage (*al-balāgh al-akbar*) of atheism.[9] The defamations of al-Ghazālī were adopted by other Sunnī writers who, like Niẓām al-Mulk, were also familiar with the earlier 'black legend'. Sunnī historians, including especially Saljūq chroniclers and the local historians of Syria, participated actively in the renewed literary campaign against the Ismāʿīlīs, while the Saljūqs' persistent failure to dislodge the Nizārīs from their mountain fortresses belied their far superior military power.

By the opening decades of the 6th/12th century, the Ismāʿīlī community had become divided and embarked on its own internal, Nizārī versus Mustaʿlian, feuds. In the event, the Mustaʿlian Ismāʿīlīs, supported by the Fāṭimid state, initiated their anti-Nizārī campaign to refute the claims of Nizār (d. 488/1095) and his descendants to the Ismāʿīlī imamate. In one such polemical epistle issued in 516/1122 by the Fāṭimid caliph al-Āmir, the Nizārī Ismāʿīlīs of Syria were for the first time referred to with the designation of *ḥashīshiyya*, without any explanation.[10] This term was later applied to Syrian Ismāʿīlīs in a derogatory sense, without actually accusing them of using hashish. The Persian Nizārīs, too, were designated as *ḥashīshī* in some Zaydī Arabic sources produced in northern Persia during the Alamūt period.[11] It is important to note that in all the Muslim sources in which the Nizārīs are referred to as *ḥashīshī*s, this term is used only in its abusive, figurative sense of 'low-class rabble' and 'irreligious social outcasts'. The literal interpretation of the term for the Nizārīs is rooted in the fantasies of medieval Europeans and their 'imaginative ignorance' of Islam and the Ismāʿīlīs.

Medieval European perceptions of the Ismāʿīlīs

Christian Europe was alarmed by the expanding fortunes of the Muslims and their military conquests. Islam was to become a lasting trauma for Europe, an expression of the 'other'. This fundamentally negative perception of Islam was retained for almost a thousand years, well into the seventeenth century when the Ottoman Turks, who had rekindled the past aspirations of the Muslims,

still represented a serious military threat to Christendom and Europe. For several centuries, European perceptions of Islam were essentially rooted in fear and ignorance, resulting in a highly distorted and absurd image in Western minds.[12] Indeed, during the first few centuries of Christian-Muslim encounters, lasting until around the end of the eleventh century when the Crusading movement began, knowledge about Islam was extremely limited in Europe, as were the scattered sources of this knowledge. During this period, designated by R. Southern as the 'age of ignorance', Europeans attempted variously to understand Islam and the Muslims, or the Saracens as they came to be incorrectly called in medieval Europe, in the light of the Bible.

Meanwhile, the Crusading movement for fighting the enemies of Christendom in the Holy Land had been launched in Europe in 1095. By 1097, the Christian pilgrim-soldiers of the First Crusade had already entered Syria. The Crusaders easily defeated the local Fāṭimid garrison and took Jerusalem, their final destination, in July 1099. Thus, Ismāʿīlīs had now found a common enemy in the Christian Crusaders, who founded four principalities in the Near East and engaged in extensive military and diplomatic encounters with the Fāṭimids in Egypt and the Nizārī Ismāʿīlīs in Syria. The Crusaders, who remained for more than two centuries in the Levant, were never interested in gathering accurate information about the Muslims and their religion, even though they had extensive military, diplomatic, social and commercial contacts with them. As a result, close proximity to the Muslims did not result in improved European perceptions of Islam, either in the Latin East, the Greek East or the Latin West, and only in a general sense did the Europeans became more aware of the presence of Islam.

The Nizārī Ismāʿīlīs and the Crusaders had numerous confrontations in Syria, which had important consequences and repercussions in terms of the distorted image of the Nizārīs in Europe. The first of such encounters dates back to the opening decade of the twelfth century. Later, the Nizārīs and the Crusaders sporadically fought each other over various strongholds in central Syria. But it was not until the second half of that century that occidental travellers, diplomatic emissaries and chroniclers of the Crusades began to write about these strange sectarians, the followers of a mysterious 'Old Man of the Mountain', or 'le Vieux de la Montagne', who were designated by them in different European languages by variant forms of the term 'Assassins'. This was the time of Rāshid al-Dīn Sinān, who led the Syrian Nizārīs to the peak of their glory for three decades until his death in 1193. The very term Assassin, based on a variant of the Arabic word *ḥashīshī* that was applied to the Nizārīs in a derogatory sense by other Muslims, was picked up locally in the Levant by the Crusaders and the European observers of the Middle East. At the same time, the Frankish circles and their occidental chroniclers remained completely ignorant of general Muslim beliefs and those of

the Ismāʿīlīs amongst them. It was under such circumstances that the Frankish circles themselves began to fabricate and circulate, both in the Latin East and in Europe, a number of tales about the secret practices of the Nizārī Ismāʿīlīs. It is important to note that none of the variants of these tales are to be found in contemporary Muslim sources.

The Crusaders were particularly impressed by the highly exaggerated reports and rumours of the Nizārī assassinations and the daring behaviour of their *fidāʾī*s, the devotees who carried out targeted missions in public places and normally lost their own lives in the process. This explains why these fictions came to revolve around the recruitment and training of the *fidāʾī*s, fictions that were meant to provide satisfactory explanations for behaviour that would otherwise seem irrational or strange to the medieval European mind. These so-called Assassin legends consisted of a number of separate but interconnected tales, including the 'training legend', the 'paradise legend', the 'hashish legend', and the 'death-leap legend'.[13] The legends developed in stages culminating in a synthesis popularized by Marco Polo.

Benjamin of Tudela, the Spanish rabbi and traveller who was in Syria in 1167, is one of the very first Europeans to have written about the Ismāʿīlīs.[14] He noted that in Syria there existed a people strongly devoted to their chief or elder, whom they also regarded as their prophet. These people, whom he called the *Hashishin*, had their principal seat at Qadmus and were dreaded by their neighbours, he added, because they would kill even kings at the expense of their own lives. Benjamin also referred, again for the first time, to the Persian Ismāʿīlīs who, according to him, lived in the mountainous district of *Mulhet*;[15] obviously a corruption of the Arabic *mulḥid* (plural, *malāḥida*), a Muslim term of abuse for a religious deviant or heretic and the most common anti-Ismāʿīlī epithet. It is interesting to note, however, that Benjamin failed to realize that the people he was describing were actually Muslims.

Another early description of the group is contained in a diplomatic report dated 1175 of an envoy sent to Egypt and Syria by the Holy Roman emperor Frederick I Barbarossa.[16] The envoy, a certain Burchard or Gerhard, reports that,

> . . . on the confines of Damascus, Antioch and Aleppo there is a certain race of Saracens in the mountains, who in their own vernacular are called *Heyssessini* and in Roman *segnors de montana*. This race of men live without laws . . . They dwell in the mountains and are quasi impregnable, because of their fortified castles . . . They have among them a lord, who inspires the greatest fear in the Saracen princes near and far, and also in the neighbouring Christians, because he is accustomed to killing them in a strange manner.

The report then goes on to explain how the chief of the sect trained the many sons of his peasants, raised from childhood in his mountain palaces, in strict

obedience to his commands for the exclusive purpose of carrying out these killing missions. This is the earliest evidence of the 'training legend'.

William, Archbishop of Tyre, the famous historian who spent the greater part of his life in the Latin East and died in Rome in or about 1184, is the first occidental chronicler of the Crusades to have described the Ismāʿīlīs. He included a general account of them in his history of Palestine, which also covers the Crusader events from their very inception in 1095 up to 1184. He states that these sectarians, living in the diocese of Tortosa, numbered some 60,000 and possessed ten castles with their surrounding villages. Emphasizing the high degree of obedience of these people towards their chief, William of Tyre further notes that both the Christians and Muslims called these sectarians *Assissini*, the origin of which name admittedly remained unknown to him.[17]

In 1192, Conrad of Montferrat, the titular ruler of the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem, fell victim in Tyre to the daggers of two apparent monks, who were allegedly Nizārī emissaries in disguise, sent by the Old Man. This event, occurring just before the death of Rāshid al-Dīn Sinān himself, the original Old Man of the Mountain, greatly impressed the Frankish circles. It came to be discussed, usually with some explanatory notes on the Ismāʿīlīs, by most of the occidental historians of the Third Crusade (1189–1192).[18] The narrative of the German chronicler Arnold of Lübeck (d. 1212) is of particular interest because it also seems to be the earliest Western source referring to an intoxicating potion administered by the Old Man to the would-be *fidāʾī*s from amongst the Syrian sectarians, and as such may be taken to represent the first statement of the 'hashish legend'; Arnold adds that these Saracens are called *Heissessin* in their own language.[19] Soon afterwards, in 1194, a meeting reportedly took place between Henry of Champagne (d. 1197), the effective ruler of the kingdom of Jerusalem after Conrad, and the 'Old Man' who had just succeeded Sinān in the latter's castle at Kahf. A most impressive story, first related by the continuators of William of Tyre and repeated by many later European writers, such as the Venetian historian Marino Sanudo Torsello and the Dominican friar Francesco Pipino of Bologna, of how the Ismāʿīlīs would leap to their death from high towers in a show of loyalty to their chief, dates back to this meeting.[20]

Gradually, contacts increased between the Franks and the Ismāʿīlīs, including those arising from the payment of tributes by the Syrian Ismāʿīlīs to the military orders of the Crusades, the Templars and the Hospitallers. However, Western historians of the first half of the thirteenth century added few new details to the knowledge of the Ismāʿīlīs then held by the Europeans. James of Vitry (d. 1240), who was bishop of Acre during 1216–1228 and also participated in the Fifth Crusade (1217–1221), while discussing the Syrian Ismāʿīlīs and putting their number at 40,000, merely noted that they had originated in Persia.[21] However, he

committed an error of his own by contending that the Ismāʿīlīs were descended from the Jews. The same point was repeated by Thietmar, a German traveller who visited the Holy Land in the first quarter of that century.[22] James of Vitry is also the earliest European author to refer to the training places of the would-be *fidāʾī*s as the *locis secretis et delectabilibus*, the secret and delightful places, as if vaguely anticipating the terrestrial 'secret garden of paradise' elaborated later by Marco Polo. Shortly thereafter, Matthew Paris (d. 1259), the English monk and historian who is noted for his knowledge of European events between 1235 and 1259, made several references to the Ismāʿīlīs. Of particular importance is his account of the arrival in Europe in 1238 of a mission sent by the Old Man of the Mountain to ask the assistance of Louis IX and Henry III, the kings of France and England, against the imminent threat of the Tartars, as the Mongols were to be called for a long time to come.[23]

By the middle of the thirteenth century, however, more direct information began to appear about the Ismāʿīlīs of both Syria and Persia, mainly as a result of the activities and the diplomatic designs of Louis IX, better known as Saint Louis (d. 1270). St Louis, the same king who had been approached earlier in Europe by an Ismāʿīlī mission, now led the Seventh Crusade (1248–1254) to the Holy Land. But after his early defeat in Egypt, he went to Acre and remained in Palestine for almost four years (May 1250–April 1254). It was during this period that the French king exchanged embassies with the Old Man of the Mountain and established friendly relations with the Ismāʿīlīs. We have an invaluable account of his dealings with the Syrian Nizārīs from the vivid pen of the French chronicler John of Joinville (d. 1317), who accompanied the king on his Crusade and became his intimate companion in the Holy Land.[24]

John of Joinville, who interestingly enough refers to the Nizārī Ismāʿīlīs as both the *Assaci*s and the Bedouins, relates that 'during the king's residence at Acre, there came likewise to him ambassadors from the prince of the Bedouins, called the Old Man of the Mountain', demanding of him gifts, 'in like manner as the emperor of Germany, the king of Hungary, the sultan of Babylon, and many other princes, have yearly done; for they know, that they would not be allowed to exist or reign, but during his good pleasure'. The ambassadors made it known, however, that their chief (*seigneur*) would be equally satisfied if the king were to 'acquit him of the tribute he pays annually to the grand master of the Temple, or the Hospital'. On the intervention of the said Grand Masters, the Nizārī emissaries failed to win the king's approval for either of their requests, notwithstanding a second meeting which took place a fortnight later. St Louis, in his search for new alliances, encouraged these contacts and reciprocated by sending his own envoys, accompanied by an Arabic-speaking friar, Yves le Breton, to the Nizārī chief. During their meetings, which probably took place in 1250 at

the main Nizārī stronghold of Maṣyāf in central Syria, Yves conversed with the Nizārī Ismāʿīlī chief on 'the articles of his faith'. According to John of Joinville, Yves later reported to the king some details on the religious beliefs of the Nizārīs, as he had understood them. The Old Man, he said, 'did not believe in Mahomet, but followed the religion of Aly'. They also maintained, Yves related, that 'when any one is killed by the command or in the service of his superior, the soul of the person so killed goes into another body of higher rank, and enjoys more comforts than before'. Yves cited this belief in metempsychosis as the main reason why the Nizārīs were eager to be killed in the service of their chief. John of Joinville himself collected some information about the Ismāʿīlīs, and notes that 'their numbers are not to be counted; for they dwell in the kingdoms of Jerusalem, Egypt, and throughout all the lands of the Saracens and infidels'.[25]

The main diplomatic ambition of Louis IX of France, however, was to secure an alliance with the Mongols against the Muslims. In pursuit of this objective and encouraged by the news of the Mongols' tendencies towards Nestorian Christianity, the king entrusted William of Rubruck (Rubruquis), a Franciscan friar at his court, with an informal mission to the Great Khan in Mongolia. We have several references to the Persian Ismāʿīlīs in William's account of his journey, which he embarked upon in 1253.[26] He also seems to have been amongst the first Europeans to have designated the Persian Ismāʿīlīs by names such as *Axasin*s and *Hacsasin*s, hitherto used only in connection with the Syrian Ismāʿīlīs. Doubtless, William had heard these terms from the Crusaders and was himself aware of the ties between the Syrian and the Persian Nizārīs. William of Rubruck passed the first half of 1254 at the court of the Great Khan Möngke (d. 1259), in and near his capital at Karakorum. There, he noticed strict security measures against foreigners, because 'it had been reported to Mangu Chan that forty Hacsasins had entered the city under various guises to kill him'. This, as William learned, might have been in reprisal for the fact that the Great Khan had already sent one of his brothers 'to the country of the Hacsasins, whom they call Mulidet, and he ordered him to put them all to death'. The brother in question, it will be recalled, was Hülegü, who had left Mongolia in 1253 at the head of a major expedition.

Meanwhile, the most celebrated of all the medieval European travellers, the Venetian Marco Polo (1254–1324), had embarked on his famous journey to China. According to his travel accounts, the youthful Marco accompanied his father and uncle on their second journey to the court of Qubilai (1260–1294), Möngke's brother and successor. The Polos started from Acre in 1271, and on their way passed through Persia in 1272, about fifteen years after the collapse of the Nizārī state there. Marco Polo, who committed his itinerary to writing in 1298, after having spent some seventeen years in China and finally returning to Venice in 1295, relates what he had heard in Persia from several natives of that

country concerning the Old Man of the Mountain and the Persian Ismāʿīlīs,[27] whom he calls the *Mulehet, Mulcete*, etc.[28]

> The Old Man was called in their language ALOADIN. He had caused a certain valley between two mountains to be enclosed, and had turned it into a garden, the largest and most beautiful that ever was seen, filled with every variety of fruit. In it were erected pavilions and palaces the most elegant that can be imagined, all covered with gilding and exquisite painting. And there were runnels too, flowing freely with wine and milk and honey and water; and numbers of ladies and of the most beautiful damsels in the world, who could play on all manner of instruments, and sung most sweetly, and danced in a manner that it was charming to behold. For the Old Man desired to make his people believe that this was actually Paradise. So he had fashioned it after the description that Mahommet gave of his Paradise, to wit, that it should be a beautiful garden running with conduits of wine and milk and honey and water, and full of lovely women for the delectation of all its inmates. And sure enough the Saracens of those parts believed that it *was* Paradise!
>
> Now no man was allowed to enter the Garden save those whom he intended to be his ASHISHIN. There was a Fortress at the entrance to the Garden, strong enough to resist all the world, and there was no other way to get in. He kept at his Court a number of the youths of the country, from 12 to 20 years of age, such as had a taste for soldiering, and to these he used to tell tales about Paradise, just as Mahommet had been wont to do, and they believed in him just as the Saracens believe in Mahommet. Then he would introduce them into his garden, some four, or six, or ten at a time, having first made them drink a certain potion which cast them into a deep sleep, and then causing them to be lifted and carried in. So when they awoke, they found themselves in the Garden.

It is then related, in respect to the training of these Assassins or *Ashishin*, which is the English rendering of *Asciscin* adopted by Sir Henry Yule (1820–1889),[29] the learned translator and commentator of Marco Polo, that

> Now this Prince whom we call the Old One kept his Court in grand and noble style, and made those simple hill-folks about him believe firmly that he was a great Prophet. And when he wanted one of his *Ashishin* to send on any mission, he would cause that potion whereof I spoke to be given to one of the youths in the garden, and then had him carried into his Palace. So when the young man awoke, he found himself in the Castle, and no longer in that Paradise; whereat he was not over well pleased. He was then conducted to the Old Man's presence, and bowed before him with great veneration as believing himself to be in the presence of a true Prophet. The Prince would then ask whence he came, and he would reply that he came from Paradise! and that it was exactly such as Mahommet had described it in the Law. This of course gave the others who stood by, and who had not been admitted, the greatest desire to enter therein.

> So when the Old Man would have any Prince slain, he would say to such a youth: 'Go thou and slay So and So; and when thou returnest my Angels shall bear thee into Paradise. And shouldst thou die, natheless even so will I send my Angels to carry thee back into Paradise.' So he caused them to believe; and thus there was no order of his that they would not affront any peril to execute, for the great desire they had to get back into that Paradise of his. And in this manner the Old One got his people to murder any one whom he desired to get rid of. Thus, too, the great dread that he inspired all Princes withal, made them become his tributaries in order that he might abide at peace and amity with them.

At the end of his narrative, Marco Polo states that the Old Man had his deputies in the territories of Damascus and Curdistan, who copied him exactly in the same manner. And that the end of the Old Man came when, after being besieged for three years, he and all his men were put to death by the Mongols who also destroyed his castle with its garden of paradise. Several points are noteworthy in connection with Marco Polo's narrative, which has been read and often repeated by generations of Westerners during the last 700 years.

Marco Polo's description of the Old Man's castle may appear to refer to one of the Nizārī fortresses in the Alamūt valley. But, as Yule was perhaps the first person to point out, 'there is no reason to suppose that Polo visited Alamūt, which would have been quite out of the road that he is following'.[30] The then eighteen-year-old traveller may actually have heard some details about the locality of Alamūt, as his entire account of the Persian Ismāʿīlīs is admittedly not based on personal observation. It is possible, however, that he did visit a ruined Nizārī castle somewhere in Persia,[31] although it has not been possible to identify the site. It is in eastern Persia, around Ṭabas and Tūn in Quhistān, the barren region in the south of Khurāsān, that Marco Polo interrupts his itinerary to discuss the Old Man, a digression probably triggered by seeing a Nizārī fortress.[32] It may, therefore, be inferred that the castle in question was either the mountainous stronghold of Girdkūh near Dāmghān, which had finally surrendered to the Mongols in 1270, about two years before the Polo party crossed Khurāsān into northern Afghanistan, or, more probably, some fortress in eastern Quhistān. It will be recalled that the Nizārī Ismāʿīlīs had previously controlled several main towns in that region, where they had also developed an elaborate network of fortresses.

Marco Polo, like William of Rubruck before him, uses various forms of the name *Assassin* in reference to the Persian Ismāʿīlīs.[33] However, he adopts this name only in connection with those sectarians to be sent on missions, as distinct from the Ismāʿīlīs in general, whom he designates by the corrupted forms of *mulḥid* and *malāḥida*. In this exclusive sense, the term *Assassin* denotes those

sectarians who were called *fidāʾīs*, or *fidāwī*s, by the Nizārī Ismāʿīlīs. At any rate, Marco Polo's description of the 'Old Man and his Assassins' represents the most elaborate synthesis of the Assassin legends, and he added his own original contribution in the form of the Old Man's 'secret garden of paradise'. Finally, it may be noted that Marco Polo also uses, perhaps in the first instance of its kind, the Syrian title 'Old Man of the Mountain' in reference to the chief of the Persian Ismāʿīlīs whose supremacy over their Syrian co-religionists he had distinctly acknowledged. Needless to add, 'Alāʾ al-Dīn Muhammad III (d. 653/1255), Marco Polo's Old Man Aloadin, was only the penultimate ruler of the Nizārī state centred in Persia. The last ruler was his son Rukn al-Dīn who surrendered to the Mongols in 1256 and was killed by them shortly afterwards on Möngke's orders.

Marco Polo's version of the Assassin legends was reiterated to various degrees by subsequent European writers as the standard description of the subject. However, it did not occur to anyone in Europe that Marco Polo may have actually heard the tales in Italy after returning to Venice in 1295 from his journeys to the East (tales that were by then widespread in Europe and could be traced to European antecedents on the subject), or that the Assassin legends found in Marco Polo's travelogue may have been entirely inserted, as a digressionary note, by Rustichello of Pisa, the Italian romance writer who was actually responsible for committing the account of Marco Polo's travels to writing. No more can be said on this subject at the present state of our knowledge, especially as the original version of Marco Polo's travelogue written by Rustichello in a peculiar form of old French mixed with Italian has not been recovered. In this connection, it may also be noted that Marco Polo himself evidently revised his travelogue during the last twenty years of his life, at which time he could have readily appropriated the Assassin legends regarding the Syrian Nizārīs then current in Europe. In fact, it was Marco Polo who transferred the scene of the legends from Syria to Persia. The contemporary historian Juwaynī, an avowed enemy of the Nizārīs who accompanied Hülegü to Alamūt in 1256 and personally inspected the fortress before its destruction by the Mongols, does not report discovering any 'secret garden of paradise' there, as claimed in Marco Polo's popular account.

By the end of the thirteenth century, the Mamlūks had ended the political prominence of the Syrian Nizārīs, and had also reduced the dominion of the Crusaders in the Levant to a small strip of coastland in Syria. By 1291, Acre, the last outpost of Christendom in the Holy Land, had fallen into Mamlūk hands. These developments also marked the end of relations between the Crusaders and the Syrian Nizārīs. By that time, the name *Assassin* in its different forms, and the tales about the sectarians who bore it, had been disseminated in Europe by the Crusaders and other Europeans returning from the Near East.[34] Indeed, by the turn of the thirteenth century, Provençal poets had already made comparisons

between their own romantic devotion and the fanatical loyalty of the Assassins to the Old Man of the Mountain.[35] But it was the tactics of the *fidāʾī*s against the enemies of their community, rather than their self-sacrificing devotion to their leader, that eventually impressed the Europeans and gave the word *Assassin* a new meaning. By the first half of the fourteenth century, instead of signifying the name of a group in the Near East, the word had come to mean a professional killer. The earliest European examples of this usage, retained to the present day, apparently occurred in Italy. The great Italian poet Dante (1265–1321) speaks of the treacherous assassin (*Le perfido assassin*) in his *La Divina Commedia*; and Giovanni Villani (d. 1348), the Florentine historian, relates how the lord of Lucca sent his assassins (*i suoi assassini*) to Pisa to kill an enemy.[36] The occidental observers of the Nizārī Ismāʿīlīs had thus introduced a new common noun to most Western European languages.

When the Crusaders spoke of the Assassins, they originally referred to the Nizārī Ismāʿīlīs of Syria. Later, the term was also commonly applied to the Persian Nizārīs by European travellers and chroniclers. 'Old Man of the Mountain' had a similar history. It was initially used by the Crusaders only in respect to the Syrian leader of the Nizārīs. As Bernard Lewis has observed, it would not be unnatural for the Ismāʿīlīs to use the common Muslim term of respect, *shaykh*, also meaning 'Old Man' or 'Elder', in reference to their leader.[37] However, the Crusaders misunderstood the term *shaykh*, rendering it on the basis of its secondary meaning into Latin as *Vetus*, *Vetulus* or *Senex*, rather than by its more relevant equivalents *Senior* or *Dominus*. In any event, the meaning of this title was also linked with the mountainous fortresses in which the Syrian Nizārī leaders lived. It should be added, however, that the Syrian title 'Old Man of the Mountain' seems to have been used only by the Crusaders and other occidental sources, since thus far it has not come to light in any contemporary Arabic or Persian sources. Consequently, the full Arabic equivalent of this title, *Shaykh al-Jabal*, may represent a later translation from the Latin forms used by the occidental chroniclers of the Crusades, forms such as *Vetus de Montanis*.

Be that as it may, Europeans continued to maintain an interest in the Ismāʿīlīs. Marco Polo particularly stirred the imagination of his contemporaries, and his garden of paradise story was adopted by several writers in the early fourteenth century. In this connection, the account of Odoric of Pordenone (d. 1331), the Franciscan missionary from northern Italy who visited China during 1323–1327, is of particular importance. On his return, Odoric apparently passed, around 1328, through northern Persia along the coast of the Caspian Sea where he visited a certain country called *Melistorte* or *Millistorte* (probably corruptions of *malāḥida*).[38] In his account,[39] which may refer to the Alamūt valley, Odoric repeats Marco Polo's narrative almost in its entirety.

By the sixteenth century, when the centres of the Ismāʿīlī movement had moved farther away to Yaman and India, the greatly reduced number of Nizārīs of the Near East were now either living in secrecy, as in Persia, or had become obedient subjects of the Ottoman empire. As a result, European documentations of the Ismāʿīlīs during the Renaissance became few and far between. They were now referred to mainly by an occasional missionary or traveller to the Holy Land. But Western scholarship continued to be based on the earlier impressions of the Crusaders. For instance, the Dominican friar Felix Fabri, who visited the Holy Land twice between 1480 and 1484, mentions the Assassins amongst the peoples of the region, and fancifully repeats that

> their captain causes their young men to be taught diverse languages, and sends them out into other kingdoms to serve the kings thereof; to the end that, when the time requires it, each king's servant may kill him by poison or otherwise. If after slaying a king the servant makes good his escape to his own land, he is rewarded with honours, riches and dignities; if he is taken and put to death, he is worshipped in his own country as a martyr.[40]

Soon, first-hand accounts came to be supplemented by more scholarly investigations. The first Western monograph devoted entirely to the subject of the Ismāʿīlīs seems to be that of Denis Lebey de Batilly, a French official at the court of Henry IV.[41] The author had become deeply concerned about the revival of political murders in Europe, after the 1589 stabbing of Henry III of France at the hands of a Jacobin friar, whom he refers to as '*un religieux assasin-porte-couteau*'. Apprehensive about the existence of would-be assassins in the religious orders of Christendom, he set out, in 1595, to compose a short treatise on the true origin of the word *assasin*, which had acquired new currency in France, and the history of the Muslim sect to which it originally belonged, calling these sectaries '*les premiers et anciens assasins d'entre les Sarrasins et Mahometans*'. This work, however, was based almost exclusively on the occidental chronicles, the accounts of which were combined in a confusing manner with Marco Polo's narrative, and it did not add any new detail to what had been known on the subject in Europe some three centuries earlier.

The next important publication appeared in 1659, when Henricus Bengertus produced his edition of the *Chronicle* of Arnold of Lübeck. In his explanatory notes, the learned German editor briefly discusses the Ismāʿīlīs and enumerates the name of almost every Latin author who, to his knowledge, had mentioned the Assassins.[42] However, Bengertus, too, thought that it was the Mongols who destroyed the power of the Syrian Nizārīs. For some time, this error was repeated by many scholars, including the prodigious Johann Philipp Baratier (1721–1740). But in his French translation of Benjamin of Tudela's itinerary, he rectified that

traveller's erroneous notion of making the Persian Nizārīs subservient to the chief of the Syrian sectaries.[43] It should be added that, by the seventeenth century, the etymology of the word *Assassin* had long been forgotten in Europe. Consequently, an increasing number of philologists and lexicographers now started to collect the variants of this term used in occidental sources, such as *Accini, Arsasini, Assassi, Assassini, Assessini, Assissini, Hesesin, Heyssessini*, etc., as well as the form *Hashishin* mentioned only by Benjamin of Tudela. Many additional etymologies were also proposed. Charles du Fresne du Cange (1610–1668), who discussed *Assassini* in his glossary of medieval Latin[44] first published in 1678, is one of the most famous pioneers in this respect. In this study he was joined by several contemporaries, such as Gilles Ménages (1613–1692), and a host of later scholars who included similar entries in their etymological dictionaries.

The first important advance in the study of the Ismāʿīlīs however appeared in 1697, with the posthumous publication of the encyclopaedic work of Barthélemy d'Herbelot (1625–1695).[45] This pioneer work of Western orientalism, which covered all fields of the Muslim East, was to remain the standard reference work in Europe until the early nineteenth century. The noted French orientalist d'Herbelot (who never visited the orient) had read and utilized in his encyclopaedia a variety of Arabic, Persian and Turkish sources. As a result, he now offered details on the history and religion of Islam hitherto unknown to Europeans. He was also able to identify the Ismāʿīlīs more correctly, studying them within the broader context of Islam. In a number of entries, such as 'Bathania', 'Carmath', 'Fathemiah', 'Ismaelioun', 'Molahedoun', and 'Schiah', d'Herbelot showed clearly that the Ismāʿīlīs were in fact one of the main divisions of Shīʿī Islam, and that they themselves had been further subdivided into two main groups: the Ismāʿīlīs of Africa and Egypt (Fatémites) and those of Asia (also called Melahedah Kouhestan). The latter group, he noted, had its seat at Alamūt and was founded by Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ, who was succeeded by seven more princes.

During the eighteenth century, European scholarship made little further progress in the field. Thomas Hyde of Oxford, whilst discussing his own etymology of *Assassini*, assured his readers that the Mount Lebanon used to be inhabited by many sectarians coming from the region of Kurdistān, and that the so-called *Assassins* were in fact of Kurdish origin.[46] Joseph Simon Assemani (1687–1768), belonging to the Syrian Maronite al-Simʿānī family of orientalists and a custodian of the Vatican Library, made brief references to the Assassins and suggested his own peculiar etymology.[47] There were other incidental references to the sectarians by the European missionaries, travellers and historians of that century.[48] A more detailed account was produced by Pierre Alexandre de la Ravalière (1697–1762), a French bishop who, however, concerned himself exclusively with the murder of Conrad of Montferrat and the two unsuccessful

assassination plots alleged to have been planned by the Syrian Nizārīs against kings Philip II Augustus and St Louis of France.[49] The Druzes, an offshoot of the Ismāʿīlīs, were now also investigated for the first time.[50] But the most important contribution of the eighteenth century was contained in two memoirs read in 1743 by a French non-orientalist, Camille Falconet (1671–1762), to the Académie Royale des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres. In these memoirs, Falconet, after reviewing the works of his predecessors, presented a summary account of the history and religion of the Persian and Syrian Nizārīs with references to the origins of the Ismāʿīlīs and yet another etymology of the name *Assassin*.[51]

By the early years of the nineteenth century, the Ismāʿīlīs were still being investigated almost strictly from the limited and biased viewpoint of the Crusaders and their Assassin legends, mainly because Eastern sources had not yet started to be utilized on any meaningful scale in Europe. Joseph Assemani's great-nephew, Abbot Simone Assemani (1752–1821), who had spent the earlier part of his life in Tripoli where he had heard about the contemporary Syrian Ismāʿīlīs, and who later became a professor of oriental languages at a seminary in Padua, published in 1806 a hostile article on the sectarians.[52] He also proposed an etymology for *Assissana*, which he believed to be the original name of the Nizārīs. According to him, the word *Assassini*, a corruption of *Assissani*, was connected with the Arabic word *assissath* (*al-ṣīṣa*), meaning rock or fortress; thus, *Assissani* (*al-ṣīṣānī*) referred to someone who dwelt in a rock fortress.

Orientalist perspectives

Meanwhile, scientific orientalism had begun in France with the establishment in 1795 of the École des Langues Orientales Vivantes in Paris. Baron Antoine Isaac Silvestre de Sacy (1758–1838), the most distinguished orientalist of his time, became the first professor of Arabic in the newly founded School of Oriental Languages and was appointed in 1806 to the new chair of Persian at the Collège de France; later, he became the director of both these institutions as well as the president and permanent secretary of the Académie des Inscriptions. With an ever-increasing number of students and a wide circle of correspondents and disciples, de Sacy also acquired the distinction of being the teacher of the most prominent orientalists of the first half of the nineteenth century. At the same time, oriental studies had received an important boost from the Napoleonic expedition of 1798–1799 to Egypt and Syria. In the aftermath of these developments there were significant increases in the number of orientalists, particularly in France and Germany, and oriental chairs in European universities. This enhanced interest in orientalism found expression also in the publication of specialized periodicals,

beginning in 1809 with the *Fundgruben des Orients*, and also in the foundation of learned societies. The Société Asiatique was formed in 1822 with de Sacy as its first president, and was followed by other societies which played important roles in facilitating the research activities of the orientalists. The orientalists of the nineteenth century produced more scholarly studies of Islam on the basis of the Arabic manuscripts written mainly by Sunnī authors. As a result, they studied Islam according to Sunnī perspectives and, borrowing classifications from Christian contexts, treated Shīʿism as the 'heterodox' interpretation of Islam by contrast to Sunnism, which was taken to represent 'orthodoxy'. It was mainly on this basis, as well as the continued attraction of the seminal Assassin legend, that the orientalists launched their own study of the Ismāʿīlīs.

It was Silvestre de Sacy, who maintained a life-long interest in the religion of the Druzes,[53] who finally solved the mystery of the name *Assassin*. Utilizing the collection of Arabic manuscripts at the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, de Sacy prepared an important memoir which he read before the Institut de France in May 1809.[54] In this memoir, he examined and rejected previous explanations and showed, once and for all, that the word *Assassin* was connected with the Arabic word *ḥashīsh*, referring to Indian hemp, a narcotic product of *cannabis sativa*. More specifically, he suggested that the main variant forms (such as *Assissini* and *Assassini*) occurring in base-Latin documents of the Crusaders and in different European languages were derived from two alternative Arabic forms, *ḥashīshī* (plural, *ḥashīshiyya* or *ḥashīshiyyīn*) and *ḥashshāsh* (plural, *ḥashshāshīn*). While de Sacy was able to cite Arabic texts, notably by the Syrian chronicler Abū Shāma (599–665/1203–1267), in which the sectarians are called *ḥashīshī*, he was unable to do the same for the second Arabic form of his suggested etymology. Nor have any texts come to light since then employing the form *ḥashshāsh*, the common epithet for a hashish-consumer. Therefore, as Bernard Lewis has argued, this part of de Sacy's theory, with all that it implies, must be abandoned, and it would seem that all the European variants of the name *Assassin* are corruptions of *ḥashīshī* and its plural forms.[55]

De Sacy also made some conjectures on the reason for the application of the name to the Nizārīs. He had no doubt that hashish, or rather a hashish-containing potion was, in some manner, used by the Nizārīs. But, unlike some other orientalists, he did not subscribe to the opinion that the sectarians were called the Assassins because they were addicts to the euphoria-producing potion. Similarly, he excluded the possibility of any habitual use of this debilitating drug by the Nizārī *fidāʾī*s to whom alone he thought the term originally applied. De Sacy believed that hashish was, at the time, the secret possession of the Nizārī chiefs who used it in a regulated manner on the *fidāʾī*s to inspire them with dreams of paradise and blind obedience. In other words, while not necessarily

accepting the reality of a garden of paradise into which the drugged devotees would be led, de Sacy nevertheless linked his own interpretation to the famous tale told by Marco Polo and others about the alleged practices of the Nizārīs.

The tale of how the Nizārī chiefs secretly administered hashish to the *fidāʾī*s in order to control and motivate them has been accepted by many scholars since Arnold of Lübeck. But the fact remains that neither the Ismāʿīlī texts which have come to light in modern times nor any serious contemporary Muslim source in general attest to the actual use of hashish, with or without gardens of paradise, by the Nizārīs. Therefore, following Lewis and Hodgson's summaries of the relevant arguments, it would seem that the various versions of this once popular tale should now be dismissed as fictitious.[56]

The use and effects of hashish were known at the time, as best witnessed by the existence of the name *ḥashīshiyya*. Therefore the drug could not have been the secret property of the Nizārī chiefs, as suggested by de Sacy. Furthermore, the name is rarely used by the Muslim authors who, in contrast to the Crusaders and other Europeans, prefer to designate the sectarians by religious names such as Bāṭiniyya and Taʿlīmiyya, or simply as the Ismāʿīliyya and Nizāriyya, if not using terms of abuse like *malāḥida*. However, a few contemporary Muslim historians, mainly from the thirteenth century, occasionally use the term *ḥashīshiyya* in reference to the Nizārīs of Syria (al-Shām);[57] while the Nizārīs of Persia, as noted, are also called *ḥashīshī* in some Caspian Zaydī texts. But in all these Islamic sources, the terms *ḥashīshī* and *ḥashīshiyya* are used in reference to the Nizārīs without any derivative explanation.

In all probability, the name *ḥashīshiyya* was applied to the Nizārīs as a term of abuse and reproach. The Nizārīs were already a target for hostility by other Muslims and would easily qualify for every sort of contemptuous judgement on their beliefs and behaviour. In other words, it seems that the name *ḥashīshiyya* reflected a criticism of the Nizārīs rather than an accurate description of their secret practices. And it was the name that gave rise to the imaginative tales which supplied some justification of the behaviour that would otherwise seem rather incomprehensible to ill-informed Westerners.

Be that as it may, by drawing on generally hostile sources and the fanciful accounts of the Crusaders, de Sacy inevitably endorsed at least partially the anti-Ismāʿīlī 'black legend' of the Sunnī polemicists and the Assassin legends of the Crusader era. Despite its deficiencies, however, de Sacy's memoir was a landmark in Ismāʿīlī studies in Europe, and it paved the way for more systematic endeavours based on Eastern sources and a number of more strictly historical studies during the next few decades. Étienne Marc Quatremère (1782–1857) published a few short works on the Fāṭimids and the Nizārīs.[58] This great orientalist, it will be recalled, also made available for the first time in printed form a portion of

Rashīd al-Dīn's famous history which, together with that of Juwaynī, represents the earliest Persian historical sources on the Nizārīs. Another French orientalist, Jourdain, who in 1813 had edited and translated the section on the Persian Nizārīs contained in another important Persian history by Mīrkhwānd, produced a summary account of the Nizārīs.[59] Meanwhile, de Sacy had continued his broader investigation of the Ismāʿīlīs. In what was to be his final work, and the result of over thirty years' study of the Druze religion, he devoted a long introduction to the origins and the early history of the Ismāʿīlī movement.[60] It was there that de Sacy also discussed at some length Ismāʿīlī doctrine, including a so-called seven-degree initiation process for the adepts, and presented the controversial ʿAbd Allāh b. Maymūn al-Qaddāḥ as the real 'founder' of Ismāʿīlism, basing his case mainly on the lost, anti-Ismāʿīlī polemical work of Akhū Muḥsin as preserved in excerpts by al-Nuwayrī, as discussed earlier. Indeed, de Sacy's treatment of early Ismāʿīlism continued to be maintained by the bulk of the subsequent orientalist studies up to more recent times.

Of all the Western works on the Ismāʿīlīs produced during the first half of the nineteenth century, however, the most widely read came from the pen of the Austrian orientalist and diplomat Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall (1774–1856). Like many other orientalists of his time, especially in Germany and Austria under the Habsburg monarchy, von Hammer had started his career in the diplomatic service, as a dragoman in Istanbul and a consul in the Balkans. In 1818, by utilizing the various chronicles of the Crusades as well as the Eastern manuscript sources in the Imperial Library, Vienna, and in his own private collection, he published a book in German devoted entirely to the Nizārīs of the Alamūt period.[61] This book traced for the first time, in a detailed manner, the entire history of the Nizārī state in Persia, with briefer references to the Syrian Nizārīs. Von Hammer's book achieved great success and it was soon translated into French and English,[62] continuing to serve, until as recently as the 1930s, as the standard interpretation of the subject.[63]

It should be noted that von Hammer was strongly biased against the Nizārīs and had accepted Marco Polo's narrative in its entirety, together with all the defamations levelled against the Ismāʿīlīs by their Sunnī enemies.[64] Thus, he treated the Nizārīs as 'that union of imposters and dupes which, under the mask of a more austere creed and severer morals, undermined all religion and morality; that order of murderers, beneath whose daggers the lords of nations fell; all powerful, because, for the space of three centuries, they were universally dreaded, until the den of ruffians fell with the khaliphate, to whom, as the centre of spiritual and temporal power, it had at the outset sworn destruction'.[65] This view, in turn, reflected a tacit purpose. Writing not too long after the French revolution, von Hammer apparently wanted to use the Nizārīs as an example to produce a tract

for the times that would warn against 'the pernicious influence of secret societies in weak governments, and of the dreadful prostitution of religion to the horrors of unbridled ambition'.[66] In line with this scheme, he drew close analogies between the 'order of the Assassins' on the one hand, and the European secret orders of his time, which he detested, such as the Templars, the Jesuits, the Illuminati, and the Freemasons, on the other. He emphasized parallels in terms of their 'various grades of initiation; the appellations of master, companions, and novices; the public and the secret doctrine; the oath of unconditional obedience to unknown superiors, to serve the ends of the order'.[67]

With a few exceptions, European scholarship made little further progress in Ismāʿīlī studies during the second half of the nineteenth century. The outstanding exception was provided by the contributions of the French orientalist Charles François Defrémery (1822–1883) who collected a large number of references from various Muslim chronicles on the Nizārīs of Persia and Syria. Having already translated the section on the Persian Nizārī state, contained in the fourteenth-century Persian history of Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī,[68] Defrémery then published the results of his Nizārī studies in two long articles.[69] A few years later, the Dutchman Reinhart Dozy (1820–1883) investigated the early history of the Ismāʿīlīs,[70] a subject that was more thoroughly pursued, especially with respect to the Carmatians or Qarmaṭīs, by another Dutch orientalist, Michael Jan de Goeje (1836–1909), whose erroneous interpretation of Fāṭimid–Qarmaṭī relations was generally adopted.[71] There also appeared for the first time a history of the Fāṭimids, which was, however, a compilation from various Arabic chronicles,[72] and several new works on the Druzes also appeared.[73]

De Sacy's treatment of early Ismāʿīlism and the Nizārīs and von Hammer's interpretation of Nizārī history continued to determine the perspective within which European orientalists set any reference they collected on the Ismāʿīlīs. Orientalism, thus, gave a new lease of life to the myths surrounding the Ismāʿīlīs. As a result, though some progress was slowly being made, the distorted image of Ismāʿīlism, reflecting the earlier misrepresentations, was nevertheless maintained through the opening decades of the twentieth century by anyone interested in the subject, including even the eminent Edward Granville Browne (1862–1926), who summarized the contributions of his predecessors.[74] This should not cause any particular surprise since very few Ismāʿīlī sources had been available to the orientalists of the nineteenth and early twentieth century.

The earliest Ismāʿīlī-related sources known to the West were the Druze manuscripts which found their way in the eighteenth century from the Levant to the Bibliothèque Royale and then to other major European libraries.[75] Similarly, the first Ismāʿīlī manuscripts to become known to orientalists came from Syria, the first area of Western interest in the Ismāʿīlīs. Jean Baptiste L. J.

Rousseau (1780–1831), the French consul-general in Aleppo from 1809 to 1816 and a long-time resident of the Near East, who was also interested in oriental studies and maintained a close professional relationship with Silvestre de Sacy, was the first person to draw the attention of European orientalists to the existence of the contemporary Ismāʿīlīs as well as to their local traditions and literature. In 1810, he prepared a memoir on the Syrian Nizārīs of his time, which contained many interesting historical, social and religious details obtainable only through direct contact with the Nizārīs themselves.[76] This memoir received much publicity in Europe, mainly because of de Sacy's association with it. Rousseau also supplied information to Europe about the Persian Nizārīs. He had visited Persia in 1807–1808 as a member of an official French mission sent to the court of the second Qājār monarch, Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh (1797–1834), and whilst there he had enquired about the Ismāʿīlīs of that country. Rousseau was surprised to find out that there were many Ismāʿīlīs in Persia and that they still had their imam (a descendant of Ismāʿīl b. Jaʿfar), whose name was Shāh Khalīl Allāh. This imam, he was further told, resided at Kahak, a small village near Maḥallāt, and was revered almost like a god by his followers, including those Indian Ismāʿīlīs who came regularly from the banks of the Ganges to receive his blessings. In 1825, Rousseau's account was confirmed, and new details were added to it by James Baillie Fraser (1783–1856), the Scottish traveller who in the course of a journey through Persia had heard, in 1822, about the Ismāʿīlīs there.[77]

Rousseau played another pioneering role in supplying direct evidence of the Ismāʿīlīs to contemporary Europe. This diplomat, who was an avid collector of oriental manuscripts and who, in the 1820s, sold 700 such manuscripts from his private collection to the newly-founded Asiatic Museum in St Petersburg, had obtained an anonymous Ismāʿīlī work from Maṣyāf, one of the main Ismāʿīlī centres in Syria. This Arabic manuscript, containing a number of fragments bearing on the religious doctrines of the Nizārīs, had been actually procured for Rousseau, soon after the Ismāʿīlīs were attacked and pillaged by their Nuṣayrī neighbours in 1809, by the noted Swiss orientalist and explorer John Lewis Burckhardt (1784–1817), who also produced some travel notes of his own on the Syrian sectaries.[78] In 1812, as the first instance of its kind, some extracts from this manuscript, as translated by Rousseau and communicated to de Sacy, were published in Paris.[79] Rousseau later sent this Nizārī source to the Société Asiatique and the full text of it was, in due course, printed and translated into French by Stanislas Guyard (1846–1884).[80] A few years later, this young orientalist published, together with a valuable introduction and notes, the text and translation of yet another Nizārī work, which was the first source containing historical information to find its way to Europe.[81] This Arabic manuscript on the life and the miraculous deeds of Rāshid al-Dīn Sinān, composed around 1324, had been discovered in Syria

in 1848 and then donated to the library of the Société Asiatique, where it was re-discovered some thirty years later by Guyard himself.[82] Meanwhile, a few other Ismāʿīlī texts of Syrian provenance had been sent by a Protestant missionary to distant America.[83] These early discoveries of Ismāʿīlī sources were, however, few and far between, and it was largely scholars in Paris, the capital of orientalism in the nineteenth century, who had access to them.

Direct information about the Ismāʿīlīs reflecting their own viewpoint continued to become available. The travelogue of Nāṣir-i Khusraw was published for the first time, accompanied by a French translation, as were some other Persian works of this famous traveller, poet and Ismāʿīlī *dāʿī* of the 5th/11th century.[84] In 1898, Paul Casanova (1861–1926) announced his discovery at the Bibliothèque Nationale of a manuscript containing the last section of the famous encyclopaedic work, *Rasāʾil Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ* (*The Epistles of the Brethren of Purity*).[85] This French orientalist, who later produced some important studies on the Fāṭimids and had already published some numismatic notes on the Nizārīs,[86] was the first European to recognize the Ismāʿīlī affiliation of this work. Before this, several copies of the *Epistles* had been known to Europe, and the German orientalist Friedrich Dieterici (1821–1903) had published many portions of the *Rasāʾil*, without realizing their Ismāʿīlī character.[87]

Other types of information about the Ismāʿīlīs had now started to appear. Earlier in the nineteenth century, some brief notes had been published on Alamūt by British officers who had visited the ruins of the fortress or its vicinity,[88] but Max van Berchem (1863–1921), while travelling in Syria in 1895, read and studied almost all of the epigraphic evidence of the Syrian Nizārī fortresses.[89] Different types of archaeological evidence from the Fāṭimid period had already been presented by van Berchem himself.[90] Much information on the Khojas and the first of the modern Nizārī imams to bear the title of the Āghā Khān (Aga Khan) also became available in the course of a peculiar case investigated by the High Court of Bombay, culminating in the famous legal judgement of 1866.[91] All these developments, together with progress in the publication of new Muslim sources and the reinterpretation of the old ones, were paving the way for a revaluation of the Ismāʿīlīs.

In the opening decades of the twentieth century, Ismāʿīlī manuscripts began to be recovered from other regions and, though still on a limited basis, more systematically. In 1903, Giuseppe Caprotti (1869–1919), an Italian merchant who had spent some thirty years in Yaman, brought a collection of sixty Arabic manuscripts from Ṣanʿāʾ to Italy. Between 1906 and 1909, he sold these and more than 1500 other manuscripts of south Arabian origin to the Ambrosiana Library in Milan. While being catalogued, the Caprotti Collection was found by Eugenio Griffini (1878–1925), the Milanese Islamicist, to contain several works

on Ismāʿīlī doctrine.[92] Of greater importance were the efforts of some Russian scholars and officials who, having become aware of the existence of Ismāʿīlī communities within their own domains in Central Asia, now tried to establish direct contact with them. The Central Asian Ismāʿīlīs, it may be noted, belong to the Nizārī branch and are to be found mainly in western Pamir in Badakhshan, an area lying north and east of the Panj river, a major upper headwater of the Āmū Daryā (Oxus). Since 1895, this area had come under the effective control of Russian military officials, although an Anglo-Russian boundary commission in that year had formally handed the region on the right bank of the Panj to the Khanate of Bukhārā, while designating the left-bank region as Afghan territory. Indeed, in the 1860s the Russians had secured a firm footing in Bukhārā and other Central Asian Khanates and this was officially recognized during the reign of ʿAbd al-Aḥad (1885–1910) who, as the *amīr* of Bukhārā, had to submit to Russian imperial power. At present, Badakhshan is divided by the Oxus River between Tajikistan and Afghanistan, with Nizārī Ismāʿīlīs living in both regions.

It was under these circumstances that Russians travelled freely in the upper Oxus region. Count Alexis A. Bobrinskoy (1852–1927), a Russian scholar who studied the inhabitants of Wakhān and Ishkāshim, and visited these districts of western Pamir in 1898, published in 1902 a short account of the Ismāʿīlīs living in the Russian and Bukhārā districts of Central Asia.[93] In the same year, A. Polovtsev, an official in Turkistān who was interested in Ismāʿīlism and later became the Russian consul-general in Bombay, while travelling in the upper Oxus acquired a copy of the *Umm al-kitāb*, preserved by the Central Asian Ismāʿīlīs. This manuscript was taken to St Petersburg and deposited in the Asiatic Museum of the Imperial Russian Academy of Sciences, an institution which by that time, despite its name, had become a library.

Later, in 1914, Ivan I. Zarubin (1887–1964), the well-known Russian ethnologist and specialist in Tajik dialects, acquired a small collection of Ismāʿīlī manuscripts from the western Pamir districts of Shughnān and Rūshān, which in 1916 he presented to the Asiatic Museum. In 1918, the Museum came into the possession of a second collection of Nizārī Ismāʿīlī texts written in the Persian language. These manuscripts had been procured a few years earlier, again from districts in the upper Oxus region, by the orientalist Aleksandr Aleksandrovich Semenov (1873–1958), the Russian pioneer in Ismāʿīlī studies from Tashkent. He had already investigated certain beliefs of the Shughnānī Ismāʿīlīs whom he had first visited in 1901.[94] It is interesting to note that the Zarubin and Semenov Collections of the Asiatic Museum, though altogether comprising less than twenty genuine items, then constituted the largest holding of Ismāʿīlī manuscripts in any Western library.[95] The generally meagre number of Ismāʿīlī titles known to orientalists by 1922 is well reflected in the first Western bibliography of Ismāʿīlī works,

both published and unpublished, which appeared in that year.[96] Little further progress was made in Ismāʿīlī studies during the 1920s, aside from the publication of some of Nāṣir-i Khusraw's works, including his *Wajh-i dīn* from the manuscript in the Zarubin Collection, and a few studies by Semenov and Ivanow.[97] Indeed, by 1927, when the article 'Ismāʿīlīya' by Clément Huart (1854–1926) appeared in the second volume of the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, European orientalist studies on the subject still displayed the misrepresentations of the Crusaders and the defamations of the medieval Sunnī polemicists.

Modern progress in Ismāʿīlī studies

Modern scholarship in Ismāʿīlī studies was made possible by the recovery and study of genuine Ismāʿīlī texts on a large scale – manuscript sources which had been preserved in numerous private collections in Yaman, Syria, Persia, Central Asia, Afghanistan and South Asia. The breakthrough in the field occurred in the 1930s in India, where significant numbers of Ismāʿīlī manuscripts were to be found. This resulted mainly from the pioneering efforts of Wladimir Ivanow (1886–1970), and a few Ismāʿīlī Bohra scholars, notably Asaf A. A. Fyzee (1899–1981), Ḥusayn F. al-Hamdānī (1901–1962) and Zāhid ʿAlī (1888–1958), who based their original studies on their family collections of manuscripts. Subsequently, parts of these collections were donated to academic institutions and, thus, made available to scholars at large.[98] Asaf Fyzee, who studied law at Cambridge University and belonged to the most eminent Sulaymānī Ṭayyibī family of Bohras in India, made modern scholars aware of the existence of an independent Ismāʿīlī school of jurisprudence through many of his publications,[99] including the critical edition of al-Qāḍī al-Nuʿmān's *Daʿāʾim al-Islām*, the legal code of the Fāṭimid state which is still used by the Ṭayyibī Ismāʿīlīs. Ḥusayn al-Hamdānī, belonging to a prominent Dāʾūdī Ṭayyibī family of scholars with Yamanī origins and who received his doctorate from London University, was a pioneer in producing a number of Ismāʿīlī studies based on family manuscripts preserved in Gujarāt, and calling the attention of scholars to this unique literary heritage.[100] Zāhid ʿAlī hailed from another learned Dāʾūdī Bohra family and was for many years the principal of the Niẓām College at Hyderabad after receiving his doctorate from Oxford University, where he produced a critical edition of the *Dīwān* of the Ismāʿīlī poet Ibn Hāniʾ (d. 362/973) as his doctoral thesis. He was also the first author in modern times to have produced, in Urdu, a scholarly study of the Fāṭimids' history on the basis of a variety of Ismāʿīlī manuscript sources.[101]

Wladimir Ivanow, originally trained in Persian dialects, joined the Russian Asiatic Museum in 1915 as an assistant keeper of oriental manuscripts, and in

that capacity he travelled widely in Central Asia acquiring more than a thousand Arabic and Persian manuscripts for the Museum. Ivanow, who eventually settled in Bombay after permanently leaving his native Russia in 1917, collaborated closely with the above-mentioned Bohra scholars and succeeded, through his own connections within the Nizārī Ismāʿīlī Khoja community, to gain access to Persian Nizārī literature as well. Consequently, he compiled the first detailed catalogue of Ismāʿīlī works, citing some 700 separate titles which attested to the hitherto unknown richness and diversity of Ismāʿīlī literary and intellectual traditions.[102] The initiation of modern scholarship in Ismāʿīlī studies may indeed be traced to this very publication in 1933, which provided for the first time a scientific framework for further research in this new field of Islamic studies. In the same year, Ivanow founded in Bombay the Islamic Research Association with the collaboration of Asaf Fyzee and other Ismāʿīlī friends. Several Ismāʿīlī works appeared in the series of publications sponsored by this institution, which was in 1946 transformed into the Ismaili Society of Bombay.[103] Ismāʿīlī scholarship received a major boost through the establishment of the Ismaili Society under the patronage of Sulṭān Muḥammad Shāh, Aga Khan III (1877–1957), the forty-eighth imam of the Nizārī Ismāʿīlīs. Ivanow played a crucial role also in the creation of the Ismaili Society, whose various series of publications were mainly devoted to his own monographs as well as editions and translations of Persian Nizārī Ismāʿīlī texts.[104] He also acquired a large number of Arabic and Persian manuscripts for the Ismaili Society's Library. Ivanow indefatigably recovered, studied and published a good portion of the extant literature of the Persian-speaking Nizārī Ismāʿīlīs, and he stands unchallenged as the founder of modern Nizārī studies.

By 1963, when Ivanow published an expanded edition of his Ismāʿīlī catalogue,[105] many more sources had become known and progress in Ismāʿīlī studies had accelerated. In addition to many studies by Ivanow and the Bohra pioneers, as well as by other early scholars such as Rudolf Strothmann (1877–1960), Louis Massignon (1883–1962), Marius Canard (1888–1982) and Paul Kraus (1904–1944), numerous Ismāʿīlī texts now began to be critically edited, preparing the ground for further progress in the field. In this connection, particular mention should be made of the texts of Fāṭimid and later times edited together with French translations and analytical introductions by Henry Corbin (1903–1978), published simultaneously in Tehran and Paris in his 'Bibliothèque Iranienne' series, as well as the Fāṭimid Ismāʿīlī texts edited by the Egyptian scholar Muḥammad Kāmil Ḥusayn (1901–1961) and published in his 'Silsilat Makhṭūṭāt al-Fāṭimiyyīn' series in Cairo. Meanwhile, a number of Russian scholars, notably Andrey E. Bertel's (1926–1995) and Lyudmila V. Stroeva (1910–1993), had maintained the earlier interests of Semenov and their other compatriots in

Ismāʿīlī studies, though often limiting themselves to a Marxist class struggle framework.

In Syria, ʿĀrif Tāmir (1921–1998), of the small Muḥammad-Shāhī Nizārī community there, made the Ismāʿīlī texts of Syrian provenance available to scholars, albeit often in faulty forms, as did his Qāsim-Shāhī Nizārī compatriot Muṣṭafā Ghālib (1923–1981). At the same time, several Egyptian scholars, such as Ḥasan Ibrāhīm Ḥasan (1892–1968), Jamāl al-Dīn al-Shayyāl (1911–1967), Muḥammad Jamāl al-Dīn Surūr (1911–1992) and ʿAbd al-Munʿim Mājid (1920–1999), made further contributions to Fāṭimid studies. Ivanow himself, as well as Bernard Lewis, had earlier produced important studies on the Ismāʿīlī background to Fāṭimid rule. Meanwhile, Yves Marquet had embarked on a lifelong study of the Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ and their *Rasāʾil*. Later, Alessandro Bausani (1921–1988) and his student at Naples University, Carmela Baffioni, among others, contributed to the study of the Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ, while Abbas Hamdani expounded his own distinct hypothesis on the authorship and dating of the *Rasāʾil* in a corpus of articles.

By the 1950s, progress in Ismāʿīlī studies had enabled Marshall G. S. Hodgson (1922–1968) to produce the first comprehensive and scholarly study of the Nizārīs of the Alamūt period, unfortunately mistitled as *The Order of Assassins*. Soon, others representing a new generation of scholars, notably Samuel M. Stern (1920–1969) and Wilferd Madelung,[106] produced major original studies, especially on the early Ismāʿīlīs and their relations with the dissident Qarmaṭīs. Madelung also summed up the present state of scholarship on Ismāʿīlī history in his article 'Ismāʿīliyya' published in 1973 in the new edition of *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*. Progress in Ismāʿīlī studies has proceeded at a rapid pace during the last few decades through the efforts of yet another generation of scholars, including Ismail K. Poonawala, Heinz Halm, Paul E. Walker, Azim Nanji, Thierry Bianquis, Christian Jambet, Michael Brett, Yaacov Lev, Farhat Dachraoui and Mohammed Yalaoui, some of whom have specialized in Fāṭimid studies. The modern progress in the recovery and study of Ismāʿīlī texts is well reflected in Professor Poonawala's monumental catalogue, which identifies some 1300 titles written by more than 200 authors.[107] Meanwhile, the Satpanth tradition of the Nizārī Khojas, as reflected in their *ginān* devotional literature, provided another specialized area of research within Ismāʿīlī studies. Many Ismāʿīlī texts have now been published in critical editions, while an increasing number of secondary studies on various aspects of Ismāʿīlism have been produced by at least three successive generations of scholars, as documented in this author's bibliography.[108]

Modern progress in Ismāʿīlī studies has received steady impetus from the recovery, or accessibility, of more Ismāʿīlī manuscripts, including the library holdings at the American University of Beirut and Tübingen University, amongst others. The vast Arabic manuscript collections of the Dāʾūdī Ṭayyibī Bohra libraries at

Sūrat, in Gujarāt, and Bombay (Mumbai), which remain under the strict control of that community's leader, have generally remained inaccessible to scholars. The bulk of the extensive manuscript sources preserved by the Central Asian Ismāʿīlīs have now become accessible. For instance, hundreds of Ismāʿīlī manuscripts held privately by the Nizārīs of Tajik Badakhshan were recovered during 1959–1963,[109] and in the 1990s many more manuscripts were identified in Shughnān and other districts of Badakhshan through the efforts of The Institute of Ismaili Studies, which now holds the largest collection of Ismāʿīlī manuscripts in the West.[110] Scholarship in Ismāʿīlī studies promises to continue at an even greater pace as the Ismāʿīlīs themselves are becoming increasingly interested in studying their history and literary heritage. In this context, a major contribution is being made by The Institute of Ismaili Studies, established in 1977 in London by H. H. Prince Karim Aga Khan IV, the forty-ninth and present imam of the Nizārī Ismāʿīlīs. This institution is already serving as a point of reference for Ismāʿīlī studies, while making its own contributions through a variety of research and publications programmes, including its 'Ismaili Heritage Series' and 'Ismaili Texts and Translations Series', as well as making its Ismāʿīlī materials accessible to scholars worldwide.[111]

2

Origins and early development of Shīʿism

The Prophet Muḥammad laid the foundations of a new religion which was propagated as the seal of the great monotheistic religions of the Abrahamic tradition. Thus, Islam from early on claimed to have completed and superseded the messages of Judaism and Christianity, whose adherents were accorded a special status among the Muslims as the 'people of the book' (*ahl al-kitāb*). However, the unified and nascent Muslim community (*umma*) of the Prophet's time soon divided into numerous rival groups, as Muslims disagreed on a number of fundamental issues.

Modern scholarship has indeed shown that at least during the first three centuries of their history, marking the formative period of Islam, Muslims lived in an intellectually dynamic and fluid milieu characterized by a multiplicity of communities of interpretation, schools of thought, and a diversity of views on a range of religio-political issues. The early Muslims were confronted by many puzzles relating to their religious knowledge and their understanding of Islam, which revolved around major issues such as the attributes of God, the nature of authority and definitions of believers and sinners. It was during this formative period that different groups and movements began to formulate their doctrinal positions and gradually acquired their distinctive identities and designations. In terms of theological perspectives, which remained closely intertwined with political loyalties, diversity in early Islam ranged from the stances of those, later designated as Sunnīs, who endorsed the historical caliphate and the authority-power structure that had actually evolved in the Muslim society, to various religio-political communities, notably the Shīʿa and the Khawārij, who aspired toward the establishment of new orders and leadership structures.

The Sunnī Muslims of medieval times, or rather their religious scholars (*ʿulamāʾ*), however, produced a picture of early Islam that is at variance with the findings of modern scholarship on the subject. According to this perspective, endorsed by earlier generations of orientalists such as Julius Wellhausen (1844–1918) and Ignaz Goldziher (1850–1921), Islam from early on represented a monolithic phenomenon with a well-defined doctrinal basis from which different groups then deviated over time. Sunnī Islam was, thus, portrayed by its

proponents as the 'true' interpretation of Islam, while all others, especially the Shīʿī ones among them, who had 'deviated' from the right path, were accused of heresy (*ilḥād*), innovation (*bidʿa*) or even unbelief (*kufr*). The same narrow sectarian perspectives and classifications of medieval Sunnīs and their heresiographers were adopted by the orientalists, who studied Islam mainly on the basis of Sunnī sources. As a result, they, too, endorsed the normativeness of Sunnism and distinguished it from Shīʿism, or any other non-Sunnī interpretation of Islam, with the aid of terms such as 'orthodoxy' and 'heterodoxy' – terms borrowed inappropriately from their Christian experience. Indeed, the study of Shīʿism remained, until recent times, one of the most neglected branches of Islamic studies.

The Shīʿa, too, elaborated their own paradigmatic model of 'true' Islam, based on a particular interpretation of early Islamic history and a distinctive conception of religious authority vested in the Prophet's family (*ahl al-bayt*). There had also developed disagreements within the Shīʿa regarding the identity of the legitimate spiritual leaders or imams of the community. As a result, the Shīʿa themselves subdivided into a number of major communities, notably the Imāmī Ithnāʿasharīs or Twelvers, the Ismāʿīlīs and the Zaydīs, as well as several minor groupings. There were also those Shīʿī communities, like the Kaysāniyya, who did not survive even though they occupied important positions in early Shīʿism. In such a milieu of pluralism and diversity of interpretations of the Islamic message, abundantly documented in the heresiographical traditions of Muslims, general consensus could not be attained on designating any one interpretation as 'true Islam', as different doctrinal positions were also legitimized by different states and their *ʿulamāʾ*. Needless to add, many of the original and fundamental disagreements among Sunnīs, Shīʿīs and other Muslims will probably never be satisfactorily explained and resolved, mainly because of a lack of reliable sources, especially from the earliest centuries of Islamic history. As is well known, almost no written records have survived directly from the formative period of Islam, while the later writings of historians, theologians, heresiographers and other categories of Muslim authors display a variety of communal biases.

It is within such a framework that this chapter concentrates on the origins and early history of Shīʿism until the middle of the 2nd/8th century. More specifically, the findings of modern scholarship on early Shīʿism will be presented with special reference to certain events of early Islam and the Shīʿī tendencies and movements that eventually evolved, in the middle of the 2nd/8th century, into what retrospectively came to be designated as the Ismāʿīlī movement. This survey of the formative period of Shīʿism is indispensable for understanding early Ismāʿīlism, not only because the Ismāʿīlīs adopted much of the heritage of the early Shīʿīs but also because it explains the religio-political milieu within which early Ismāʿīlism

originated. It is also to be recalled that the earliest history of Shīʿism, especially Imāmī Shīʿism, until the death of Imam Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq in 148/765, is shared by the Ismāʿīlī and Twelver Shīʿīs, who recognize the same early ʿAlid imams, though with a somewhat different enumeration.

Origins of Shīʿism

Muḥammad, the Messenger of God (*rasūl Allāh*), from the time of his emigration (*hijra*) from Mecca to Medina in the September of 622, which marks the initiation of the Islamic era (Latin, *Anno Hegirae*), until his death after a brief illness on 13 Rabīʿ I 11/8 June 632, succeeded in founding a state of considerable power and prestige according to Arabian standards of the time. It was during this ten-year period that most of the desert-dwelling bedouin tribes of Arabia pledged their allegiance to the Prophet, who thus laid the foundation for the subsequent expansion of the new religion of Islam beyond the Arabian peninsula. The death of the Prophet, however, confronted the nascent Islamic community (*umma*) with its first major crisis. The origin of Islam's divisions into Sunnism and Shīʿism may, indeed, be broadly traced to the crisis of succession to the Prophet Muḥammad.

The successor to the Prophet could not be another prophet or *nabī* (though several persons appeared soon with such claims), as it had already been made known through divine relevation that Muḥammad was the 'seal of the prophets' (*khātim al-anbiyāʾ*). Aside from delivering and interpreting the message of Islam, Muḥammad had also acted as the leader of the Muslim community. It was, therefore, essential to choose a successor in order to have effective leadership and ensure the continuation of the Islamic community and state. According to the Sunnī view, the Prophet had left neither formal instruction nor a testament regarding his successor. Amidst much ensuing debate, mainly between the Meccan emigrants (*muhājirūn*) and the Medinese Helpers (*anṣār*), Abū Bakr, one of the earliest converts to Islam and a trusted Companion of the Prophet, was elected as the successor. Abū Bakr's election was effectuated on the suggestion of ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, another of the *muhājirūn*, and by the acclamation of other leading Companions of the Prophet (*ṣaḥāba*), who accorded Abū Bakr their oath of allegiance (*bayʿa*).

Abū Bakr, as the new leader of the Islamic community, took the title of *khalīfat rasūl Allāh*, 'successor to the messenger of God', a title which was soon simplified to *khalīfa* (whence the word *caliph* in Western languages). Thus, by electing the first successor to the Prophet, the unique Islamic institution of the caliphate (*khilāfa*) was also founded. From its very inception, the caliphate came to embody both the religious and the political leadership of the community.[1] This unique

arrangement was to be expected from the very nature of Islam's teachings and the limited experience of the early Islamic community under the leadership of the Prophet. The early Muslims recognized a distinction neither between religion and state nor between religious and secular authorities and organizations, distinctions so familiar to the modern world. Indeed, a strictly theocratic conception of order, in which Islam is not merely a religion but a complete system ordained by God for the socio-political as well as the moral and spiritual governance of mankind, had been an integral part of Muḥammad's message and practice.

Abū Bakr's caliphate lasted just over two years, and before his death in 13/634, he personally selected ʿUmar as his successor. This selection, however, was preceded by an informal consultation with several of the leading Muslims and followed by the acclamation and *bayʿa* of the community. ʿUmar, who was assassinated in 23/644, introduced a new procedure for the election of his successor. He decided that a council (*shūrā*) of six of the early Companions was to choose the new caliph from amongst themselves. In due time, ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān, a member of the influential Banū Umayya clan, was selected, and, upon receiving the customary *bayʿa*, became the third caliph. These early caliphs all belonged to the Meccan tribe of Quraysh and were among the early converts to Islam and the Prophet's Companions. The early caliphate was, thus, established on the basis of a privileged position for the Quraysh as a whole, while the Prophet's clan of Banū Hāshim within the Quraysh was deprived of the special religious status they evidently enjoyed in the lifetime of the Prophet.

In the meantime, immediately upon the death of the Prophet, there had appeared a minority group in Medina who believed that ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, first cousin and son-in-law of the Prophet and bound in matrimony to his daughter Fāṭima, was better qualified than any other candidate, including Abū Bakr, to succeed the Prophet. This minority group, originally comprised of some of ʿAlī's friends and supporters, in time came to be known as the *Shīʿat ʿAlī*, or the party of ʿAlī, and then simply as the Shīʿa. ʿAlī eventually succeeded as the fourth caliph, instead of fulfilling the aspiration of the Shīʿa in becoming the immediate successor to the Prophet. The powers of authority exercised by the first four caliphs, known as *al-khulafāʾal-rāshidūn* or the Rightly-Guided Caliphs, essentially seem to have consisted of the implementation of the all-embracing regulations of the message of Islam, as expressed in the revelations contained in the Qurʾān. When necessary, however, the Qurʾān, the standard written text of which came to be issued first during ʿUthmān's caliphate, was to be supplemented in the governing affairs of the community by the *sunna*, or practice, established in the nascent Islamic community during the lifetime of the Prophet.

Meanwhile, the Banū Hāshim had protested in vain against the loss of their position, while ʿAlī was firmly convinced of the legitimacy of his own claim to

Muḥammad's succession, based on his close kinship and association with him, his intimate knowledge of Islam as well as his early merits in the cause of Islam. Indeed, ʿAlī had made it plain in his speeches and letters that he considered the Prophet's family or the *ahl al-bayt* to be entitled to the leadership of the Muslims.[2] As noted, from early on ʿAlī also had a circle of supporters who believed he was better qualified than any other Companion to succeed the Prophet. Matters are confused, however, as after a delay of about six months, ʿAlī finally recognized Abū Bakr's caliphate, a lapse of time which also coincided with Fāṭima's death. It should be added parenthetically that Fāṭima had been involved in a rather complicated inheritance dispute with Abū Bakr over an estate held by the Prophet.[3] Regardless, ʿAlī's candidacy continued to be supported by his partisans in Medina, both among the *muhājirūn* and the *anṣār* and, in due time, the Shīʿa developed a doctrinal view and their cause received wider recognition. According to non-Shīʿī sources, the chief consideration initially underlying the position of the Shīʿa was basically related to the special significance they attached to ʿAlī's being the foremost member of the *ahl al-bayt*, the Prophet's family.

The view on the origins of the caliphate and Shīʿism outlined above is essentially that held by the Sunnī Muslims and accepted by the majority of Western Islamicists. But there is also the Shīʿī version, which significantly differs from that of the Sunnīs. It may be pointed out that Shīʿism, which is now the minority position, should not be regarded as a 'heterodoxy', a late revolt against, or a deviation from, an established 'orthodoxy'. In fact, both Sunnism and Shīʿism constitute an integral part of Islam and they should more correctly be regarded as different interpretations of the same Islamic message.[4] Needless to say, the objective validity of one or the other perspective, as in most religious controversies, is hardly a debatable matter. The differences cannot be resolved on the basis of the various categories of primary sources, notably the theological, historical and the so-called heresiographical works. This is not only because these sources reflect Sunnī or Shīʿī biases, but also because according to the Shīʿa, the possibility of the Shīʿī perspective in Islam existed, as shall be seen, from the very beginning.

There are, however, those Western Islamicists who are of the opinion that the Shīʿī point of view, in time, led to a re-writing of the early history of Islam. They argue that the Twelvers in particular, from the last quarter of the 3rd/9th century onwards when Twelver Shīʿism started to acquire its now familiar form, attempted to present a version of events relating to the period from the death of the Prophet until 260/874, the date of the occultation of their twelfth imam, which supported their doctrinal position but was not necessarily in accordance with the facts.[5] The purpose here is not to indulge in polemics or defend either of the two major divisions of Islam. After all, the main points have already been debated throughout the centuries, leading to an abundancy of theological

treatises supporting one view or refuting the other. Rather, the purpose here is to present now the Shīʿī view on the origins of Shīʿism,[6] irrespective of the possibility that some of the beliefs involved might not have been entertained by the earliest Shīʿīs.

The Shīʿīs of all branches, on the basis of specific Qurʾānic verses and certain *ḥadīth*s, have maintained that the Prophet did in fact appoint a successor, or an imam as they have preferred to call the spiritual guide and leader of the *umma*. The central Shīʿī evidence of ʿAlī's succession legitimacy is, however, the event of Ghadīr Khumm.[7] On 18 Dhu'l-Ḥijja 10/16 March 632, when returning from his Farewell Pilgrimage, the Prophet stopped at a site by that name between Mecca and Medina to make an announcement to the pilgrims who accompanied him. Taking ʿAlī by the hand, he uttered the famous sentence *man kuntu mawlāhu fa-ʿAlī mawlāhu* (He of whom I am the master, of him ʿAlī is also the master), which, according to the Shīʿa, made ʿAlī his successor. Furthermore, it is the Shīʿī belief that the Prophet had received the designation (*naṣṣ*) in question, nominating ʿAlī as the imam of the Muslims after his own death, through divine revelation. This event of the spiritual investiture of ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib continues to be celebrated as one of the most important Shīʿī feasts.

As a result, after the Prophet's death, a number of pious Muslims, including especially Salmān al-Fārisī, Abū Dharr al-Ghiffārī, al-Miqdād b. al-Aswad al-Kindī and ʿAmmār b. Yāsir, four of the *ṣaḥāba* who came to be known collectively as the four pillars of the early Shīʿa, zealously maintained that the succession to the Prophet was ʿAlī's legitimate right. This contention was opposed by the Muslim majority who supported the caliphate of Abū Bakr. The latter group, while refusing to concede that the Prophet had specified a successor, considered the decision on the caliphate to be a matter for the *ijmāʿ* or consensus of the community. Consequently, ʿAlī and his partisans were obliged to protest against the act of choosing the Prophet's successor through elective methods. It was this very protest, raised by the pious circle supporting ʿAlī, which separated the Shīʿa from the majority of Muslims.

The case of the Shīʿa was ignored by the rest of the community, including the majority of the Companions, but the Shīʿa persisted in holding that all religious matters should be referred to ʿAlī, who in their opinion was the sole person possessing religious authority. Indeed, the Shīʿa did hold a particular conception of religious authority and one that occupies a central position in Shīʿī thought, but which should not be taken to imply any intended separation between the religious and political domains in Shīʿī Islam. Such a distinction, as already noted, was meaningless to the early Muslims. According to the Shīʿī view, from the very beginning the partisans of ʿAlī believed that the most important question facing the Muslims after the Prophet's death was the elucidation of the Islamic teachings

and religious tenets. This was because they were aware that the teachings of the Qurʾān and the sacred law of Islam (*sharīʿa*), having emanated from sources beyond the comprehension of the ordinary man, contained truths and inner purposes that could not be grasped directly through human reason. This being so, in order to understand the true meaning of the Islamic revelation, the Shīʿa had realized the necessity of a religiously authoritative person, namely the imam. According to this view then, the very possibility of a Shīʿī perspective existed within the original message of Islam, and the possibility was only actualized by the genesis of Shīʿism.

It was due to such Shīʿī ideas that there eventually arose in the Muslim community two different conceptions of succession to the Prophet. The majority came to consider the *khalīfa* as being the administrator of the *sharīʿa* and leader of the community. The Shīʿa, on the other hand, while also holding that the successor must rule justly over the community, saw in the succession an important spiritual function, a function connected with the interpretation of the Islamic message. As a result, the successor would for them also have to possess legitimate authority for elucidating the teachings of Islam and for providing spiritual guidance for the Muslims. A person with such qualifications, according to the Shīʿa, could come only from amongst the *ahl al-bayt*, as they alone possessed religious authority and provided the sole channel for transmitting the original message of Islam. There were, of course, differences regarding the precise composition of the *ahl al-bayt*, later defined to include only certain members of the Prophet's immediate family, especially ʿAlī and Fāṭima and their progeny. Nevertheless, ʿAlī was from the beginning regarded by his devoted partisans as the most prominent member of the Prophet's family, and as such, was believed to have inherited the Prophet's undivulged teachings and religious knowledge or *ʿilm*. He was, indeed, held to be the Prophet's *waṣī* or legatee. In the eyes of the Shīʿa, ʿAlī's unique qualifications as successor held yet another important dimension in that he was believed to have been nominated by divine command (*amr*) as expressed through the Prophet's testament. This meant that ʿAlī was also divinely inspired and immune from error and sin (*maʿṣūm*), thus making him infallible both in his knowledge and as a teaching authority after the Prophet. As a result of such beliefs, the Shīʿa maintained that the two ends, of governing the community and exercising religious authority, could be accomplished only by ʿAlī.

The Shīʿī point of view on the origins of Shīʿism contains distinctive doctrinal elements that admittedly cannot be attributed in their entirety to the early Shīʿīs, especially the original partisans of ʿAlī. Needless to say, many Western Islamicists are of the opinion that Shīʿism, during its first half-century when it appears to have been a purely political movement, did not maintain any religious beliefs different from those held by the non-Shīʿī Muslims. The fact remains that very

little is known with historical certainty concerning the earliest Shīʿī ideas and tendencies. But, taking once again the Shīʿī sources and traditions as points of reference, it may be said that perhaps the earliest Shīʿī ideas centred broadly around a particular notion of religious knowledge connected with the Prophet's own *ʿilm*. There were probably also ideas about the possession of this knowledge being regarded as a qualification for leading the community. Moreover, it may be added that the partisans of ʿAlī, by contrast to the majority, seem to have been more inclined in their thinking towards the hereditary attributes of individuals. The idea that certain special qualities were hereditary was, of course, in line with the pre-Islamic Arab notion that outstanding human attributes were transmitted through tribal stock. It was, therefore, rather natural for ʿAlī's religiously learned followers, who also had special respect for the Prophet's family, to believe that some of Muḥammad's special attributes, notably his *ʿilm*, would be inherited by the members of his clan, the Banū Hāshim, and his immediate family. Such beliefs might have been particularly held by those Shīʿīs with south Arabian origins, since they had been accustomed to the Yamanī traditions of divine and semi-divine kingship and its hereditary sanctity.

Early history of Shīʿism

The earliest Shīʿī currents of thought, whatever their precise nature, developed gradually over time, finding their full expression and consolidation in the doctrine of the imamate.[8] The stages through which this doctrine passed remain rather obscure. But it is generally known that the basic conception of this distinctive Shīʿī doctrine, which embodies the fundamental beliefs of Shīʿī Islam, came to be postulated in the time of the Imam Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq.

After their initial defeat, the Shīʿa lost much of their enthusiasm. Shīʿism remained in a practically dormant state during the caliphates of both Abū Bakr and ʿUmar, when ʿAlī himself maintained a passive and secluded attitude. During this early period (11–23/632–644), ʿAlī's behaviour is best illustrated by his lack of participation in the affairs of the community and in the ongoing wars of conquest. This was a marked departure from his earlier active role in the community, and his appearance in the forefront of all the battles fought in the Prophet's time, except the battle of Tabūk. He actually retreated, during this period, to his house in Medina. This behaviour should not however be taken as an indication of ʿAlī's reluctance to be involved in public affairs, since the first two caliphs did in fact attempt to exclude him from any position of importance. He was, nevertheless, appointed along with ʿUthmān, Ṭalḥa and al-Zubayr, to the six-member council of the Companions that was to select ʿUmar's successor.[9]

These stagnating conditions changed rather drastically for ʿAlī and his partisans in the caliphate of ʿUthmān (23–35/644–656). During this period of strife and discontent in the community, the turn of events was such as to activate Shīʿī aspirations and tendencies. The mounting grievances against ʿUthmān, which related mainly to economic issues, evolved around the opposition of the provincials and the Medinese *anṣār* whose earlier position of influence had now been curtailed.[10] ʿUthmān distributed the governorships of all the major provinces, as well as the important garrison towns (singular, *miṣr*) of Kūfa and Baṣra, amongst his close relatives. These governors, in turn, adopted policies aimed at enhancing the power and financial interests of the Umayyads and their wealthy Meccan allies. As a result, the tribal leaders, whose claims were mainly based on the strengths of their tribes, having been kept in check under ʿUmar's caliphate, were now restored to positions of influence in the provinces. As a corollary to this, many of the early Muslims who lacked tribal stature came to be displaced by the so-called traditional tribal aristocracy or the *ashrāf al-qabāʾil*. This policy created discontent among the *anṣār* and the lesser tribal groups of the provinces, groups which had developed claims of their own based on the principle of Islamic *sābiqa* or priority, viz., priority in acceptance of and service to Islam.

The provincial grievances against ʿUthmān's rule had other causes too. By the time of ʿUthmān, Islam's period of rapid expansion had effectively ended. But the Arab soldier-tribesmen (*muqātila*) of the garrison towns that had hitherto served as military bases for numerous conquests were now to remain permanently in their encampments, even though there was no longer a lucrative source of income from booty on the battlefield. These changed realities of the post-conquest period, by themselves, created dissatisfaction with the regime. To make matters worse, the central authority of the caliphate in Medina, itself no longer satisfied with the diminishing size of its customary one-fifth of the movable booty (*ghanīma*), became compelled to seek new provincial sources of revenue to compensate for the falling receipts of the Muslim state treasury, the *bayt al-māl*.

Another particular grievance related to the abandoned Sāsānid lands in Mesopotamia. Of the various groups aspiring to the ownership of these agriculturally rich lands in the Sawād district of Kūfa, the so-called *qurrāʾ* posed the strongest claim. The *qurrāʾ* evidently represented those participants in the early wars (*ahl al-ayyām*) against the Sāsānid empire who had occupied the vacated estates of southern ʿIrāq, but some later Muslim historians referred to these groups of villagers as 'reciters of the Qurʾān', which, in time, became the widely adopted definition of the term *qurrāʾ*. ʿUthmān's policy of gradually allocating the disputed lands to those enjoying his favour, therefore, came to be particularly resented by the *qurrāʾ*, whose leaders had furthermore lost their positions of influence to the strong tribal leaders of Kūfa. The Kūfan *qurrāʾ*, in response to this

double assault, generated the first provincial opposition to ʿUthmān's caliphate. As noted, the provincial opposition was centred in the garrison towns, especially in Kūfa and Baṣra. Kūfa also soon came to acquire a special place in the annals of early Shīʿism. It would, therefore, be in order to say a few words on certain aspects of these garrison towns.[11] The Islamic empire, during its phase of rapid expansion in the caliphate of ʿUmar, came into possession of many ancient cities within the domains of the Byzantine and Sāsānid empires. Numerous new towns were also founded by the conquering Arabs. These towns were originally conceived as military camps for the invading Arab warriors, who were not allowed to settle in the old cities of the conquered lands and mingle with the non-Arab natives. As the main advances of the Arab armies had been directed towards the Sāsānid territories, the most important garrison towns had now come to be located in the eastern lands of the caliphate, particularly in ʿIrāq. Kūfa, in the region of Ctesiphon (Madāʾin), the capital of the Sāsānids, and Baṣra, situated strategically between the desert and the Persian Gulf ports, were the two main garrison towns in that region, both having been founded in or about 17/638. It was, therefore, to these two towns that the bulk of Arab migration from all parts of northern and southern Arabia, later supplanted by non-Arabs, had gone to join the victorious armies, especially after 20/641 when the conquest of Mesopotamia had been assured.

The organization of Kūfa and Baṣra was strongly based on the tribal pattern prevailing in the Arab society. This meant that their inhabitants were divided into a number of tribal groups, each having its own separate military district and tribal leader. In Kūfa, in contrast to Baṣra, the tribal composition of the population was extremely heterogeneous with a predominance of southern Arabs, or Yamanī tribal groups. This was among the chief factors that made Kūfa an important recruiting ground for the Shīʿa, while non-Shīʿī sentiments prevailed in Baṣra. The soldier-tribesmen of the garrison towns, aside from receiving booty of conquest, lived on stipends allotted to them on the basis of an elaborate system of distribution created under ʿUmar. According to this system, itself based on a registry or stipend-roll (*dīwān*), the size of the stipend (*ʿaṭāʾ*) would be determined by the already-noted criterion of *sābiqa*, reflecting ʿUmar's desire to displace traditional Arab claims, based on tribal affiliation and authority, by Islamic ones.

As the opposition to ʿUthmān's policies gained momentum during the latter years of his caliphate, the partisans of ʿAlī found it opportune to revive their subdued aspirations. The Shīʿīs were still led at this time by some of the original partisans of ʿAlī, such as Abū Dharr who died in 31/651–652 in exile under ʿUthmān as punishment for his protests, and ʿAmmār who would be killed soon afterwards in 37/657 in the battle of Ṣiffīn. But a number of new partisans were

now appearing and the Shīʿa drew general support also from the Banū Hāshim, whose interests had been ignored by the Umayyads. While the Shīʿa were emerging as a more active party, ʿAlī found himself being approached by the various discontented provincials, groups that started becoming more systematically organized around 34/654 and, as such, needed an effective and acceptable spokesman in the capital. The Shīʿa and the discontented provincials, two groups differing in the nature of their opposition to ʿUthmān's rule but with similar objectives, thus found themselves joining forces. As a result of this complex alliance, the unpopularity of ʿUthmān grew side by side with the pro-Shīʿī sentiments and the partisanship for ʿAlī, who at the same time mediated with the opposition on behalf of the distressed caliph. The situation deteriorated rapidly, soon exploding into open rebellion, when rebel contingents from Kūfa, Baṣra and Egypt converged on Medina under the overall leadership of the Kūfan *qurrāʾ*. This chaos finally culminated in the murder of ʿUthmān in 35/656, at the hands of a group of mutineers from the Arab army of Egypt.

In the aftermath of this murder, the Islamic community became badly torn over the question of ʿUthmān's guilt and hence over the justification of the mutineers' action. In an emotionally tense and confused atmosphere, ʿAlī was acclaimed as the new caliph in Medina. This was a notable victory for the Shīʿa whose imam had now succeeded, though with a delay of some twenty-four years, to caliphal authority. ʿAlī drew support from virtually every group opposed to conditions under ʿUthmān. The emergence of the new coalition of groups supporting ʿAlī, together with the austere state of affairs expected under his rule, were naturally alarming to the traditional tribal aristocracy, particularly the Banū Umayya and other influential Meccan clans. Due to such conflicts of interest, ʿAlī was confronted from the start with difficulties which soon erupted into the first civil war or *fitna* in Islam, lasting through his short-lived caliphate. He never succeeded in enforcing his caliphal authority throughout the Islamic empire, especially in the territories of ʿUthmān's relative, Muʿāwiya b. Abī Sufyān, who had governed Syria for almost twenty years.

The first challenge to ʿAlī came in the form of a revolt led, under the pretext of demanding vengeance for ʿUthmān, by Ṭalḥa and al-Zubayr, two of the most influential of the Companions. They were joined by ʿĀʾisha, Abū Bakr's daughter and the Prophet's widow, who nurtured a long-felt hatred for ʿAlī. The three rebel leaders, along with a contingent of the Quraysh, went to Baṣra to organize support for their rebellion. ʿAlī reacted swiftly and left Medina to gather support for his own forces at Kūfa, whose inhabitants had shown their inclinations towards him. The rebels were easily defeated in 36/656, at the battle of the Camel (al-Jamal) near Baṣra, in which Ṭalḥa and al-Zubayr were killed. This rebellion had two significant and enduring consequences, however. Henceforth, the

Muslims were to fight amongst themselves, and the central authority of the caliphate came to be transferred from Medina to the provinces of ʿIrāq and Syria, where the military effectiveness of the empire was now concentrated. It was in this new setting that the Umayyad challenge to ʿAlī's authority unfolded.

Almost immediately upon ʿAlī's rise to power, Muʿāwiya, at the head of a pro-ʿUthmān party, had launched a campaign against the new caliph to whom he refused to give his allegiance. He, too, particularly as ʿUthmān's kinsman, had found the call for avenging the slain caliph a convenient pretext for covering his real intention of seeing Umayyad rule established throughout the Islamic state. ʿAlī was trapped in an unenviable situation. The actual murderers had fled Medina, while many of the *qurrāʾ* surrounding him were equally implicated. As ʿAlī was either unable or unwilling to punish those directly responsible, Muʿāwiya rose in rebellion and challenged the very legitimacy of his caliphate.

ʿAlī had, in the meantime, entered Kūfa to mobilize support for the anticipated confrontation with Muʿāwiya. As an important measure towards consolidating his power base there, ʿAlī reorganized the Kūfan tribal groups with a two-fold result. First, by reshuffling tribes and clans from one group to another, he changed the composition of the then existing seven tribal groups in favour of the Yamanīs who, unlike the northern or Nizārī Arabs, were more disposed towards him and the Shīʿī ideal of leadership. Second, and more important, through this very reshuffling he in effect attempted to re-establish the Islamic leadership in Kūfa at the expense of the tribal leadership that had emerged there under ʿUthmān. Accordingly, men like Mālik al-Ashtar, Ḥujr b. ʿAdī al-Kindī and ʿAdī b. Ḥātim, leaders of the early Kūfan *qurrāʾ* who had been eclipsed by the *ashrāf al-qabāʾil*, were restored to positions of authority. These men, with similarly situated Kūfans, along with their following, provided the backbone of ʿAlī's forces and became the new leaders of the Shīʿa.[12] The Shīʿī leaders urged ʿAlī to attack Muʿāwiya's forces without any delay. On the other hand, the Kūfan *ashrāf* advised against such haste since they were more interested in seeing a stalemate between the contending parties. Doubtless, ʿAlī's victory and egalitarian policies would undermine their privileged positions, while Syrian domination would deprive them of their independent status in ʿIrāq. It was under such circumstances that, after the failure of lengthy negotiations, ʿAlī eventually set out from Kūfa and encountered the Syrian forces at Ṣiffīn on the upper Euphrates, in the spring of 37/657. A long battle ensued, perhaps the most controversial one in the history of early Islam.

The events of the battle of Ṣiffīn, the Syrian arbitration proposal and ʿAlī's acceptance of it, and the resulting arbitration verdict of Adhruḥ issued about a year later, have all been critically examined by a number of modern scholars, as have the intervening circumstances leading to the secession of different groups

from ʿAlī's forces, the seceders being subsequently designated as the Khawārij.[13] These events irrevocably undermined ʿAlī's political position. His popularity was particularly damaged when he finally decided to check the growing menace of the Khawārij by attacking their camp along the canal of al-Nahrawān in 38/658, inflicting heavy losses on the dissenters. This action, far from destroying the Khawārij, caused large scale defections from ʿAlī's already faltering forces. Failing in his efforts to mobilize a new army, ʿAlī was compelled to retreat to Kūfa and virtually ignore Muʿāwiya's mounting military campaign. During the final two years of the civil war, while many Muslims continued to be hesitant in taking sides, ʿAlī rapidly lost ground to his arch-enemy. Finally, ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, Commander of the Faithful (*amīr al-muʾminīn*), fourth caliph and first Shīʿī imam, was struck with the poisoned sword of a Khārijī in the mosque of Kūfa. He died a few days later, on 21 Ramaḍān 40/25 January 661.

The Islamic community emerged from its first civil war severely tested and split into factions that were to confront one another throughout subsequent centuries. The main factions had already begun to take shape during the final years of ʿUthmān's rule. But they crystallized more explicitly into two opposing parties in the aftermath of the murder of ʿUthmān and the battles of the Jamal and Ṣiffīn. Henceforth, these parties acquired denominations which, in an eclectic sense, revealed their personal loyalties as well as their regional attachments. The supporters of ʿAlī came to be called the *Ahl al-ʿIrāq* (People of ʿIrāq) as well as the *Shīʿat ʿAlī* (Party of ʿAlī) and ʿAlawī, while their adversaries were designated the *Shīʿat ʿUthmān* (Party of ʿUthmān), or more commonly the ʿUthmāniyya. The latter party, after Ṣiffīn, constituted mainly the *Ahl al-Shām* (People of Syria), also referred to as the *Shīʿat Muʿāwiya* (Party of Muʿāwiya). From the time of the first civil war onwards, the partisans of ʿAlī, the Shīʿa *par excellence*, also referred to themselves by terms which had more precise religious connotations such as the *Shīʿat ahl al-bayt* or its equivalent the *Shīʿat āl Muḥammad* (Party of the Prophet's Household). Starting with the battle of Ṣiffīn, a third faction, the Khawārij, appeared in the community. The Khawārij, seriously opposed to the other two factions, were initially also called the Ḥarūriyya, after the locality Ḥarūrāʾ to which the first seceders from ʿAlī's forces had retreated, as well as the Shurāt (singular, *shārī*, the vendor), signifying those who sold their soul for the cause of God. They managed to organize a rapidly spreading movement that many times in the later history of Islam challenged any form of legitimacy and dynastic privilege.[14]

It was during ʿAlī's caliphate that important changes occurred in the composition and influence of the Shīʿa. At the time of ʿAlī's accession to power, the Shīʿa still represented a small personal party comprised chiefly of the original partisans. But during the next few years, the Shīʿa expanded by absorbing some

of the most pious Muslims, such as the leaders of the early Kūfan *qurrāʾ* who were to persist in their devotion to ʿAlī. The new partisans were not numerically significant, but they made much difference, as subsequent events showed, to the cause of the Shīʿa, in terms of their unwavering loyalty to ʿAlī and his descendants, the ʿAlids. These devout partisans are, indeed, amongst those reported to have sworn to ʿAlī that they would be 'friends of those he befriended, and enemies of those to whom he was hostile',[15] reminiscent of the very words used by the Prophet himself with regard to ʿAlī at Ghadīr Khumm.

As a possible explanation of this deep devotion, W. M. Watt has suggested an interesting hypothesis, arguing that the attachment of the Shīʿa to ʿAlī had acquired a more strictly theological dimension precisely during this same period of his caliphate. The civil war, according to this hypothesis, was a period of crisis and general insecurity in the community, when the nomadic tribesmen of Arabia were experiencing the strains of their new lives in the unstable conditions of Kūfa and other rapidly growing garrison towns. These displaced and insecure Arabs naturally tended to search for salvation, which could be attained through different channels. In the case of the Shīʿa, they were already exposed to the idea of the hereditary sanctity of the Prophet's family, while the Yamanī partisans amongst them were particularly familiar with the tradition of divine kingship and the superhuman qualities of kings. It was, therefore, not difficult for them to develop the distinct feeling that their salvation and delivery from distress might best be guaranteed by following a charismatic leader, a person possessing certain superhuman, or divinely ordained, attributes. Thus, the Shīʿa came to find the charismata of inerrancy and infallibility in ʿAlī, and he became the charismatic leader to whom his partisans were deeply attached for their salvation.[16]

The very existence of this zealous party of supporters largely explains how Shīʿism managed to survive ʿAlī's death and numerous subsequent tragic events and defeats. The Shīʿa proper should, however, be distinguished from the other groups in ʿAlī's following. In the confusing milieu of the civil war, several heterogeneous groups, devoid of any particular spiritual devotion to ʿAlī, had rallied behind him. They were united in their opposition to ʿUthmān and other mutual adversaries, and in the hope of receiving a variety of politico-economic benefits. As a result, the *Shīʿat ʿAlī* came to be loosely and temporarily aligned with all those more appropriately considered the pro-Shīʿī or non-Shīʿī supporters of ʿAlī. It was in this broader sense that Shīʿism was established among the mixed population of southern ʿIrāq, especially in Kūfa. In effect, ʿAlī embodied the symbol of the ʿIrāqī opposition to Syrian domination, and for a long time the ʿIrāqīs continued to consider his brief rule as a 'golden age', when Kūfa and not Damascus was the capital of the caliphate. But, starting with the events of Ṣiffīn, the situation changed, turning against the hitherto spreading form of broad Shīʿism.

Different non-Shīʿī groups in ʿAlī's following, including the Kūfan *ashrāf* who had earlier found it expedient to support him after a dubious fashion, now began to desert him. However, by the time of his murder, the Shīʿa still drew support from certain non-Shīʿī groups. Furthermore, while the ʿIrāqīs in general had remained hesitant in taking sides during the civil war, the Arab settlers of Kūfa, being dominated by the Yamanīs, remained sympathetic towards the Shīʿī ideal of leadership. As we shall see, the Persians too, who soon came to account for an important proportion of Kūfa's non-Arab population, were to express similar pro-Shīʿī inclinations.

It was in these circumstances that al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī, the elder son of ʿAlī and Fāṭima, was acclaimed as caliph by some 40,000 Kūfans, immediately after his father's death. But the young grandson of the Prophet was no match for the shrewd Muʿāwiya who had endeavoured for many years to win the office for himself. Indeed, Muʿāwiya's power had now become quite unchallengeable, and he easily succeeded in forcing al-Ḥasan to abdicate from the caliphate. The chronology of the events and the circumstances surrounding the brief struggle between al-Ḥasan and Muʿāwiya, as well as the terms under which al-Ḥasan abdicated and retired to Medina, remain rather obscure.[17] The fact remains, however, that after al-Ḥasan's withdrawal, the caliphate easily fell to the Umayyad contender, who was speedily recognized as the new caliph in all provinces and by the majority of the Muslims, except the Shīʿīs and the Khawārij. Having skilfully seized power under the pretext of avenging ʿUthmān, Muʿāwiya also succeeded in founding the Umayyad caliphate that was destined to rule the Islamic empire on a dynastic basis for nearly a century (41–132/661–750). With these developments, Shīʿism entered into the most difficult period of its early history, being severely persecuted by the Umayyads.

With Muʿāwiya's final victory, the remnants of the non-Shīʿī supporters of ʿAlī and his family either defected to the victorious party, or else scattered. Consequently, the eclectic Shīʿism of ʿAlī's time was now reduced to the true Shīʿīs who continued as a small but zealous opposition party in Kūfa. On the other hand, it was the expanding party of Muʿāwiya that eventually came to represent the central body of the community, also called the 'assembly of the believers' (*jamāʿat al-muʾminīn*). By the early ʿAbbāsid times, the majority of the Muslims upholding the caliphates of the Umayyads and the ʿAbbāsids became known as the *Ahl al-Sunna wa'l-Jamāʿa* (People of the *sunna* and of the Community), or simply as the Sunnīs. This designation was used not because the majority were more attached than others to the '*sunna* of the Prophet', but because they claimed to be the adherents of correct Prophetic practice, and as such they stood opposed to those who, in their view, deviated from the common ways and principles of the *Jamāʿa*.[18]

In the eyes of the Shīʿa, al-Ḥasan's abdication from the caliphate did not invalidate his position as their imam. The Shīʿa indeed continued to regard him as their leader after ʿAlī, while the ʿAlids considered him the head of their family. However, now the visible spokesman for the Shīʿa was not to be al-Ḥasan, who in accordance with his treaty with Muʿāwiya abstained from all non-personal activities, but rather Ḥujr b. ʿAdī al-Kindī. This loyal ʿAlid partisan became the moving spirit behind Shīʿī sentiments in Kūfa and never ceased to protest against the official cursing of ʿAlī from the pulpits after the Friday prayers, a policy instituted by Muʿāwiya. On a few occasions, the Shīʿīs from Kūfa visited al-Ḥasan in Medina, the permanent domicile of the ʿAlids, attempting in vain to persuade him to rise against Muʿāwiya. The latter, who was ruling with an iron fist, had meanwhile taken various precautionary measures, including his own reorganization of the Kūfan tribal groups, to prevent any serious Shīʿī insurrection. On the whole, the Shīʿī movement remained rather subdued until al-Ḥasan's early death in 49/669.

After al-Ḥasan, the Shīʿīs revived their aspirations for restoring the caliphate to the ʿAlids, now headed by al-Ḥasan's younger and full-brother, al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī. Soon, they invited their new imam to rise against the Umayyads. However al-Ḥusayn made it known that, in observance of his brother's agreement, he would not respond to such a summons so long as Muʿāwiya was still alive. Yet the most zealous Shīʿīs could no longer remain inactive. In 51/671, soon after Muʿāwiya's adopted brother Ziyād b. Abīhi had become the governor of both Kūfa and Baṣra, Ḥujr and a handful of diehard Shīʿīs attempted to instigate a revolt in Kūfa.[19] The revolt never actually materialized as the Shīʿīs were not yet sufficiently numerous and organized, and as the Kūfan tribal support they had relied on was not forthcoming. Ḥujr and his associates were arrested, and they chose to sacrifice their lives rather than denounce ʿAlī and be pardoned. The death of Ḥujr in effect initiated the Shīʿī martyrology and became the prelude to that of the principal Shīʿī martyr al-Ḥusayn, called *Sayyid al-shuhadāʾ*, or Lord of the Martyrs.

Muʿāwiya died in 60/680 and, according to his unprecedented testament for which he had previously obtained the consent of the notables of the empire, his son Yazīd succeeded to the caliphate. The Shīʿī leaders of Kūfa, such as Sulaymān b. Ṣurad al-Khuzāʿī, Ḥabīb b. Muẓāhir and Muslim b. ʿAwsaja, loyal partisans who had fought on ʿAlī's side at the battles of the Camel and Ṣiffīn, wrote to al-Ḥusayn inviting him to lead his Kūfan followers in wresting the caliphate from Yazīd. Similar invitations were sent out by other Kūfans, especially the Yamanīs, in the hope that al-Ḥusayn would organize a revolt against Umayyad rule and end the Syrian domination of ʿIrāq. Before making a decision, however, al-Ḥusayn, who had already refused to accord his *bayʿa* to Yazīd and had withdrawn to Mecca,

thought it prudent to assess the situation through his cousin Muslim b. ʿAqīl. On his arrival in Kūfa, Muslim soon collected thousands of pledges of support, and, assured of the situation, advised al-Ḥusayn to assume the active leadership of the Shīʿīs and their sympathizers in Kūfa. Finally, al-Ḥusayn decided to respond to the pressing summons.

Yazīd, on his part, having become weary of mounting Shīʿī sentiments, reacted swiftly. He appointed his strongman, ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād, then governing Baṣra, also to take charge of Kūfa, with strict orders to crush any pro-Ḥusayn disturbances there. Ibn Ziyād's severe retaliatory measures and punishments soon terrified the Kūfans, including the Yamanīs and other Shīʿī sympathizers. This is not surprising, since the Kūfans had time and again shown a characteristic lack of resolve. Thus abandoned by the Kūfans, and failing in his efforts to start an immediate uprising, Muslim was arrested and executed. Kūfa was once again brought under the full control of the Umayyads. But al-Ḥusayn had already embarked on the route to Kūfa.

On his fatal journey, al-Ḥusayn was accompanied by a small group of relatives and companions. Before reaching their destination, they were intercepted in the plain of Karbalāʾ, near Kūfa, by an Umayyad army of 4,000 men. It was there that, refusing one last time to yield to Yazīd, al-Ḥusayn and his company of some 72 men were brutally massacred on 10 Muḥarram 61/10 October 680. Only women and some children were spared. ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn, who was to receive the honorific title Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn, being sick and confined to his tent, was one of the survivors. Amongst the 54 non-ʿAlid martyrs of Karbalāʾ, there were only a few of the Kūfan Shīʿīs who had somehow managed to penetrate Ibn Ziyād's tight blockade of Kūfa to be with their imam in his hour of need. The Shīʿīs have particular reverence for these martyrs (*shuhadāʾ*), notably the aged Muslim b. ʿAwsaja, ʿĀbis b. Abī Ḥabīb, Saʿīd b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥanafī, and Ḥabīb b. Muẓāhir, who commanded the left flank of al-Ḥusayn's company, the right one having been held by Zuhayr b. al-Qayn, a faithful companion. Thus concluded the most tragic episode in the early history of Shīʿism, and indeed, of Islam.[20] This event is still commemorated devoutly in the Shīʿī world, by special ceremonies and a type of popular religious play (*taʿziya*).

The heroic martyrdom of the Prophet's grandson infused a new religious fervour in the Shīʿa. The event, solidly establishing the Shīʿī martyrology, was destined to play a significant role in the consolidation of the Shīʿī identity. In the immediate aftermath of Karbalāʾ, the Shīʿīs and many other Kūfans who had so persistently invited al-Ḥusayn into their midst, were deeply moved. A sense of repentance set in, and they felt the urge to avenge the murder of al-Ḥusayn and to expiate their own failure to support him. Hence, these people called themselves the Tawwābūn or the Penitents. Towards the end of 61/680, they formally began

to organize a movement, with an original membership of one hundred diehard Shīʿīs of Kūfa, none of whom was under sixty years of age. Old and devoted, these partisans were doubtless reacting on the basis of their conscience. The Tawwābūn did not evidently proclaim any of the ʿAlids as their imam. Sulaymān b. Ṣurad, then in the forefront of all the Shīʿī activities in Kūfa, was selected as their leader, and for three years, while Yazīd was alive, the movement proceeded with extreme caution and secrecy.

With Yazīd's sudden death in 64/683, the Tawwābūn found it opportune to come into the open and expand their recruiting efforts. This was mainly because the unrest of Yazīd's rule had now erupted into outright civil war, the second one for Islam. Yazīd was succeeded by his sickly son, Muʿāwiya II, and when the latter died some six months later, the aged Marwān b. al-Ḥakam (d. 65/685), the most prominent member of the ruling family, became the new caliph. This immediately led to a serious conflict between the two major rival tribes of Syria, Kalb and Qays, making it impossible for the Umayyads to maintain their control over ʿIrāq. Meanwhile, in the Ḥijāz, ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr, who like al-Ḥusayn had refused to pay homage to Yazīd and had revolted, was now successfully claiming the caliphate for himself. In particular, he had gained general recognition by the ʿIrāqīs who were attempting to acquire their independence from Syria. They expelled Ibn Ziyād, the Umayyad governor of both Kūfa and Baṣra, who bore chief responsibility for the massacre at Karbalāʾ. In the prevailing chaos, the Tawwābūn managed to solicit pledges of support from some 16,000 persons, not all of whom were Shīʿīs. Sulaymān b. Ṣurad, contrary to the advice of some of his associates, decided to attack the Umayyad forces of Ibn Ziyād, who was then near the Syrian border poised to reconquer ʿIrāq for Marwān. The Tawwābūn congregated at Nukhayla, near Kūfa, in Rabīʿ II 65/November 684, as planned. But to their disappointment, only 4,000 men showed up. Regardless, they proceeded, and some two months later met Ibn Ziyād's much larger army at ʿAyn al-Warda. By the end of the three-day battle, the majority of the Tawwābūn, including Sulaymān himself, had fulfilled their pledge of sacrificing their lives for al-Ḥusayn.

The movement of the Tawwābūn, representing yet another defeat for the Shīʿa, marks the end of what may be regarded as the Arab and the unified phase of Shīʿism. During its first half-century, from 11/632 until around 65/684, Shīʿism maintained an almost exclusively Arab nature, with a limited appeal to non-Arab Muslims. The Tawwābūn who fell in battle were all Arabs, including a significant number of the early Kūfan *qurrāʾ* who provided the leading personalities of the movement. These Arabs belonged mainly to various Yamanī tribes settled in Kūfa, although northern Arabs were also amongst them. In addition, during this initial phase, the Shīʿī movement consisted of a single party, without any internal

division. These features were to change drastically with the next event in the history of Shīʿism, the revolt of al-Mukhtār.

al-Mukhtār and the *mawālī*

Al-Mukhtār b. Abī ʿUbayd al-Thaqafī was an ambitious and controversial man devoted to the cause of the ʿAlids. He had participated in the premature insurrection of Muslim b. ʿAqīl. He had then gone to the Ḥijāz, hoping in vain to collaborate with Ibn al-Zubayr. Subsequently, with the rising Shīʿī sentiments in Kūfa, he again appeared there in 64/684, a few months after Yazīd's death. There, he strove to acquire a leading position among the Shīʿīs, who lacked an active imam. However, he did not have much success while Sulaymān b. Ṣurad was still alive. The latter refused either to join forces with al-Mukhtār or to pay heed to his warnings against the futility of any poorly-organized entanglement with the Umayyads.

With the demise of the Tawwābūn, the long-awaited opportunity finally arose for al-Mukhtār's own plans. He launched a vigorous campaign, again with a general call for avenging al-Ḥusayn's murder, in the name of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya, ʿAlī's son by Khawla, a woman from the Banū Ḥanīfa.[21] Al-Mukhtār tactfully claimed to be the trusted agent and representative, *amīn* and *wazīr*, of Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya. It is not clear to what extent such claims had the prior approval of Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya, who resided in Medina and remained a mere figurehead in the unfolding revolt. Of greater consequence was al-Mukhtār's proclamation of Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya as al-Mahdī, 'the divinely-guided one', the saviour-imam who would establish justice on earth and thus deliver the oppressed from tyranny (*ẓulm*). This title had already been applied in a purely honorific sense to ʿAlī, al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn, but its first use in a messianic sense now derived from al-Mukhtār. The concept of the Imam-Mahdī was a very important doctrinal innovation, and it proved particularly appealing to the non-Arab Muslims, the so-called *mawālī* who constituted the bulk of the oppressed masses of Kūfa.

Al-Mukhtār soon won the support of the Shīʿī majority, including the survivors of the Tawwābūn and the influential Ibrāhīm b. al-Ashtar (d. 72/691), the leader of the hard-core Shīʿīs who, like his father, was a loyal ʿAlid partisan. Sufficient forces were collected, and the open revolt took place in Rabīʿ I 66/October 685. Without much bloodshed, al-Mukhtār speedily won control of Kūfa. The *ashrāf* who had not sided with the revolt surrendered and paid homage to al-Mukhtār, as did other Kūfans. Initially, al-Mukhtār adopted a conciliatory policy. He chose his officials primarily from amongst the Arab ruling class, while concern for the weak and the oppressed, which in fact meant the *mawālī*, constituted an important part

of his socio-economic programme. For instance, he accorded the *mawālī* rights to booty and also entitled them to army stipends. But the Arab Muslims were reluctant to see their privileged positions curbed for the benefit of the *mawālī* whom they considered to be of an altogether inferior status. Consequently, the Arabs, especially the Kūfan tribal chiefs who were never inclined towards Shīʿism in the first place, soon came to resent al-Mukhtār's policies, and began to desert him. Al-Mukhtār's forces were subjected to a triple assault by the Kūfan *ashrāf*, the Umayyads and eventually the Zubayrids, and al-Mukhtār's victory was to be short-lived.

The Syrian forces, now under the caliphate of ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān (65–86/685–705), the most celebrated member of the Umayyad dynasty, were once again directed against ʿIrāq towards the end of 66/685. But Ibrāhīm b. al-Ashtar, leading al-Mukhtār's army, succeeded in defeating them in a fierce battle in Muḥarram 67/August 686, in which their commander, the famous Ibn Ziyād, was slain. In the meantime, the Kūfan *ashrāf* had risen against al-Mukhtār, but they, too, were easily defeated by Ibn al-Ashtar. After this episode, al-Mukhtār gave free rein to the hitherto restrained Shīʿīs to take their revenge on the *ashrāf*. Most of those guilty for the tragedy of al-Ḥusayn, including Shamir b. Dhi'l-Jawshan and ʿUmar b. Saʿd, were apprehended and beheaded. Many of the *ashrāf*, however, managed to flee to Baṣra, seeking protection from its governor, Muṣʿab, the younger brother of the Meccan anti-caliph. With these developments, many of the Kūfan Arabs who until then had supported al-Mukhtār, defected to the side of the *ashrāf*. The tribal leaders, on their part, were now openly aligning themselves with Ibn al-Zubayr in order to re-establish their position *vis-à-vis* al-Mukhtār and the Syrians. Henceforth, al-Mukhtār was forced to rely almost completely on the *mawālī*, who now called themselves the *Shīʿat al-Mahdī*.

The *ashrāf* finally induced Muṣʿab to fight against the Kūfan Shīʿīs. The Baṣran forces, in the company of the Kūfan tribal leaders, defeated al-Mukhtār's army in two encounters, the second one taking place in Jumādā I 67/December 686 in which many *mawālī* were killed. Al-Mukhtār retreated to the citadel of Kūfa where he and the remnants of his *mawālī* soldiers were besieged by Muṣʿab's troops for about four months. Finally, al-Mukhtār and a group of his most devoted supporters, refusing to surrender unconditionally, were killed whilst attempting a sortie in Ramaḍān 67/April 687. Kūfa was brought under the control of Ibn al-Zubayr to the satisfaction of the *ashrāf* who took their own revenge on the *mawālī*.

With al-Mukhtār out of the way, the two claimants to the caliphate, ʿAbd al-Malik and Ibn al-Zubayr, found themselves in direct confrontation. ʿAbd al-Malik's most trusted lieutenant, al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf, after defeating Muṣʿab in 72/691, conquered Mecca and killed Ibn al-Zubayr in battle in 73/692. The

collapse of the Zubayrid anti-caliphate also ended the second civil war, and unity was again restored to the Islamic state. In 75/694, al-Ḥajjāj became the governor of ʿIrāq and ruled that province and its eastern dependencies with an iron fist for the next twenty years, using Syrian troops when necessary. He built the fortified garrison town of Wāsiṭ, midway between Kūfa and Baṣra, in 83/702, as the new provincial seat of government where he stationed his loyal Syrian militia. Al-Ḥajjāj's efforts brought peace and economic prosperity to ʿIrāq and also resulted in new Islamic conquests in Transoxania and the Indus valley, during the caliphate of ʿAbd al-Malik's son and successor al-Walīd (86–96/705–715), who gave still greater authority to this most able Umayyad governor. Al-Ḥajjāj died in 95/714, almost a year before al-Walīd's own death. This brief digression explains why there were no Shīʿī revolts in Kūfa during al-Ḥajjāj's long rule. Indeed, with the strong grip of the Umayyads restored in ʿIrāq in 72/691, the Shīʿīs, who now lacked effective leadership, were deprived of any opportunity for open activity for about the next fifty years. Nevertheless, Shīʿī ideas and tendencies continued to take shape, especially amongst the *mawālī*. It is, therefore, useful to take a closer look at the *mawālī* and their grievances, which provided the necessary motivation for their participation in the Shīʿī movement.

The *mawālī* (singular, *mawlā*) essentially comprised of the non-Arab Muslims who, in early Islam, represented an important intermediary class between the Arab Muslims and the non-Muslim subjects of the empire.[22] By the third Islamic century, however, with their greater integration within Islamic society established under the ʿAbbāsids, the *mawālī* could no longer be identified as a distinct social class, and consequently the term lost its significance and disappeared.

In the wake of the Islamic conquests, a need had been felt for a term to describe the new converts from amongst the Persian, Aramaean, Berber and other non-Arab natives of the conquered lands. For this purpose, the old term *mawlā*, which was originally used in Arab society in reference to certain types of kinship as well as a relationship by covenant particularly between individuals and tribes, was adopted. In its new sense, *mawlā* meant a Muslim of non-Arab origin attached as a client to an Arab tribe because, on embracing Islam, non-Arabs were expected to become affiliated as clients to Arab tribes. This requirement was indicative of the fact that the tribal pattern characterizing the pre-Islamic Arab society had continued to shape the social structure of the Islamic state. According to this type of clientage, or *walāʾ*, a special relationship would be established between the protected client, often a liberated prisoner of war or slave, and his protector, normally his former patron or an influential Arab.

The *mawālī* represented different cultures and religious traditions. In ʿIrāq, they were comprised mainly of Aramaeans, though Persians and other non-Arabs representing the older strata of the province's population were also amongst

them. Upon the destruction of the Sāsānid empire, Aramaeans and Persians had flocked in large numbers to the ʿIrāqī garrison towns, as these were the most rapidly growing administrative, economic and urban centres of the new Islamic empire. Kūfa in particular, as the foremost of such centres in the east, was the recipient of the bulk of these uprooted emigrants who came from different socio-economic backgrounds and, in due course, formed various *mawlā* categories.[23] First, there were those craftsmen, tradesmen, shopkeepers and other skilled persons, who had swarmed into the prospering new towns to offer their services to the Arab garrisons. These *mawālī*, probably the largest *mawlā* category in Kūfa, were subject to a special type of clientage whereby they were virtually independent members of the tribes with which they were associated. Second, there were the freed slaves, the original non-Arab *mawālī*, who had been brought to the garrison towns in successive waves as prisoners of war and as part of the Arabs' spoils. They had acquired their freedom upon conversion to Islam, but as *mawālī* they continued to be affiliated to their former patrons. In Kūfa, these freed slaves constituted the second largest *mawlā* category. In the third largest category were those petty landowners and cultivators who, with the collapse of the Sāsānid feudal system and the destruction of their villages by the invading Arabs, had found the cultivation of their lands no longer economic. The problems of these rural people, including those engaged in the villages and estates around Kūfa, were further aggravated due to the high level of the land tax, or *kharāj*. Consequently, an increasing number of them were continuously obliged to abandon the fields in search of alternative employment in the garrison towns. Finally, there was the numerically insignificant group of Persian *mawālī* who claimed noble extraction and were permitted to share some of the privileges reserved for the Arab ruling class.

In line with the spread of Islamization, the total number of the *mawālī* increased very rapidly. In fact, within a few decades, they came to outnumber the Arab Muslims. As Muslims, the *mawālī* expected the same rights and privileges as their Arab co-religionists. After all, the Prophet himself had declared the equality of all believers before God, despite their differences stemming from descent, race and tribal affiliation. But the Islamic teaching of equality was not conceded by the Arab ruling elite under the Umayyads, although in the earliest years of Islam and prior to ʿUmar's caliphate, when the *mawālī* were still a minority group, the precepts of Islam had been observed more closely.

In all its categories, a *mawlā* had come to represent a socially and racially inferior status, a second-class citizen as compared to an Arab Muslim. The *mawālī* were, however, set apart from the non-Muslim subjects of the Islamic state who were accorded an even more inferior status. These so-called people of protection, *ahl al-dhimma* or simply *dhimmī*s, were the followers of certain recognized

religions, notably Judaism, Christianity and, later, Zoroastrianism. They received the protection (*dhimma*) of the Muslim state in return for the payment of a distinguishing tribute called *jizya*, which later developed into a precise poll tax. A *dhimmī*, who was subject to certain social restrictions as well, would acquire *mawlā* status by converting to Islam and becoming duly attached to an Arab tribe. However, the Arabs discriminated, in various ways, especially economically, against the *mawālī*. The *mawālī* were often deprived of any share of the booty accruing in wars to the tribes with which they were associated, nor were they entitled to the customary army stipends. More significantly, the taxes paid by the new converts were often similar to the *jizya* and *kharāj*, required of the non-Muslim subjects. This provided perhaps the most important single cause of their discontent, since many of them had converted precisely in order to be less heavily taxed.

As a large and underprivileged social class concentrated in the urban milieux, and aspiring to a state and a society which would be more sensitive to the teachings of Islam, the *mawālī* provided a valuable recruiting ground for any movement opposed to the exclusively Arab order under the Umayyads. They did, in fact, participate in the Khārijī revolts and some 100,000 of them joined Ibn al-Ashʿath's unsuccessful rebellion against al-Ḥajjāj in 82/701. But above all, they were to be involved in the more important Shīʿī opposition centred in Kūfa, not only because Shīʿism proved to have a greater appeal to the oppressed masses but also because the backgrounds of some *mawālī* made them more inclined towards the Shīʿī ideal of leadership. For instance, the Persian *mawālī* of southern ʿIrāq had had a religio-political tradition of divine kingship and hereditary leadership almost similar to that of the Yamanīs. Consequently, they were readily responsive to the summons of the Shīʿa and to their promise to overthrow the impious Umayyads and install the *ahl al-bayt* to the caliphate, so as to fulfil the egalitarian teachings of Islam.[24]

As noted previously, al-Mukhtār was the first person who identified the growing political importance of the *mawālī* and their potential receptivity to the cause of the Shīʿa. By attempting to remove their grievances, and through the appeal of the idea of the Mahdī, he easily succeeded in mobilizing them in his revolt. But more significantly, al-Mukhtār had now drawn these discontented non-Arabs into the Shīʿī movement, so that Shīʿism acquired a much broader base of social support. As a result of this development, representing a vital turning point in the history of Shīʿism, the superficially Islamized *mawālī* brought many ideas into Shīʿī Islam from their old Babylonian, Judaeo-Christian, and Irano-Zoroastrian backgrounds, including those derived from the Iranian religions such as Manichaeism and Mazdakism, ideas foreign to early Islam. In terms of their numbers, ideas and revolutionary zeal, the *mawālī* played a major role

in the transformation of Shīʿism from an Arab party of limited membership and doctrinal basis into a dynamic movement.

The Kaysāniyya, the *ghulāt* and the early Imāmiyya

For the sixty odd years intervening between the revolt of al-Mukhtār and the ʿAbbāsid revolution, Shīʿism did not represent a unified and coherent movement. During this period, different Shīʿī groups co-existed, each having its own imam, and developing its own doctrines, while individuals moved freely and frequently between them. Furthermore, the Shīʿī imams now hailed not only from amongst the ʿAlids who had become quite numerous by this time,[25] but also from other branches of the Prophet's clan of Banū Hāshim. There were also those Shīʿī leaders who, like al-Mukhtār, claimed to have derived their authority from various imams. Thus, Shīʿism of this period, by contrast to the previous half a century, did not accord general recognition to any single succession of imams, from which various dissident groups would diverge in favour of alternative claimants.

An important factor responsible for the internal division of the Shīʿa revolved around differences of opinion on the composition of the *ahl al-bayt*. As noted, the Shīʿa from the beginning believed in the sanctity of the Prophet's family and the special hereditary attributes of its members. These very attributes distinguished the Shīʿī imam belonging to the *ahl al-bayt*, and qualified him to lead the Muslims under divine guidance along the right path. But in this formative period, though the imams who succeeded al-Ḥusayn continued to come chiefly from amongst the ʿAlids, the Prophet's family was still defined more broadly in its old tribal sense. It covered the various branches of the Banū Hāshim, the leading Quraysh clan, regardless of direct descent from the Prophet Muḥammad himself.[26] The *ahl al-bayt*, then, included the progeny of Muḥammad through Fāṭima and ʿAlī as well as those of his two paternal uncles: not only the Ṭālibids, the descendants of Abū Ṭālib (d. ca. 619) through his sons ʿAlī and Jaʿfar (d. 8/629), but even the ʿAbbāsids, the descendants of al-ʿAbbās (d. ca. 32/653) who had embraced Islam only in 8/630. For analogous reasons, ʿAlī's family was the centre of much diversity in allegiance, with Shīʿīs rallying to the side of all its three major branches: the Ḥanafids, the Ḥusaynids, and the Ḥasanids. In other words, the Fāṭimid and non-Fāṭimid ʿAlids as well as many non-ʿAlid Hāshimids, all descendants of the Prophet's paternal grandfather ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib b. Hāshim, apparently qualified as members of the *ahl al-bayt*.

It was later, after the accession of the ʿAbbāsids, that the Shīʿīs came to define the *ahl al-bayt* more restrictively to include only the descendants of the Prophet through Fāṭima, known as the Fāṭimids (covering both the Ḥasanids and the

Ḥusaynids), while the bulk of the non-Zaydī Shīʿīs had come to acknowledge chiefly the Ḥusaynid Fāṭimids. The latter definition was the one adopted by the Twelver and Ismāʿīlī Shīʿīs. The lack of consensus on the composition of the Prophet's family had not created any disagreements amongst the Shīʿīs until al-Ḥusayn's death, whilst the ʿAlids had readily accepted al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn as the heads of their family after ʿAlī. But now, prevailing circumstances led to diversity.

In this confusing setting, the development of Shīʿism took place in terms of two main branches or trends. First, and until the accession of the ʿAbbāsids the more predominant of the two, there was a radical branch comprised of several inter-related groups which, beginning with al-Mukhtār's movement, recognized the Ḥanafids, and later other Hāshimids (notably the ʿAbbāsids) deriving their claims from Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya's son, as their imams. This trend, designated by Lewis also as *mawlā* Shīʿism,[27] drew mainly on the support of the *mawālī* in southern ʿIrāq and elsewhere, who upheld certain radical doctrines and also pursued revolutionary objectives, though there were also many Arabs amongst them, often in leading positions. There was, secondly, a moderate branch which remained essentially removed from any anti-regime activity while doctrinally subscribing to some of the views of the radical branch. This branch, later known as the Imāmiyya, followed a Ḥusaynid line of imams. Eventually, both trends converged, though each one maintained its own identity, in the latter part of the imamate of the Ḥusaynid Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq, who succeeded in consolidating Shīʿism to a large extent. However, the radical trend was once again retrieved mainly by the proto-Ismāʿīlī Imāmīs, while the moderate trend ultimately crystallized into Twelver Shīʿism, representing the majority body of the Shīʿa. A few words are required now regarding the circumstances under which these two trends originated.

After Karbalāʾ, the young Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn, al-Ḥusayn's only surviving son and the progenitor of all the Ḥusaynids, retired to Medina and adopted a quiescent attitude towards the Umayyads and the Zubayrid anti-caliphate, and later towards al-Mukhtār's movement and the Ḥanafids. He kept aloof from all political activity, a policy which was to be maintained and in fact justified doctrinally by his successors in the moderate branch. The later Shīʿī supporters of the Ḥusaynid line claimed that al-Ḥusayn had personally designated Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn as his successor. But the fact remains that, after al-Ḥusayn's death, Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn did not acquire any significant following. On the other hand, al-Mukhtār's campaign for Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya as the Mahdī had an unprecedented popular appeal among the Kūfan masses. As a result, the overwhelming majority of the Shīʿīs, both Arabs and *mawālī*, joined his active movement and recognized the imamate of Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya. It should also be recalled that Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya now enjoyed a

particular position of honour and seniority amongst the ʿAlids. Some Islamicists have even argued that as ʿAlī's eldest surviving son and the eldest ʿAlid, being some twenty years older than his nephew Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn, Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya was considered as the *shaykh* or head of the ʿAlid family, a position which was never publicly challenged by Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn.[28] With these beginnings, the moderate trend came to be eclipsed for some time by the radical branch of Shīʿism, to which we shall now turn.

The movement started by al-Mukhtār survived the suppression of his rule in Kūfa. It rapidly spread under its own *mawlā* dynamism, as witnessed by a state founded in Niṣībīn by some of al-Mukhtār's adherents shortly after his death, and which collapsed in 71/690 under the attacks of the Umayyad forces. The followers of al-Mukhtār, upholding the imamate of Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya, were initially called the Mukhtāriyya. But they were soon more commonly referred to as the Kaysāniyya. The origin of this designation, like the names of some other Shīʿī groups, can be traced to the heresiographical works written about the internal divisions and the sects of Islam, notably those by al-Ashʿarī (d. 324/935–936), al-Malaṭī (d. 377/987), al-Baghdādī (d. 429/1037), and Ibn Ḥazm (d. 456/1064), who were devout Sunnīs, al-Shahrastānī (d. 548/1153), who may have been a crypto-Ismāʿīlī, and the earliest sources on Shīʿī groups produced by the Imāmī Shīʿī authors al-Nawbakhtī (d. between 300 and 310/912–922) and al-Qummī (d. 301/913–914).[29] At any rate, the name Kaysāniyya seems to have been based either on the *kunya* of al-Mukhtār himself or, more probably, on the highly controversial figure of Abū ʿAmra Kaysān, a prominent *mawlā* and chief of al-Mukhtār's personal guard.[30] The latter etymology emphasizes the role of the *mawālī* in the movement.

Breaking away from the religiously moderate attitudes of the early Kūfan Shīʿa, the Kaysānīs were left without active leadership and organization after al-Mukhtār, while Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya maintained some contacts with them and, though he submitted to the Umayyad caliph ʿAbd al-Malik in 73/692, did not openly dissociate himself from the movement.[31] But when Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya died in 81/700, the Kaysāniyya split into at least three distinct groups, commonly designated as sects (singular, *firqa*) by the heresiographers who use the term indiscriminately for an independent group, a subgroup, a school of thought, or even a minor doctrinal position.[32] One group, refusing to acknowledge Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya's death, believed he remained concealed (*ghāʾib*) in the Raḍwā mountains near Medina, whence he would eventually emerge as the Mahdī to fill the earth with justice and equity, as it had formerly been filled with injustice and oppression. These partisans were called the Karibiyya or Kuraybiyya, after their leader Abū Karib (Kurayb) al-Ḍarīr. Initially, the renowned extremist Ḥamza b. ʿUmāra al-Barbarī also belonged to this group, and was a disciple of

Abū Karib. Later, while asserting an extremist view which involved the divinity of Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya and prophethood for himself, Ḥamza separated and acquired some supporters in Medina and Kūfa. Among the other original adherents of the Karibiyya, the heresiographers also mention Bayān b. Samʿān al-Tamīmī, the controversial extremist Shīʿī who later headed a group of his own in Kūfa. The views of the Karibiyya have been vividly preserved in the poetry of Kuthayyir (d. 105/723), and al-Sayyid al-Ḥimyarī (d. 173/789) who subsequently turned to supporting the Imam Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq. A second group, apparently under the leadership of a certain Ḥayyān al-Sarrāj, while affirming Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya's death, maintained that he and his partisans would return to life in time, when he would establish justice on earth.

In these early Kaysānī beliefs, circulated mainly amongst the *mawālī*, we have the first Shīʿī statements of the eschatological doctrines of *ghayba*, the absence or occultation of an imam whose life has been miraculously prolonged and who is due to reappear as the Mahdī, and of *rajʿa*, the return of a messianic personality from the dead, or from occultation, sometime before the Day of Resurrection (*qiyāma*). The closely related concept of the Mahdī had now also acquired, for the first time, a clearly eschatological meaning, with the implication that no further imams would succeed the Mahdī during his period of *ghayba*.[33] It is not clear why the title al-Mahdī, to which the participle 'expected' (*al-muntaẓar*) was sometimes attached, came to be adopted for the messianic deliverer in Islam. As the term does not occur in the Qurʾān, the origin of this eschatological idea has been the subject of varied explanations. Some modern scholars, citing the ultimate Zoroastrian saviour (Saoshyant) who is destined to carry out what in Zoroastrian eschatology is called the final transfiguration or renovation of the world (*frashkart*), ascribe its origins to Iranian sources.[34] Others have attributed its roots to Judaeo-Christian messianic teachings.[35] But henceforth the idea of a future deliverer who would eventually appear before the end of time became a doctrinal feature common to most Muslim groups. This included the early Ismāʿīlīs and also the Ithnāʿasharīs who are still awaiting the parousia of their twelfth imam.

The majority of Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya's followers, however, accepting his death, now recognized the imamate of his eldest son Abū Hāshim ʿAbd Allāh, whom they believed to have been personally designated by Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya as his successor.[36] This probably marks the first instance of the important Shīʿī principle of *naṣṣ* imamate, whereby an imam is appointed through the explicit designation (*naṣṣ*) of a preceding imam. Abū Hāshim, who was slightly younger than his cousin Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn, thus became the imam of the Shīʿī majority. He was also regarded as the head of the Ḥanafids, though he did not exert undisputed authority over the entire ʿAlid family, who could no longer agree on the selection of a *shaykh*.

There exist no details on the nature of the doctrines held by Abū Hāshim and his partisans, known as the Hāshimiyya. All that may be inferred is that there was continuity from al-Mukhtār's movement to the Hāshimiyya. It is also known that from their base in Kūfa, the Hāshimiyya managed to recruit adherents in other provinces, especially among the *mawālī* in Khurāsān.

Abū Hāshim died in 98/716, in the village of Ḥumayma on the border separating Palestine and Arabia, on his return from a visit to the court of al-Walīd's brother and successor Sulaymān (96–99/715–717). On Abū Hāshim's death, his partisans split into four main groups. One group, adhering to the belief that the then-approaching second Islamic century would be a turning point in the realization of the Shīʿī messianic expectations, claimed that Abū Hāshim remained alive and concealed, and would soon reappear as the Mahdī. Bayān b. Samʿān now joined this group and acquired a leading position among them. He taught many extremist ideas and also speculated on the nature of God in crudely anthropomorphic terms, maintaining that God is a man of light. His followers, later forming a group known as the Bayāniyya, at first affirmed that Abū Hāshim would emerge as the Mahdī. Subsequently, they asserted that Abū Hāshim had in fact conferred prophethood on Bayān on behalf of God, while some of them regarded him as an imam. Indeed, the Bayāniyya, as a separate group, came to hold a multitude of extremist views, such as ascribing prophethood to the imams on the basis of an indwelling divine light transmitted through them.[37] A second group maintained that Abū Hāshim, who left no male progeny, had appointed his younger brother ʿAlī as his successor. They recognized this Ḥanafid ʿAlī as their new imam, after whose death they traced the imamate through his son al-Ḥasan and then the latter's son and grandson, ʿAlī and al-Ḥasan respectively. This group, called the 'pure Kaysāniyya' by al-Nawbakhtī,[38] affirmed that the imamate belonged exclusively to the descendants of Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya, from amongst whom the Mahdī would eventually arise. When the last-mentioned al-Ḥasan died without leaving any sons some members of this group separated from it, claiming that Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya himself would return as their awaited Mahdī.

Many of the Hāshimiyya, however, recognized Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. ʿAbd Allāh b. al-ʿAbbās, the great-grandson of the Prophet's uncle, as their imam after Abū Hāshim. They held that Abū Hāshim, shortly before dying in Ḥumayma, then the residence of the ʿAbbāsids, had bequeathed his rights to the imamate to this ʿAbbāsid. But as he was a minor at the time, the testament had been entrusted to his father ʿAlī b. ʿAbd Allāh (d. 118/736), the head of the ʿAbbāsid family in whose house Abū Hāshim had died, apparently of food poisoning. On the death of Muḥammad b. ʿAlī in 125/743, his partisans accepted the imamate of his son Ibrāhīm, the brother of the first two ʿAbbāsid caliphs. This party, supported by the majority of the extremist Shīʿīs until the accession of the ʿAbbāsids, continued

to be known as the Hāshimiyya and later also as the Rāwandiyya, after an obscure sectarian leader, ʿAbd Allāh al-Rāwandī.[39]

The matter of Abū Hāshim's testament in favour of the ʿAbbāsid Muḥammad b. ʿAlī has been the subject of much controversy throughout the centuries.[40] Some scholars believe that the testament in question was fabricated by the ʿAbbāsids themselves, so as to win the support of the Shīʿīs who normally favoured the ʿAlid candidates. They have also argued that Abū Hāshim may actually have been poisoned by the ʿAbbāsids, rather than on the alleged orders of the Umayyad caliph Sulaymān.[41] On the other hand, certain modern Islamicists, notably Cahen and Lewis, have argued that the determination of the authenticity of this testament, even if it were possible, is not a question of vital importance.[42] The undisputed fact remains that the majority of Abū Hāshim's partisans did transfer their allegiance to Muḥammad b. ʿAlī and, more significantly, with this transference the ʿAbbāsids inherited the party and the propaganda organization of the Hāshimiyya. In sum, it was the utilization of the testament rather than its authenticity that is of historical relevance, since it was the party of the Hāshimiyya which became the main instrument of the ʿAbbāsid movement, and eventually of the overthrow of the Umayyads.

Finally, there was another distinct group, the special partisans of ʿAbd Allāh b. Muʿāwiya, the great-grandson of Jaʿfar b. Abī Ṭālib, ʿAlī's brother. Jaʿfar, known as al-Ṭayyār and Dhu'l-Janāḥayn, and his son ʿAbd Allāh and grandson Muʿāwiya, were highly respected figures for the Shīʿīs. No special partisans, however, were attached to any of these individuals, who belonged to the Jaʿfarid branch of the Ṭālibid family. But on the death of Abū Hāshim, a certain faction of the Hāshimiyya maintained that the deceased imam had designated his distant cousin Ibn Muʿāwiya as his successor and, since the latter was a minor, the testament had been consigned to a certain Ṣāliḥ b. Mudrik. This group became known as the Ḥarbiyya or Ḥārithiyya, after a leader whose name is variously mentioned as ʿAbd Allāh (b. ʿAmr) b. al-Ḥarb (or al-Ḥārith) al-Kindī.[43] Ibn al-Ḥarb, who had previously founded a group of his own, had now joined Ibn Muʿāwiya and later expressed many extremist ideas with regard to his persona. The heresiographers ascribe a prominent role to this somewhat enigmatic personality for introducing some key doctrines, including metempsychosis and a cyclical history of eras (*adwār*) and aeons (*akwār*), into Shīʿism. The Ḥarbiyya and the pro-ʿAbbāsid Hāshimiyya disputed Abū Hāshim's testament, each party claiming its own candidate to be the true beneficiary of the bequest. The disputing parties finally agreed to submit the matter to the arbitration of one of their trusted leaders, Abū Riyāḥ. The latter decided in favour of the ʿAbbāsids, and thereupon, the bulk of Ibn Muʿāwiya's supporters seceded and joined the ʿAbbāsid party, the seceders becoming known as the Riyāḥiyya. Those who continued to recognize

the imamate of Ibn Muʿāwiya from amongst the former Ḥarbiyya, subsequently became known as the Janāḥiyya.[44]

These, then, were the main groups in the Kaysānī branch of Shīʿism evolving out of al-Mukhtār's movement. By the end of the Umayyad period, some of these groups comprising the majority of the radical Shīʿīs had already fallen captive to the successful ʿAbbāsid movement, while others were rapidly disintegrating as separate bodies. In the aftermath of the ʿAbbāsid revolution in southern ʿIrāq the remnants of the groups that had branched out of the Kaysāniyya came to be absorbed into the various Shīʿī sects formed after the imamate of Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq. In Persia and Transoxania on the other hand, such survivors, especially from amongst the Ḥarbiyya–Janāḥiyya, gradually merged into various syncretic sects, often generically termed the Khurramiyya or Khurramdīniyya.[45] The radical Shīʿīs of the Umayyad period, however, had made a lasting contribution to the development of Shīʿism.

It was due to their religious speculations that many of the early radical Shīʿī leaders and groups, such as the Bayāniyya and the Ḥarbiyya, retrospectively came to be termed as the *ghāliya* or *ghulāt* (singular, *ghālī*, exaggerator).[46] This was a general term of disapproval, probably coined by some early Shīʿī authors and adopted by the heresiographers, in reference to those Shīʿīs accused of exaggeration (*ghuluww*) in religion and in respect to the imams and other Shīʿī personalities. The criteria of *ghuluww* were determined by the Shīʿīs themselves, since the Sunnīs remained basically uninterested in the divergencies within Shīʿism. Furthermore, these criteria changed in time. But practically all the early speculative Shīʿī doctrinal innovations (singular, *bidʿa*) came to be rejected by the Twelver or the Imāmī Shīʿīs of the end of the 3rd/9th century and thereafter qualified for the designation, although some of the ideas of these *ghulāt*, who were to be found also in the moderate branch of Shīʿism, had by that time come to be accepted as proper Shīʿī tenets. Accordingly, the earliest Shīʿī heresiographers who also belonged to the Imāmī community categorized as *ghuluww* much of the strictly religious speculations of the radical Shīʿīs of this formative period. This applied in particular to the first half of the second Islamic century. The Sunnī heresiographers, with their general hostility towards the Shīʿa, used the Shīʿī criteria of *ghuluww* even more harshly, often treating the *ghulāt* as unbelievers and excluding them from the Muslim community.

The common feature of the earliest ideas propagated by the *ghulāt* was an exaggerated perception of the imams on whom superhuman attributes were conferred. The heresiographers usually trace the origins of the Shīʿī *ghulāt* to a certain ʿAbd Allāh b. Sabaʾ, whose object of exaltation was ʿAlī.[47] The basic *ghuluww* of this highly controversial figure, and his followers known as the Sabaʾiyya, seems to have consisted of the denial of ʿAlī's death and the belief

that he would remain alive until he had driven out his enemies.[48] Ibn Sabaʾ is also alleged to have preached ʿAlī's divinity, which would qualify him more readily as a *ghālī*. Modern scholarship, however, has dismissed this allegation as a later attribution. In any event, Ibn Sabaʾ was banished to Madāʾin on ʿAlī's orders, probably for his public condemnation of the first two caliphs. Subsequently, he and some of his followers are said to have been burned to death. The survivors of the Sabaʾiyya later joined al-Mukhtār's movement in Kūfa, which may explain why in some sources the Mukhtāriyya are sometimes identified with the Sabaʾiyya.

In the opening decades of the second Islamic century, following Abū Hāshim's death, the Shīʿīs became still further divided in their allegiance, as pretenders to the imamate had become quite numerous. Under such circumstances, when the identity of the rightful imam was a disputed matter, it became necessary for each of the relatively closed Shīʿī groups to seek additional justification, other than just ʿAlid or even Hāshimid descent, to legitimize their imams. Some adhered to the principle of the *naṣṣ* imamate which proved ineffective during this period, when several candidates claimed to be the recipients of the *naṣṣ* of the same imam, with similar claims generating in respect to the heritage of other imams. Consequently, the more radical Shīʿīs, especially the *ghulāt* theorists who had already established the tradition of conferring superhuman qualities on their imams, began to think even more freely about the person and authority of the imam. Simultaneously, they found themselves speculating on wider issues of religious importance, such as the nature of God, the soul and the afterlife. The speculations of the *ghulāt* soon brought about many more doctrinal innovations. As a result, the earlier eschatological doctrines of *ghayba, rajʿa* and Mahdism, which in any case were to become accepted Shīʿī views, in themselves no longer represented *ghuluww*.[49] Thus the *ghulāt* became differentiated from other Shīʿīs on the basis of more pronounced divergencies, the accounts of which are related with much variation and confusion by the heresiographers. Here, we can only take note of some of the more important of these ideas attributed to the *ghulāt* of the first half of the second Islamic century, which is the period of our concentration here.[50]

The *ghulāt* speculated on the nature of God, often with strong tendencies towards anthropomorphism (*tashbīh*) inspired by certain Qurʾānic passages. Several of them, notably al-Mughīra b. Saʿīd and Abū Manṣūr al-ʿIjlī, are particularly known for their descriptions of God in terms of human features. More commonly, many of the *ghulāt* maintained that Allāh, in His essence (*dhāt*), is the divine spirit or light, which may be manifested in diverse forms and creatures. Consequently, they believed in the infusion or incarnation (*ḥulūl*) of the divine essence in the human body, especially in the body of the imams. They also allowed for *badāʾ*, or change in God's will, a doctrine first expounded by al-Mukhtār to rationalize the failures of his various predictions.

The *ghulāt* were equally interested in thinking about divination and the various types of divine inspiration. Accordingly, they revived the notion of prophecy (*nubuwwa*) and conceived of the recurrent possibility that God may continue to speak to man through other intermediaries and messengers after the Prophet Muḥammad. Therefore, they often ascribed a prophetic authority to their imams, though one secondary to that of Muḥammad's and without expecting a new divine revelation replacing the message of Islam. Indeed, the imam above all others was the focus of much of these speculations. According to a multitude of extremist ideas, expressed to legitimize the imam's authority, he was thought to have a special relation to God. While some believed in the *ḥulūl* of the divine spirit in his person, others went so far as to deify him, perhaps as a lesser god on earth. More frequently, the *ghulāt*, if not attributing a prophetic authority to the imam, felt that he received at least some form of divine guidance and protection. As a result, the imam was thought to be innately endowed with some divinely bestowed attributes, such as sinlessness and infallibility (*ʿiṣma*).

These notions provided a perspective for the speculations about the soul and its relation to the body, death and the afterlife, as well as the status of the true believer and the Day of Judgement. Many of the *ghulāt* thought of the soul in terms of the doctrine of metempsychosis or transmigration (*tanāsukh*), namely the passing of the soul (*rūḥ* or *nafs*) from one body to another, presupposing the belief in the independent existence of the soul from the body. Some further maintained that this process of the transmigration of souls would take place in cycles, perhaps indefinitely, with each cycle (*dawr*) consisting of a specific number of thousands of years. Due to these new ideas, for many the doctrine of *rajʿa*, the return from the dead in the same body, was now replaced by that of *tanāsukh*, the reincarnation of the soul in a different human body or in a different creature. The *ghulāt* also conceived of the spirit of one imam transmigrating into the body of his successor. This belief provided an important justification for legitimizing a candidate's imamate, while simultaneously making it unnecessary to await the emergence (*ẓuhūr*) of an Imam-Mahdī.

By ascribing an exclusive role to the soul, which was capable of transmigration, some of the *ghulāt* upheld the concept of the eternity of life, or rather the successive lives of a person. As a corollary, they did not believe in corporeal death, or afterlife, and denied the resurrection of the dead at the end of time. For similar reasons, they denied the existence of Paradise, Hell, and the Day of Judgement, in their conventional sense. Instead, by emphasizing the idea of an immortal soul, they believed in a purely spiritual resurrection (*qiyāma*), whereby reward and punishment would fall on the soul. According to one's goodness or wickedness, one's soul would be reincarnated into the bodies of pious persons, or lower and subhuman creatures (*maskh*). The main criterion by which the piety or sinfulness

of a person was judged related essentially to his recognition or ignorance of the rightful imam of the time.

In such a perspective, where the *maʿrifa* or knowledge of the imam was held to be the most essential religious obligation of the true believer (*muʾmin*), the role of the developing *sharīʿa* apparently became less important, especially for the *ghulāt* who were excessively concerned with loyalty to the Shīʿī cause. These fervent Shīʿīs seem to have regarded the details and the ritual prescriptions of the sacred law of Islam, such as prayer, fasting and pilgrimage, as not binding on those who knew and were devoted to the true imam. They were also cited as dispensing with the prohibitions of law. Consequently, the *ghulāt* were often accused of advocating *ibāḥa* or antinomianism, and of endorsing libertinism. These and many similar charges, however, may well reflect the inferences and hostilities of the heresiographers, both Sunnī and Twelver. No doubt such accusations were encouraged by the fact that the early *ghulāt* did venerate their imams as almost superhuman beings who alone were destined by divine ordinance to lead the believers. It was during the period of oppressive Umayyad rule that the radical Shīʿīs, out of their exaltation of the ʿAlids, began to curse not only ʿUthmān and other Umayyads, but also Abū Bakr and ʿUmar, as usurpers of ʿAlī's rights. This public condemnation of the Companions (*sabb al-ṣaḥāba*), especially of the first two caliphs, which probably originated with Ibn Sabaʾ but in due time was to be adopted by almost all Shīʿī groups, remained the chief offence of Shīʿism in the eyes of Sunnī Muslims.

Certain points should be singled out with respect to the early *ghulāt* and their heritage. Practically no Shīʿī group of this formative period, especially in the first half of the second Islamic century, remained completely without some *ghulāt* thinkers, although the radical branch attracted the greatest number. Initially, many of the *ghulāt* leaders were Arabs and it is possible that some of their ideas had pre-Islamic Arab origins, the expectation that a dead hero might return to life being one probable instance. A few of their notions may even be traced to Islamic teachings and the Qurʾān. However, the *ghulāt* soon arose also from amongst the *mawālī*, who then comprised the bulk of the radical Shīʿīs. The non-Arab *ghulāt*, along with the *mawālī* in general, brought with them a multitude of ideas from their varied backgrounds. The speculations on the soul and the nature of its reward and punishment probably originated from Manichaeism which, in turn, might have derived them from earlier sources.[51] Another point is that the *ghulāt* initially devoted their efforts solely to religious speculations. Subsequently, however, as the Umayyad caliphate began to show signs of disintegration, some of the leaders of the *ghulāt* embarked on political activities against the regime. Finally, the spiritual independence of the early *ghulāt* and their daring ideas contributed significantly to giving Shīʿism its distinctive religious basis and identity.

By the middle of the 3rd/9th century, with the gradual formation of the various Shīʿī groups which were acquiring their own distinctive names, the term *ghulāt* began to lose its earlier importance. In the ʿAbbāsid period, religious deviations which posed a political danger to the state stemmed from the more widespread movements, such as the one organized by the Ismāʿīlīs. At any rate, the heresiographers use the term *ghulāt* sparingly in reference to individuals or groups appearing after the imamate of Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq, although this usage of the term was maintained by the later Muslim authorities producing bio-bibliographical works. For instance, al-Nawbakhtī mentions as the last of the *ghulāt* groups the Khaṭṭābiyya, identified by some authorities as the earliest Ismāʿīlīs. These were the followers of Abu'l-Khaṭṭāb, the leading *ghālī* in Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq's entourage. The fact, however, remains that much of the heritage of the early radical Shīʿīs, especially the *ghulāt* amongst them, was in due time absorbed into the main Shīʿī communities. In particular, their ideas on the imamate and on eschatology were adopted and elaborated by the Twelvers and the Ismāʿīlīs. On the other hand, those of their teachings which implied any compromise on the unity of God, such as their belief in *ḥulūl* and in the divinity of the imams, were checked, especially in the Imāmī branch of Shīʿism. But such doctrines were maintained by the Nuṣayrīs and some other extremist Shīʿī circles and, in later centuries, these and other notions of the early *ghulāt* found new expression in the doctrines of the Druzes and certain other groups.

We shall now resume our discussion of the moderate branch of Shīʿism. The Ḥusaynid Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn persisted in his quiescence and did not claim the imamate openly for himself. However, after Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya's death, Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn, now the eldest ʿAlid, began to enjoy a more influential position within the ʿAlid family. In addition, due to his renowned piety, which had won him his honorific title 'the Ornament of the Pious', he had gradually come to be held in great esteem, especially by the pious circles of Medina. But since he refrained from any form of political activity and devoted his time mainly to praying (whence his additional title al-Sajjād), he did not acquire any significant following. By the closing years of his life, Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn had, however, developed an entourage, consisting of some relatives and a few pious Arabs. In sum, during Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn's lifetime, the moderate Imāmī branch of Shīʿism was eclipsed by the radical branch, then represented mainly by the Hāshimiyya. Having survived his father by some thirty-four years, ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn died in 95/714, shortly before the death of his cousin and rival, Abū Hāshim.[52]

According to the later Twelver and Ismāʿīlī Shīʿīs, Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn had designated his eldest son Muḥammad, later called al-Bāqir, as his successor. Some modern Islamicists, too, have argued that it was evidently in al-Bāqir's time that the idea of imamate by *naṣṣ* became more widespread amongst the Shīʿīs.[53] At any

event, al-Bāqir seems to have considered himself the sole legitimate ʿAlid authority, and he acquired followers who regarded him as such.[54] Al-Bāqir continued his father's quiescent attitude towards the Umayyads and contented himself, as a matter of policy, with the religious aspects of his authority. Nevertheless, from the very beginning, his authority was challenged by some of his close Fāṭimid relatives. The new claimants to the imamate provided yet more diverse outlets for the allegiance of the Shīʿīs, who were already divided into numerous groups. Of particular importance was the movement started by al-Bāqir's half-brother Zayd b. ʿAlī. There also started at this time the movement of ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Ḥasan al-Muthannā b. al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī, with whom the Ḥasanid branch of the ʿAlid family came into prominence. This movement, which like that of Zayd acquired its importance after al-Bāqir's imamate, was in effect launched in the name of ʿAbd Allāh's son Muḥammad, known as al-Nafs al-Zakiyya (the Pure Soul).

Meanwhile, al-Bāqir concentrated on teaching and thinking about the rudiments of some of the ideas which were to become the legitimist principles of the Imāmī branch. Above all, he seems to have concerned himself with explaining the functions and the divinely bestowed attributes of the imams. He is also credited with introducing the principle of *taqiyya*, dissimulation of one's true belief under adverse circumstances, a principle which was later adopted by both the Twelvers and the Ismāʿīlīs. In spite of many difficulties, al-Bāqir did manage in the course of his imamate of almost twenty years to expand his circle of partisans. He also acquired a number of adherents from amongst the famous traditionists and jurists of Kūfa, notably Zurāra b. Aʿyan who had initially supported Zayd, and Muḥammad b. Muslim al-Ṭāʾifī. The renowned poet al-Kumayt b. Zayd al-Asadī (d. 126/743) was another follower of al-Bāqir. The names of the adherents of al-Bāqir and other imams of the Ḥusaynid line were recorded in the earliest biographical compendium of Shīʿī personalities, by the Imāmī traditionist al-Kashshī who flourished in the first half of the 4th/10th century.[55] Later works, belonging to the same category of the *kutub al-rijāl* (bio-bibliographical books), compiled by the other prominent Twelver Shīʿī scholars al-Najāshī (d. 450/1058), al-Ṭūsī (d. 460/1067), one of the leading Shīʿī authorities who has preserved an abridged version of al-Kashshī's work, and Ibn Shahrāshūb (d. 588/1192), also contain valuable information on the Imāmī Shīʿīs.[56]

It may be pointed out here that al-Bāqir's imamate also coincided with the initial stages of the Islamic science of jurisprudence (*ʿilm al-fiqh*). It was, however, in the final decades of the second Islamic century that the old Arabian concept of *sunna*, the normative custom or the established practice of the community, which had reasserted itself under Islam, came to be explicitly identified by the pious Muslims with the *sunna* of the Prophet. This identification, in turn, necessitated

the collection of those *ḥadīth*s or traditions which claimed to be the reports on the sayings and actions of the Prophet, handed down orally through an uninterrupted chain of trustworthy authorities. The activity of collecting and studying *ḥadīth*, which had initially arisen mainly in opposition to the extensive use of human reasoning by the Islamic judges (singular, *qāḍī*), and for citing the authority of the Prophet to determine proper legal practices, soon became another major field of Islamic learning, complementing the science of Islamic jurisprudence. In this formative period of the Islamic religious sciences, al-Bāqir has been mentioned as a reporter of *ḥadīth*, particularly of those supporting the Shīʿī cause and derived from ʿAlī. The Imams al-Bāqir and al-Ṣādiq, however, interpreted the law mostly on their own authority, without much recourse to *ḥadīth* from earlier authorities. It should be added that in Shīʿism, *ḥadīth* is reported on the authority of the imams and it includes the sayings of the imams in addition to the Prophetic traditions. Al-Bāqir's teaching on legal and ritual aspects of Islam comprised many of the features which were later regarded as distinctive aspects of Imāmī Shīʿī law, such as the prohibition of the ritual wiping of the soles of one's footwear (*masḥ ʿalā'l-khuffayn*) and the permission of *mutʿa* or temporary marriage, which was not upheld by the Ismāʿīlīs and the Zaydīs.[57] It should be added that the teaching of ʿAbd Allāh b. al-ʿAbbās (d. 68/687–688), the Prophet and ʿAlī's cousin, had a significant impact on early Imāmī religious and legal doctrine.[58] Al-Bāqir was also the first imam of the Ḥusaynid line to attract a few *ghulāt* theorists to his side. The most prominent of these *ghulāt* who were originally in al-Bāqir's following were al-Mughīra b. Saʿīd, mentioned variously as a *mawlā* or an Arab from the tribe of ʿIjl, and Abū Manṣūr al-ʿIjlī. It is useful to consider the highlights of their ideas, some of which anticipated certain distinguishing aspects of early Ismāʿīlī thought.

The heresiographers provide many details on the ideas propagated by al-Mughīra.[59] According to these sometimes contradictory accounts, he seems to have combined a variety of pre-Islamic beliefs of the Near East into his teaching, reflecting particularly the influences of Mandaean and Manichaean gnostic doctrines.[60] Indeed, al-Mughīra, with his emphasis on spiritualism and pronounced dualism, has been credited with being the first Shīʿī gnostic.[61] One of the most distinctive features of his teaching was his anthropomorphic description of God. He asserted that God is a man of light with a crown of light on his head, a concept closely resembling the Mandaean doctrine of their deity, referred to as the 'king of light'.[62] He further added that God has limbs which correspond to the letters of the Arabic alphabet, and that these letters (*ḥurūf*) themselves derived from the Greatest Name of God, spoken at the time of creation. These ideas are clearly reminiscent of the teaching of Marcus the Gnostic, one of the leading exponents of Valentinian Gnosticism, for whom the body of the 'supreme

truth' (*Aletheia*) was composed of the letters of the Greek alphabet.[63] Al-Mughīra may probably be considered as the first Shīʿī, or the first Muslim for that matter, who thought about the mystical and symbolic nature of the alphabet and thus anticipated the more elaborate views of the later Ismāʿīlīs. It was possibly also due to al-Mughīra's ideas, further developed by others, that the extremist Shīʿīs came to attribute certain occult properties to the twenty-eight letters of the Arabic alphabet. Al-Mughīra is equally noted for his theory of the creation of the world and the first beings. His cosmogony, too, reflects the influence of ancient gnostic systems and, like his anthropomorphism, seems to have been inspired by the allegorical or symbolic interpretation (*taʾwīl*) of certain Qurʾānic passages, a method which was to become more distinctively associated with the Ismāʿīlīs. The fundamental aspect of this cosmogony is its gnostic dualism, characterized by the eternal conflict between light and darkness which, in close affinity with the basic tenet of Manichaeism, symbolize good and evil.

In time, al-Mughīra acquired followers of his own in Kūfa, from amongst both the Arabs and the *mawālī*. They became known as the Mughīriyya, representing one of the most important of the *ghulāt* groups. Al-Mughīra imbued his followers with a sense of exclusiveness and devotion to his leadership, which may explain why they were also referred to as the Wuṣafāʾ, the Servants. The origins of religious elitism among the extremist Shīʿīs may, indeed, be traced to the Mughīriyya. The elitist feelings of the Mughīriyya, which made them hostile towards their enemies, in turn laid the foundation of religious militancy, a method of struggle more characteristic of Abū Manṣūr's group.

Abū Manṣūr, who interestingly enough was illiterate, also preached the imamate of al-Bāqir and, like al-Mughīra, founded his own group, the Manṣūriyya.[64] He advocated, now as a matter of policy, the use of assassination in dealing with adversaries.[65] After al-Bāqir's death, Abū Manṣūr asserted that the imamate had been bequeathed to him by al-Bāqir, whose legatee he claimed to be. Still later, he claimed prophethood, maintaining that he had ascended to heaven where God patted him on his head, addressed him in Syriac and charged him with delivering a prophetic message. Abū Manṣūr, too, speculated about the creation,[66] and certain aspects of his teaching anticipate, in embryonic form, important Ismāʿīlī parallels. He held the belief in the uninterrupted succession of prophets, adding that, after himself, prophethood would continue in his progeny for six generations, the last of whom (the seventh one counting from Abū Manṣūr) would be the Mahdī. Furthermore, he resorted to the allegorical interpretation of the Qurʾān and maintained that whereas Muḥammad had delivered the message of Islam, it was now his own divinely inspired duty to explain it allegorically. He also denied the resurrection and interpreted Paradise and Hell symbolically in terms of the experiences of this world.

It has been reported that al-Bāqir disavowed both al-Mughīra and Abū Manṣūr, though each one later claimed his heritage. Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq, too, renounced the most prominent of the *ghulāt* in his entourage. But the fact remains that from the time of al-Bāqir, the *ghulāt* were drawn into the followings of the Ḥusaynid imams. This was a significant event producing a lasting influence on the doctrinal basis of the Imāmī branch of Shīʿism. Having taken important preliminary steps towards establishing the identity of Imāmī Shīʿism, the Imam Abū Jaʿfar Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Bāqir died around 114/732–733,[67] one century after the death of the Prophet. In the meantime, after the short reigns of Sulaymān, the pious ʿUmar II (99–101/717–720) who paid greater attention to the precepts of Islam and was more friendly towards the ʿAlids than his predecessors, terminating also the condemnation of ʿAlī from the pulpits, and Yazīd II (101–105/720–724), the caliphate had passed to the capable Hishām b. ʿAbd al-Malik (105–125/724–743). One of Hishām's first acts was to appoint the skilful Khālid b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Qasrī as the governor of ʿIrāq, in which post he remained for almost fifteen years (106–120/724–738), longer than any other Umayyad governor with the exception of al-Ḥajjāj. Khālid maintained a strict surveillance over the Kūfan Shīʿīs who were continuing their clandestine activities. As it soon became apparent, however, Hishām's long caliphate was to mark the last stable period of Umayyad rule.

Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq's imamate and the ʿAbbāsids

On the death of al-Bāqir, his following split into several groups.[68] One group, the Bāqiriyya, awaited his reappearance as the Mahdī, while another group went over to the Ḥasanid, al-Nafs al-Zakiyya. There were also those who transferred their allegiance to al-Mughīra and Abū Manṣūr. But a faithful group of al-Bāqir's partisans now recognized his eldest son Abū ʿAbd Allāh Jaʿfar, later called al-Ṣādiq (the Trustworthy), as their new imam as designated by *naṣṣ*. This group of Imāmī Shīʿīs continued to support Jaʿfar and in time expanded significantly. Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq's long imamate of some thirty odd years, coinciding with the most turbulent epoch of early Islamic history, may best be studied in terms of two periods. During the first period, lasting until shortly after the accession of the ʿAbbāsids, he remained overshadowed by certain other claimants to the imamate, while the ʿAbbāsid movement was successfully unfolding. It was during the second period, covering roughly the final decade of his imamate, that Jaʿfar acquired a unique prominence. We shall now turn to the events of the first two decades of Jaʿfar's imamate, events which also resulted in the elimination of his most active Hāshimid rivals.

By the time of Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq, the movement of Zayd b. ʿAlī was already well established. Jaʿfar continued his father's passive policy towards his elder uncle, and even displayed public reverence for him. Soon afterwards, however, some of Zayd's followers abandoned him and joined the Imam Jaʿfar, probably due to the attraction of the latter's *naṣṣ* imamate. According to one account, Zayd designated these deserters as Rawāfiḍ or Rejectors, because of their refusal to support his revolt,[69] a term subsequently applied abusively to other Shīʿī groups and in particular to the Imāmiyya. The movement of Muḥammad al-Nafs al-Zakiyya also began to gain momentum during the earlier years of Jaʿfar's imamate. This movement, as noted, had been launched by Muḥammad's father ʿAbd Allāh who, being a Ḥasanid through his father and a Ḥusaynid through his mother Fāṭima bint al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī, had earned the by-name of al-Maḥḍ (of Pure Blood). ʿAbd Allāh was the *shaykh* of the Ḥasanids and was also held in high esteem within the entire ʿAlid family.[70] He had ambitious designs for his son, Muḥammad, whom he had designated from the time of his birth, supposedly in 100/718, for the role of the expected Mahdī. This was probably encouraged by a tradition circulated by the Shīʿīs to the effect that the Mahdī who in time would arise from amongst the *ahl al-bayt* would carry the same name, Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh, as the Prophet himself.

Meanwhile, the Umayyad regime had begun to show signs of collapse during the final years of Hishām's rule. The Shīʿīs, quick in noticing the changed conditions and having refrained from all open activity for almost half a century, staged a number of risings in Kūfa. All these attempts ended in failure since they lacked sufficient organization and support. In 119/737, al-Mughīra and Bayān, who had apparently joined forces after al-Bāqir's death, were arrested together with a handful of their followers and burned in Kūfa on the orders of Khālid b. ʿAbd Allāh. It is not clear whether this action was taken to suppress a premature rising or to bring the suspected rebels into the open. In 124/742, Abū Manṣūr met a similar fate at the hands of Khālid's successor Yūsuf b. ʿUmar al-Thaqafī, who governed ʿIrāq from 120/738 to 126/744. The bulk of the supporters of these three *ghulāt*, from amongst the Bayāniyya, the Mughīriyya and the Manṣūriyya, subsequently joined al-Nafs al-Zakiyya.

More significantly, in Ṣafar 122/January 740, Zayd b. ʿAlī staged his open revolt in Kūfa, which was actually the first Shīʿī attempt of its kind since that of al-Mukhtār's and the second one led hitherto by an ʿAlid after Karbalāʾ. The revolt proved abortive, not only because the Kūfans had once again displayed their unreliability and failed to recruit 100,000 armed men for Zayd as promised, but also because Yūsuf b. ʿUmar had discovered the plot in time and took severe measures to repress it. Zayd and the small band of the zealous partisans who fought with him were massacred by the Syrian troops, a tragic end reminiscent

of that of Zayd's grandfather al-Ḥusayn.[71] Soon afterwards, the caliph Hishām commanded that all prominent Ṭālibids should publicly condemn Zayd and dissociate themselves from all anti-Umayyad activities. ʿAbd Allāh al-Maḥḍ and Ibn Muʿāwiya, amongst others, complied. The Imam Jaʿfar was apparently spared the ordeal, as his name does not appear in connection with this episode in any known source. This may indicate that by the time of Zayd's revolt, the Imam Jaʿfar had already been explicit about his opposition to any militant Shīʿī activity. Zayd's movement, however, was continued by his son Yaḥyā, whose Ḥanafid mother was one of Abū Hāshim's daughters. Yaḥyā concentrated his activities in Khurāsān, where many Kūfan Shīʿīs had been exiled by the governors of ʿIrāq. But after three years of futile efforts, he was overtaken by the troops of the governor of Khurāsān, Naṣr b. Sayyār. Yaḥyā was killed in battle near Jūzjān in 125/743.[72] The Zaydīs were later led by al-Nafs al-Zakiyya, Yaḥyā's brother ʿĪsā b. Zayd (d. 166/783), and then by Aḥmad b. ʿĪsā (d. 247/861) and others whom they recognized as their imams. Later, Zaydī groups participated in a number of abortive ʿAlid revolts in the Ḥijāz and elsewhere.

Few details are available on the ideas held by Zayd and his original followers. According to some later and unreliable reports, Zayd was an associate of Wāṣil b. ʿAṭāʾ (d. 131/748–749), one of the reputed founders of the theological school of the Muʿtazila, originally a religio-political movement. The Muʿtazilīs, as far as we know, initially aimed at reuniting the Muslim community on a compromise solution to the disputes among the various religio-political parties. However, they focused their attention on theological principles with only a secondary interest in the doctrine of the imamate. Modern scholarship has increasingly shown that the doctrinal positions of the early Shīʿīs and the Muʿtazilīs were rather incompatible with one another during the 2nd/8th century and it was only in the latter part of the 3rd/9th century that Zaydism, as well as Imāmī Shīʿism, came under the influence of Muʿtazilism.[73] Therefore, it can no longer be maintained that the earliest Zaydīs were influenced by Muʿtazilī ideas.

The early Zaydīs essentially retained the politically militant and religiously moderate attitude prevailing among the early Kūfan Shīʿa. However, the Zaydiyya elaborated a doctrine of the imamate that clearly distinguished them from Imāmī Shīʿism and its two subsequent branches, the Ithnāʿashariyya and the Ismāʿīliyya. The Zaydīs did not recognize a hereditary line of imams, nor did they attach any significance to the principle of imamate by *naṣṣ*. Initially, they accepted any member of the *ahl al-bayt* as an imam, though later the Zaydī imams were restricted to the Fāṭimid ʿAlids. According to Zaydī doctrine, if an imam wished to be recognized he would have to assert his claims publicly in a rising (*khurūj*) and sword in hand if necessary, in addition to having the required religious knowledge (*ʿilm*). By contrast to the Twelvers and the Ismāʿīlīs, the Zaydīs also excluded

from the imamate under-age males. They also rejected the eschatological idea of a concealed Mahdī and his expected return. As a result, messianic tendencies remained rather weak in Zaydī Shīʿism. Due to their emphasis on activism, the observance of *taqiyya*, too, was alien to Zaydī teachings.

During the 2nd/8th century, the Zaydīs were doctrinally divided into two main groups, the Batriyya and the Jārūdiyya. The Batriyya represented the moderate faction of the early Zaydiyya, upholding the caliphates of Abū Bakr and ʿUmar. They held that though ʿAlī was the most excellent (*al-afḍal*) of Muslims to succeed the Prophet, nevertheless the caliphates of his predecessors who were less excellent (*al-mafḍūl*) were valid, because ʿAlī himself had pledged allegiance to them. In the case of ʿUthmān the matter was more complicated. The Batriyya either abstained from judgement or repudiated him for the last six years of his rule. These ideas were repellent to the radical Shīʿīs who condemned the early Companions for ignoring ʿAlī's succession rights, but they appealed to the Muslim majority. In fact, in time the Batrī Zaydī tradition was absorbed into Sunnī Islam. On the other hand, the Jārūdiyya adopted the more radical Shīʿī views and, like the Kaysānīs and Imāmīs, rejected the caliphs before ʿAlī. By the 4th/10th century, Zaydī doctrine, influenced by Jārūdī and Muʿtazilī elements, had been largely formulated.[74]

The disintegration of the Umayyad regime accelerated upon Hishām's death in 125/743. Scarcely a year had passed before the caliphate of Hishām's nephew and successor al-Walīd II was brought to an end in 126/744, by a *coup d'état* engineered by the Syrian army and with the cooperation of the Umayyad family. This event, which amounted to political suicide for the ruling dynasty, marked the imminent end of what Wellhausen has called the 'Arab Kingdom'. The rule of the next caliph, Yazīd III, the choice of the rebellious generals, lasted less than six months and on his sudden death further dynastic rivalries led to a civil war. Ibrāhīm b. al-Walīd I was acknowledged as the new caliph only in southern Syria, and during his short reign of some three months, general conditions deteriorated into complete chaos. The ambitious Marwān, known as Marwān II al-Ḥimār, who was from an offshoot of the Umayyad family, was now the only person with sufficient military power to enforce some semblance of order in the empire. Consequently, he marched to Damascus, deposed Ibrāhīm and proclaimed himself the new caliph in 127/744. By that time, however, the task of rescuing Umayyad rule had become all but an impossibility, as revolts were raging in almost every province.

The prevailing chaos encouraged the Shīʿīs of Kūfa and elsewhere to make yet bolder efforts towards obtaining the caliphate. At a gathering of the Hāshimids held at al-Abwāʾ near Medina in 126/744, ʿAbd Allāh al-Maḥḍ succeeded in persuading all the participants to accord their oath of allegiance to al-Nafs al-Zakiyya and to recognize him as the most suitable candidate for the caliphate.[75]

Amongst those who complied were Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad, the head of the ʿAbbāsids, and his two brothers Abu'l-ʿAbbās and Abū Jaʿfar, future ʿAbbāsid caliphs, who complied under false pretences. Only the Imam Jaʿfar, the most respected Ḥusaynid after Zayd's martyrdom, is reported to have withheld his approval. While ʿAbd Allāh al-Maḥḍ may have attributed Jaʿfar's opposition to the then existing rivalries between the Ḥasanids and the Ḥusaynids, it should be recalled that Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq was not prepared to accept the claims of his Ḥasanid cousin or any other ʿAlid since he clearly regarded himself as the rightful imam of the time. After this family reunion, al-Nafs al-Zakiyya and his brother Ibrāhīm embarked on a vigorous campaign, which received the support of many Muʿtazilīs and Zaydīs, as well as several *ghulāt* groups.[76] Their movement, however, lacked foresight and organization and was easily overtaken and then crushed by the ʿAbbāsids.

The last unsuccessful revolt of the Umayyad period, which was Shīʿī in the broadest sense, was launched by the Ṭālibid ʿAbd Allāh b. Muʿāwiya who, as noted, had his own extremist Shīʿī partisans, the Janāḥiyya. But now Ibn Muʿāwiya was to lead a movement of much greater social significance, supported by a multitude of Shīʿī and non-Shīʿī groups.[77] In the confusing aftermath of al-Walīd II's murder, the Kūfan Shīʿīs had urged Ibn Muʿāwiya, then sojourning in their city, to rebel against ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar, the son of the pious Umayyad caliph, who governed ʿIrāq under the caliphs Yazīd III and Ibrāhīm. However, Ibn Muʿāwiya's open revolt, which took place in Muḥarram 127/October 744, was easily suppressed by Ibn ʿUmar, as the Kūfans turned out to be as unreliable as ever. Only the Zaydīs in his following fought bravely for a few days, until Ibn Muʿāwiya was given a safe-conduct out of Kūfa. He withdrew to western Persia, where he soon acquired a large number of supporters, especially from amongst the Persian *mawālī*. In 128/745, he established himself at Iṣṭakhr in the Fārs province, from where he ruled for a few years over a vast territory in Persia.

Ibn Muʿāwiya gathered an extremely varied coalition of groups around himself. In fact, the outstanding feature of his movement was the peculiar diversity of its composition. Aside from the *mawālī*, it included several Shīʿī groups, many Khārijīs, the notable ʿAbbāsids, and even some discontented Umayyads. This reveals how widespread the anti-regime sentiments had now become, and it also indicates that Ibn Muʿāwiya's movement did not have any particular ideological basis, Shīʿī or otherwise. Ibn Muʿāwiya himself seems to have been more concerned with political power than with doctrinal issues, as attested by his willingness to receive support from heterogeneous religio-political factions. The lack of any particular ideology proved to be a fundamental shortcoming of this movement. Ibn Muʿāwiya was finally defeated in 130/748, by a large army sent after him by Marwān II who, having established his authority in Syria and ʿIrāq, had now

turned his attention to the eastern provinces which were no longer controlled effectively by the Umayyads. ʿAbd Allāh b. Muʿāwiya fled from his enemies and sought asylum in Khurāsān, where he was killed in 131/748–749 by his friends, probably on the orders of Abū Muslim al-Khurāsānī, the chief architect of the ʿAbbāsid victory.

The ʿAbbāsids had, meanwhile, learned important lessons from the many abortive Shīʿī revolts of the Umayyad period. Consequently, while awaiting their own turn to make a bid for power, they paid particular attention to developing the organization of their movement, concentrating their activities in the remote eastern province of Khurāsān.[78] As noted, the ʿAbbāsid Muḥammad b. ʿAlī took over the claims of the Ḥanafid ʿAlid Abū Hāshim and his propaganda organization, and party, the Hāshimiyya. With these valuable assets, the active propaganda or mission, *daʿwa*, of the ʿAbbāsids seems to have begun around the year 100/718, soon after Abū Hāshim's death.[79] From the headquarters in Kūfa, numerous emissaries were sent to Khurāsān, where there was widespread support for Shīʿism among both the Arab settlers in the province and the native Persian *mawālī*. Khurāsān, with its capital at Marw, soon became the main recruiting ground for, and the revolutionary base of, the ʿAbbāsid movement. The ʿAbbāsid *daʿwa* was cleverly preached in the name of *al-riḍā min āl Muḥammad*, a phrase which spoke of an unidentified personage belonging to the Prophet's family. Aside from being a precautionary measure, this aimed at drawing maximum support from the Shīʿīs who upheld the leadership of the *ahl al-bayt*.[80]

Initially, the ʿAbbāsid *daʿwa* in Khurāsān was organized mainly in the form of small clandestine groups, but still many of the ʿAbbāsid *dāʿīs* were discovered and killed by the Umayyads. Therefore, it soon became necessary to create a more formal organization. A supreme council of twelve chiefs, the *nuqabāʾ*, was set up at Marw to direct the activities of a large number of newly appointed *dāʿīs*, a method of organization adopted also by the Ismāʿīlīs. These changes proved successful, especially when ʿAmmār b. Yazīd, better known as Khidāsh, was sent to Khurāsān to head the new *daʿwa* organization. He was apparently inclined towards the ʿAlids and taught extremist doctrines, which may explain why he was later disavowed by the ʿAbbāsids. Khidāsh, who was arrested and executed in 118/736, was succeeded by Sulaymān b. Kathīr. Contact between the partisans in Khurāsān and the imam, who resided in Ḥumayma but remained nameless, continued to be maintained through the leader of the ʿAbbāsids' Kūfan organization, a post held by Bukayr b. Māhān from 105/723.

Muḥammad b. ʿAlī died in 125/743, and his son Ibrāhīm, known as al-Imām, became the new imam of the Hāshimiyya–ʿAbbāsiyya party and, hence, the leader of the movement. Ibrāhīm intensified the ʿAbbāsid *daʿwa* and initiated its more militant phase. In the prevailing confusion and in the aftermath of the defeats of

Zayd and of his son Yaḥyā, the movement began to meet with increasing success. In 128/745–746, Ibrāhīm sent his Persian *mawlā*, Abū Muslim, the celebrated personality with an obscure background who earlier had apparently followed al-Mughīra and had also in vain offered his services to the Imam Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq, as his personal representative to Khurāsān to organize and lead the final phase of the movement.[81] Meanwhile, Abū Salama al-Khallāl, a prominent Shīʿī leader, had become the new head of the Kūfan organization, following the death of Bukayr in 127/744. Abū Muslim's success was astonishingly rapid, and by 129/747 he had unfurled the 'black banners' that were to become the emblem of the ʿAbbāsids, signifying open revolt. His revolutionary army, the Khurāsāniyya, comprised of both Persian *mawālī* and Arabs, especially Yamanīs, expanded significantly in a short period. It was also in Abū Muslim's army that complete integration of Arab and non-Arab Muslims was attained for the first time.

In 130/748, Abū Muslim entered Marw and then seized all of Khurāsān, driving out the aged Umayyad governor, Naṣr b. Sayyār. In the same year, the Khurāsānī army under the command of Qaḥṭaba b. Shabīb, one of the original *nuqabāʾ*, started its swift advance westward, defeating the Umayyad armies along the way. In Muḥarram 132/August 749, the forces of Ibn Hubayra, the last Umayyad governor of ʿIrāq, were defeated in a battle near Kūfa, in which Qaḥṭaba lost his life. A few days later, the victorious Khurāsānīs entered Kūfa. Thereupon, power was handed to Abū Salama who was immediately acknowledged as *wazīr āl Muḥammad*. The idea of *wazīr*, first introduced with a vague connotation to the Arab Muslims by al-Mukhtār, was now about to develop into an important administrative office under the ʿAbbāsids.

The time had finally arrived for disclosing the name of *al-riḍā* from the Prophet's family, who would be acceptable to all. Just before the fall of Kūfa, Ibrāhīm al-Imām had died in Marwān II's prison in Ḥarrān, where he had been confined for several months upon the Umayyad caliph's discovery of his role in the ʿAbbāsid *daʿwa*. It was now left to Abū Salama to reveal the identity of Ibrāhīm's successor, who was to be installed as the new caliph. Abū Salama personally favoured seeing an ʿAlid succeed to the caliphate.[82] He contacted three of the leading ʿAlids of the time, amongst them the Imam Jaʿfar and ʿAbd Allāh al-Maḥḍ. Abū Salama's offer of caliphal authority was evidently rejected by them, as was his request for the formation of an ʿAlid council to select a suitable candidate. Finally, after two months of waiting watchfully, the Khurāsāniyya took matters into their own hands and decided on Ibrāhīm's half-brother Abu'l-ʿAbbās, as the new caliph. He and other members of the ʿAbbāsid family had shortly before moved from Ḥumayma to Kūfa, where they had remained in hiding on Abū Salama's instructions. The whereabouts of Abu'l-ʿAbbās were, however, discovered by the loyal agents of Abū Muslim, who himself had stayed behind in

Khurāsān. On 12 Rabīʿ II 132/28 November 749, Abu'l-ʿAbbās was proclaimed as the first ʿAbbāsid caliph, with the title al-Saffāḥ, in the mosque of Kūfa. Abū Salama was obliged to pay homage and continued as *wazīr*. Soon afterwards, he was executed on the caliph's orders and with Abū Muslim's complicity.

In 132/750, the Khurāsānī troops achieved their final victory, in the battle of the Greater Zāb in northern ʿIrāq, against the Umayyad forces. The defeated Marwān II fled to Egypt, where he was killed in the same year. Thus, after more than thirty years of meticulous planning, the ʿAbbāsids had finally succeeded in sealing the fate of the Umayyads. They installed their own dynasty to the caliphate and ruled over a varying portion of the Islamic world for five centuries, until they were overthrown in 656/1258 by the Mongols. The struggle between ʿIrāq and Syria, an important factor in the anti-Umayyad activities of the Shīʿīs since ʿAlī's time, had now also ended in the defeat of the Syrians. The early ʿAbbāsids, who relied on the Persians and their Sāsānid models of centralized administration in the governing affairs of the state, established the seat of the caliphate in ʿIrāq, at first in the small town of Hāshimiyya and other localities near Kūfa and later, after 145/762, in the new city of Baghdad.

The ʿAbbāsid revolution marked a turning point in the history of early Islam, representing not only a change of dynasty but other important changes as well. With the fall of the Umayyads, their social order, which assigned a privileged position to the Arabs, also collapsed. The ʿAbbāsids distributed political power more widely and removed the distinction between the Arabs and the *mawālī*, many of whom no longer had any affiliation with an Arab tribe. During the first half-century of ʿAbbāsid rule, the hegemony of the Arab aristocracy rapidly came to an end, and privileges derived from birth, race or tribal affiliation ceased to have their earlier significance. Now, a new multi-racial ruling class, with Islam as its unifying feature, emerged to replace the Arab ruling class of the Umayyad period. With the emancipation of the *mawālī* and the new alignment of classes on non-racial grounds, some of the most pressing demands of the radical Shīʿīs and others opposed to the established order were satisfied. As a result, revolutionary Shīʿism henceforth ceased to be identified with the aspirations of the *mawālī*, who had at last acquired equal status and were soon to disappear as a distinct social class. Instead, it came to provide a suitable outlet for a wider spectrum of the oppressed and economically underprivileged masses as well as for those Shīʿīs who aimed to restore the caliphate to ʿAlids.

The ʿAbbāsid victory, however, was to be a source of disappointment in other respects, especially for the Shīʿīs, who had remained loyal to the ʿAlid cause. The ʿAbbāsids had conducted their secret propaganda in the name of the *ahl al-bayt* and on a largely Shīʿī basis. Their success, therefore, was expected to bring about the long-awaited Shīʿī triumph. But from the very beginning of ʿAbbāsid rule,

the Shīʿīs became greatly disillusioned when the hitherto unnamed *al-riḍā*, now installed to the caliphate, turned out to belong to the ʿAbbāsid branch of the Banū Hāshim instead of being an ʿAlid Hāshimid. The Shīʿī disappointment was further aggravated when the ʿAbbāsids chose to adhere to the *Jamāʿa*, the community as a body, and became staunch supporters of Sunnī Islam. The ʿAbbāsids realized that in order to be accepted as legitimate rulers by the majority of the Muslims, they had to renounce their Shīʿī past. Consequently, almost immediately upon their accession, they began to sever all ties with their more strictly Shīʿī supporters and the revolutionary leaders who had brought them to power. Abū Salama and Sulaymān b. Kathīr were summarily executed and, in 133/750–751, a Shīʿī revolt led by a certain Sharīk b. Shaykh al-Mahrī, the first of its kind in the ʿAbbāsid times, was ruthlessly suppressed in Bukhārā.[83] Soon afterwards in 137/755, Abū Muslim himself was lured to ʿIrāq and murdered on the order of Abū Jaʿfar al-Manṣūr (136–158/754–775), the elder and stronger brother and successor of Abu'l-ʿAbbās, who consolidated ʿAbbāsid rule and established the permanent capital of the Islamic state in the newly founded city of Baghdad, built near the ruins of Ctesiphon, the capital of the Sāsānid empire.

The caliph al-Manṣūr adopted still more repressive measures against the ʿAlids and the Shīʿīs. In 141/758, he massacred a group of the Rāwandiyya who besieged his palace and hailed him as the incarnation of divinity.[84] A few years later, he had many of the ʿAlids, notably from the Ḥasanid branch, imprisoned or killed. The ʿAbbāsids' breach with their Shīʿī origins and their efforts to legitimize their own rights to the caliphate were finally completed by the caliph Muḥammad al-Mahdī (158–169/775–785), who abandoned the ʿAbbāsid claim to Abū Hāshim's inheritance and instead declared that the Prophet had actually appointed his uncle al-ʿAbbās as his successor. This, of course, implied the repudiation of the analogous claims of the ʿAlids. With these adverse developments, those of the extremist Shīʿī followers of the ʿAbbāsids who did not scatter became alienated from them. Some of them in Persia and Central Asia found an outlet in a series of religio-political movements termed the Khurramiyya. Still others in ʿIrāq rallied to the side of the Fāṭimids, who were now the leading ʿAlids, and later many joined the Ismāʿīlī movement, which was to resume the interrupted development of revolutionary Shīʿism.

Under these circumstances, the time had come for the rise to prominence of the imamate of Jaʿfar, now called al-Ṣādiq, which occurred roughly during the last decade of his life and the first decade of al-Manṣūr's caliphate. There are diverse reasons for this phenomenon. As noted, the extremist *mawlā* Shīʿism of Umayyad times, upheld by the various Kaysānī groups which supported the Ḥanafid ʿAlid line of imams or others deriving their claims from these imams, had finally aborted mainly in the ʿAbbāsid cause, and those who survived were

ready to join the followings of other ʿAlid claimants. At the same time, with the Ḥanafids out of the way, the ʿAlid family had been reduced to its Ḥusaynid and Ḥasanid branches, of which Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq and Muḥammad al-Nafs al-Zakiyya were, respectively, the chief figures. In other words, the bulk of the Shīʿīs were now obliged to follow either one of these two Fāṭimid imams. It was from then that increasing stress was laid on direct descent from the Prophet through Fāṭima and ʿAlī, and Fāṭimid ʿAlid ancestry acquired its special significance for the Shīʿīs, being also used as the criterion for determining the composition of the *ahl al-bayt*. No doubt, the messianic claims and militant attitude of al-Nafs al-Zakiyya, who had refused to render homage to al-Manṣūr and had subsequently gone into hiding to prepare for a rebellion, held greater attraction for at least some of the more activist Shīʿīs. But this Ḥasanid movement soon ended in defeat. The open revolt of Muḥammad al-Nafs al-Zakiyya in the Ḥijāz and that of his supporting brother Ibrāhīm in ʿIrāq were subdued and they were both killed in 145/762–763 by the forces of the ʿAbbāsid ʿĪsā b. Mūsā, who governed Kūfa for fifteen years from 132/750 to 147/764. With the removal of al-Nafs al-Zakiyya, Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq emerged as the main rallying point for Shīʿī loyalties, especially in southern ʿIrāq, and his imamate provided the basis for the most important Shīʿī factions, the Twelvers and the Ismāʿīlīs, while the Zaydīs continued to follow their own imams. By that time, however, the Imam Jaʿfar had already become prominent, which, aside from the aforementioned factors, may be attributed to his own personality and fame for learning, and to the appeal of certain ideas taught by him and his associates.

Imam al-Ṣādiq's teachings

Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq, of superior intellectual quality to his ʿAlid relatives, had gradually acquired a widespread reputation for religious learning.[85] He was a reporter of *ḥadīth* and is cited respectfully as such in the chains of authorities (*isnād*s) accepted by the Sunnīs as well. Additionally, he taught *fiqh* and is credited with founding, after the work of his father, what was to become the Shīʿī school of religious law or *madhhab*, which differs somewhat from the four Sunnī schools.[86] Hence, the Twelvers, when referring to their *madhhab*, have called it the Jaʿfarī. It is important to note that Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq was accepted as a teaching authority not only by his own Imāmī Shīʿī partisans, but by a much wider circle, including the pious Muslims of Medina and Kūfa. For instance, Abū Ḥanīfa al-Nuʿmān (d. 150/767) and Mālik b. Anas (d. 179/795), the famous jurists and eponyms of the Ḥanafī and Mālikī Sunnī schools of law, reportedly studied or consulted with him. In time, Jaʿfar collected a noteworthy group of thinkers around himself,

and became the object of more *ghulāt* speculation than any other ʿAlid. He is, indeed, one of the most respected Shīʿī imams and religious authorities both for the Twelvers and the Ismāʿīlīs.

Throughout the tumultuous years preceding the ʿAbbāsid revolution, and also following it, when as a result of the great Shīʿī disappointment a fundamental re-orientation in Shīʿism was called for, Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq was quietly propounding his views regarding the imamate. Some of these views had already been formulated in rudimentary form by the Imam Muḥammad al-Bāqir, but it remained for Jaʿfar and his associates, notably the eminent Imāmī authority Hishām b. al-Ḥakam (d. 179/795–796), to develop them more precisely and systematically into the basic conception of the doctrine of the imamate. Here we are concerned only with certain principles embodied in this central Shīʿī doctrine, principles that were emphasized by the Imam Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq in response to the challenging needs of the time and, as such, proved effective in strengthening his imamate.[87]

The first principle was that of imamate by *naṣṣ*, defined as a prerogative bestowed by God upon a chosen person from the *ahl al-bayt*, who before his death and with divine guidance, transfers the imamate to his successor by an explicit designation or *naṣṣ*. As noted, others too had claimed the *naṣṣ* imamate, but the distinguishing feature of Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq's teaching was its emphasis to the effect that, on the authority of the *naṣṣ*, the imamate remained located in a specific individual, whether or not he claimed the caliphate. Thus, Jaʿfar maintained that there was always in existence a true imam, designated by the *naṣṣ* of the previous imam, who possessed all the authority of the sole legitimate imam of the time, whether or not he was at the time ruling over the community. Furthermore, the antecedence of the Imam Jaʿfar's own *naṣṣ* was traced back to ʿAlī, who was believed to have been appointed as the Prophet's *waṣī* and successor. This first *naṣṣ*, initiated by the Prophet under divine command or inspiration, had remained in the Ḥusaynid line of imams, having been transmitted successively from ʿAlī to al-Ḥasan, and then to al-Ḥusayn, Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn, and al-Bāqir until it had reached Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq, now the only claimant to the *naṣṣ* imamate within the ʿAlid family. The principle of the *naṣṣ* had two important results. First, it made it no longer necessary for an imam to rebel against the established regimes in order to assert his claim or become the actual ruler. In other words, the institutions of the imamate and the caliphate were separated from one another, by allowing for a non-ruling imam who was not required to seize the caliphal authority if circumstances did not permit it. This explains why Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq himself remained so non-committal in all the ʿAlid risings of his time, while the Ḥusaynids were largely spared the persecutions that al-Manṣūr meted out to the Ḥasanids.[88] Secondly, as noted by Hodgson, the *naṣṣ* imamate provided an important basis for the communal continuity of Shīʿism, since 'it made possible

a continuing dissident body of people attached to a continuing line of imams regardless of the fate of particular political movements. It also encouraged a systematic development of special religious ideas which could gain acceptance among such dissident bodies without competing for the attention of all Muslims generally.'[89]

The second fundamental principle embodied in the doctrine of the imamate, closely related to the *naṣṣ* principle and emphasized by Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq, was that of an imamate based on *ʿilm* or special religious knowledge. In the light of this *ʿilm*, which is divinely inspired and transmitted through the *naṣṣ* of the preceding imam, the rightful imam becomes the exclusively authorized source of the knowledge on how to decide points of conscience for the Muslims and lead them along the right path. Consequently, the imam will acquire the all-important functions of providing spiritual guidance for his adherents and explaining the inner meaning and significance of the Qurʾān and the religious injunctions, even when he is not occupied with the temporal function of ruling over the community. In the contemporary context of developing religious sciences, Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq, by virtue of his *naṣṣ* imamate and Fāṭimid descent, had acquired a unique position amongst all the authorities who were then concerned with working out the details of a pious life. His followers, too, attributed to him a uniquely authoritative *ʿilm*, necessary to guide the conscience and spiritual lives of the true believers. As in the case of the *naṣṣ*, the Imam Jaʿfar's *ʿilm* was traced back in the Ḥusaynid line to ʿAlī, who had acquired it from the Prophet.

It may be added that, in line with his passivity and prudence, the Imam al-Ṣādiq refined the closely-related principle of *taqiyya*, or precautionary dissimulation, and made it an absolute article of Shīʿī faith.[90] No doubt, it must have been dangerous for the imams and their followers to openly propagate their beliefs, and to publicly announce that certain individuals, other than the ruling caliphs, were the divinely appointed spiritual leaders of the Muslims. The practice of *taqiyya* conveniently protected the Shīʿīs, especially the later Ismāʿīlīs, from persecution, and served in the preservation of their existence under hostile circumstances. In sum, by placing emphasis on an imamate based on *naṣṣ* and *ʿilm*, and recommending the use of *taqiyya*, Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq had presented a new interpretation of the imam's attributes and functions. This interpretation, which concerned itself with a non-ruling imam who, until such time as God desired it, would solely act as spiritual guide and religious teacher, proved invaluable also in preventing the absorption of Shīʿism into the Sunnī synthesis of Islam that was simultaneously being worked out by the representative groups of the *Jamāʿa*. At the same time, by underlining the hereditary and the divinely-bestowed attributes of both *naṣṣ* and *ʿilm*, the Imam Jaʿfar had now restricted the sanctity of the *ahl al-bayt* not only to the ʿAlids and especially the Fāṭimids amongst them, to the exclusion

of the ʿAbbāsids and all other non-ʿAlid Hāshimids, but more specifically to his own Ḥusaynid line of imams. This was because al-Ḥusayn had inherited the imamate from al-Ḥasan, whose own progeny had never claimed a *naṣṣ* imamate.

The fundamental conception of the Imāmī doctrine of the imamate is embodied in numerous traditions reported mainly from Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq, preserved in the earliest corpus of Imāmī Shīʿī *ḥadīth* compiled by Abū Jaʿfar Muḥammad b. Yaʿqūb al-Kulaynī (d. 329/940–941), and retained by the Ismāʿīlīs in their foremost legal compendium produced by al-Qāḍī Abū Ḥanīfa al-Nuʿmān b. Muḥammad (d. 363/974).[91] This conception is founded on the permanent need of mankind for a divinely guided, sinless and infallible (*maʿṣūm*) imam who acts as the authoritative teacher and guide of men in all their religious and spiritual affairs. However, the imam can practise *taqiyya*, and, unlike Muḥammad who was the 'seal of the prophets', he does not receive divine revelation (*waḥy*), nor does he bring a new message and *sharīʿa* as did a messenger prophet. Although the imam is entitled to temporal leadership as much as to religious authority, his mandate does not depend on his actual rule or any attempt at gaining it. It is further maintained that the Prophet Muḥammad had designated ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib as his *waṣī* and successor, by an explicit designation (*naṣṣ*) under divine command, but the majority of the Companions apostatized by ignoring this testament. After ʿAlī, the imamate was to be transmitted from father to son by the rule of the *naṣṣ*, among the descendants of ʿAlī and Fāṭima, and after al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn in the progeny of the latter until the end of time. This imam, who is also the inheritor of Muḥammad's secret knowledge, is endowed by God with special *ʿilm*, and has perfect understanding of the outward or exoteric (*ẓāhir*) and the inward or esoteric (*bāṭin*) aspects and meanings of the Qurʾān and the sacred law of Islam. Indeed, the world cannot exist for a moment without an imam, the proof (*ḥujja*) of God on earth. Even if only two men were left upon the face of the earth, one of them would be the imam. And there can only be a single imam at one and the same time, though there may be a silent one (*ṣāmit*), his successor, beside him. In sum, the imam's existence in the terrestrial world is so essential that his recognition and obedience is made the absolute duty of every believer, hence the famous *ḥadīth* reported from the Imam al-Ṣādiq that 'whoever dies without having acknowledged the true imam of his time dies as an unbeliever (*kāfir*)'.[92]

In Shīʿī thought, the imam's all-important spiritual function of interpreting the inner meaning of the revelation announced by the Prophet is known as *taʾwīl*. The term *walāya* (Persian, *walāyat*), meaning devotion to the imams, is sometimes also used in this sense. No adequate equivalent exists in any of the Western languages for this sense of the term *walāya*, adopted in modern times especially by H. Corbin, but it may roughly be translated as 'initiation'.[93] According to the

Shīʿī perspective, the cycle of prophecy (*dāʾirat al-nubuwwa*), coinciding with the deliverance of new sacred laws by different prophets who thus discharged an exoteric prophetic function, came to its end with the Prophet Muḥammad, but then there arose the permanent need for the initiatic function connected with explaining the inner, spiritual meaning of the Islamic message. And the person whose duty it is in every age to fulfil the function of *taʾwīl* (or *walāya*), inseparable from imamate, is the rightful imam. It is through this function that the imams become the *awliyāʾ Allāh*, or the friends of Allāh. As we shall see, the notion of *taʾwīl* affirms the Shīʿī belief in the existence of the separate exoteric and esoteric dimensions in all religious scriptures and teachings, necessitating the spiritual comprehension of, and initiation into, their hidden and true meaning. Herein lies the essence of the imam's role, and the justification for the general importance assigned to esotericism and gnosis (*ʿirfān*) in Shīʿī Islam. And Shīʿī esotericism found its fullest development in Ismāʿīlism.

Finally, another factor which contributed to the strength of Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq's imamate revolved around the activities of the circle of thinkers surrounding him and his own ability to discipline the more extremist trends of thought within his following. Imam Jaʿfar attracted an active group of scholars who vigorously dealt with the intellectual issues and questions of the time. Most of these individuals lived in Kūfa, like the bulk of Jaʿfar's partisans from amongst both the ordinary Imāmī Shīʿīs upholding the legitimacy of the Ḥusaynid line of imams, and the more radical ones representing the heritage of the earlier extremist Shīʿīs. At the same time that the Imam Jaʿfar encouraged the intellectual enquiries of his disciples and associates, he made a point of keeping them within tolerable bounds, by imposing a certain doctrinal discipline. This formal disciplining seems to have been particularly enforced after the accession of al-Manṣūr, in response to the latter's anti-Shīʿī policies. As a result, while the imamate of Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq was invigorated by the ideas of the *ghulāt* and other types of thinkers in his entourage, such ideas were kept in check, and often reconciled with one another, so as not to permit them to go too far beyond the limits acceptable to the *Jamāʿa* and the Muslim majority. This policy ultimately proved invaluable in making the Ḥusaynid line of the ʿAlid imams the most widely recognized by the Shīʿīs.

Besides a number of jurists-traditionists who concentrated mainly on legal problems,[94] Jaʿfar's close circle of associates included some of the most famous speculative theologians (*mutakallimūn*) of the time. These theologians, such as Zurāra b. Aʿyan, Muʾmin al-Ṭāq, Hishām b. Sālim al-Jawāliqī, ʿAlī b. Ismāʿīl al-Maythamī, and above all Hishām b. al-Ḥakam, the foremost representative of Imāmī *kalām* or scholastic theology, made significant contributions to the formulation of the Imāmī doctrine of the imamate.[95] Separate mention may be made of the enigmatic Jābir b. Ḥayyān, the renowned alchemist, who regarded

Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq as his master and who was greatly influenced by the gnosticism of the early Shīʿī *ghulāt*. There has been much debate concerning the authorship of the corpus of writings attributed to him. Some of these works, in which the occult properties of the letters of the alphabet play an important part, were probably produced by circles close to the Ismāʿīlīs of much later times.[96] There were also several noteworthy *ghulāt* contributing to the rich and varied intellectual life of Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq's coterie. These included not only individuals such as Jābir al-Juʿfī (d. 128/745–746),[97] whom Jafri has classified among the so-called semi-*ghulāt*,[98] but most significantly Abu'l-Khaṭṭāb b. Abī Zaynab Miqlāṣ al-Ajdaʿ al-Asadī, the most prominent of all the early *ghulāt*.

Abu'l-Khaṭṭāb, a Kūfan and a *mawlā* of the tribe of Asad, was probably the first Shīʿī to have organized a movement of a specifically *bāṭinī* type, namely, esoteric and gnostic.[99] For quite some time, he was an intimate associate of Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq, who had appointed him as his chief *dāʿī* in Kūfa, the centre of Jaʿfar's partisans whom the imam visited occasionally from Medina. Abu'l-Khaṭṭāb acquired many followers of his own, known as the Khaṭṭābiyya, while he remained a zealous disciple of the Imam Jaʿfar and made exaggerated claims about him, in addition to holding other extremist views. As might be expected, this outspoken disciple eventually became intolerably dangerous for his quiescent imam. Consequently, Abu'l-Khaṭṭāb, who had apparently found one of the imam's sons, Ismāʿīl, somewhat responsive to his activist views and objectives, was accused of erring and was publicly cursed by Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq. This repudiation, which probably took place soon after al-Manṣūr's accession in Dhu'l-Ḥijja 136/June 754, caused great consternation among the imam's followers. Shortly afterwards, in 138/755–756, seventy of Abu'l-Khaṭṭāb's enthusiastic supporters, in the company of their denounced leader, assembled in the mosque of Kūfa under obscure circumstances and possibly for rebellious purposes. They were attacked and massacred by the troops of the city's governor, ʿĪsā b. Mūsā, who later crushed the revolt of the Ḥasanid brothers. Abu'l-Khaṭṭāb was arrested and then crucified on the governor's orders. On the death of Abu'l-Khaṭṭāb, who had remained loyal to Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq till the very end, the Khaṭṭābiyya, identified by al-Nawbakhtī and al-Qummī with the nascent Ismāʿīliyya, split into several groups. Some of the Khaṭṭābīs transferred their allegiance to Ismāʿīl b. Jaʿfar, the eponym of the Ismāʿīliyya, and to the latter's son Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl. Further discussion of these developments belongs in our next chapter. Suffice it to say here that with Abu'l-Khaṭṭāb, the early Khaṭṭābiyya and Ismāʿīl we are already dealing with the immediate milieu that gave rise to proto-Ismāʿīlism.

Only fragmentary information is available on the doctrines upheld by Abu'l-Khaṭṭāb and the early Khaṭṭābīs. Before being disavowed, Abu'l-Khaṭṭāb claimed to be the deputy and *waṣī* of the Imam Jaʿfar, who had allegedly taught him the

Greatest Name of God (*ism Allāh al-aʿẓam*), with its miraculous implications. Aside from speculating about broad issues, like other *ghulāt*, Abu'l-Khaṭṭāb and his disciples seem to have been particularly concerned with spiritual ranking and spiritual adoption. They ranked persons as angels, prophets, divine messengers, or even gods, though not in real rivalry with the one God, Allāh, but rather as His representatives. Abu'l-Khaṭṭāb is said to have taught that at all times there must be two prophets, one speaking (*nāṭiq*) and the other silent (*ṣāmit*). In Muḥammad's time, he had been the speaking prophet and ʿAlī the silent one, and now Jaʿfar and Abu'l-Khaṭṭāb were, respectively, the speaking and silent prophets. The early Khaṭṭābīs preached the divinity of the imams, on the basis of the divine light or *nūr* inherited by them. They are also credited with emphasizing the *bāṭinī taʾwīl*, the esoteric or allegorical interpretation of the Qurʾān and the sacred prescriptions, a method adopted and refined to its fullest extent by the Ismāʿīlīs. In cosmogony, they replaced the use of the letters of the alphabet, as introduced by al-Mughīra, by their corresponding numerical values. Some of the ideas or terminologies introduced by or attributed to Abu'l-Khaṭṭāb were also adopted by the early Ismāʿīlīs who, like the Khaṭṭābīs, were preoccupied with esotericism, cyclicism, hierarchism and symbolical exegesis.

Such were the circumstances under which Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq appealed to the diffuse Shīʿī sentiments, following decades of defeats, tragedies and martyrdoms for the loyal partisans of the ʿAlid cause. They served to strengthen his imamate, while setting Imāmī Shīʿism well on its way towards acquiring its distinctive identity. Having consolidated Shīʿism and established a solid foundation for its further doctrinal development, Abū ʿAbd Allāh Jaʿfar b. Muḥammad al-Ṣādiq, the last imam to be recognized by both the Twelvers and the Ismāʿīlīs, being the sixth one for the former and the fifth for the latter, died (or was poisoned according to some Shīʿīs, on the order of the caliph al-Manṣūr) in 148/765. He was buried in Medina, in the Baqīʿ cemetery, next to his father, grandfather and al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī, whose tombs were destroyed by the Wahhābīs in modern times. The dispute over the Imam Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq's succession caused historic splits in his following, and marked the beginning of what was later designated as the Ismāʿīlī branch of Shīʿī Islam.

3

Early Ismāʿīlism

Early Ismāʿīlism, or the pre-Fāṭimid period in Ismāʿīlī history, is one of the most obscure major phases in the entire history of Ismāʿīlism. It extends from the proto-Ismāʿīlī origins of the movement, in the middle of the 2nd/8th century, to the establishment of the Fāṭimid caliphate in the year 297/909, a period of almost one and a half centuries. Little reliable information is available on the history and doctrines of the early Ismāʿīlīs who contributed to the success and intellectual development of this branch of Shīʿism. As a result, many aspects of early Ismāʿīlism continue to be shrouded in uncertainty, causing irreconcilable disagreements among modern scholars regarding some key issues and events.

The particular difficulties of studying the early Ismāʿīlīs stem partly from the general dearth of accurate information on Shīʿism during the early ʿAbbāsid period, when the major Shīʿī communities of Ithnāʿashariyya and Ismāʿīliyya, then in the process of being formed, were for the most part severely persecuted and thus had to resort to *taqiyya* to safeguard themselves. More significantly, however, the persistence of research difficulties here has been due to the fact that few genuine Ismāʿīlī sources have survived from this early period. It is highly probable that the early Ismāʿīlīs, living in an extremely hostile milieu, did not produce any substantial volume of literature, preferring instead to propagate their doctrines mainly by word of mouth. The modern rediscovery of Ismāʿīlī literature has, indeed, confirmed this suspicion. It seems that the early Ismāʿīlīs produced only a few treatises which circulated mainly among the most trusted members of their community. Even then, however, the utmost effort was made to conceal the identity of the authors. Be that as it may, a small collection of Ismāʿīlī texts attributable to the pre-Fāṭimid period has survived to the present day. However, in all these early texts as well as the later Ismāʿīlī works, the opening stage of Ismāʿīlism is treated with great obscurity. For this earliest phase, the brief accounts of the Imāmī heresiographers al-Nawbakhtī and al-Qummī, written evidently before 286/899, provide our main sources of information. And the results of modern scholarship on the subject have also significantly improved our understanding of early Ismāʿīlī history.

The earliest Ismāʿīlīs

The history of Ismāʿīlism as an independent movement may be traced to the dispute over the succession to the Imam Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq, who died in 148/765. According to the majority of the available sources, he had designated his second son Ismāʿīl (the eponym of the Ismāʿīliyya) as his successor, by the rule of the *naṣṣ*. There can be no doubt about the authenticity of this designation, which forms the basis of the claims of the Ismāʿīliyya and which should have settled the question of al-Ṣādiq's succession in due course. But, as related in the majority of the sources, Ismāʿīl died before his father, and this raised some questions in the minds of some of al-Ṣādiq's followers, who did not understand how a divinely-guided imam could be fallible regarding so crucial a matter as the *naṣṣ*. A group of these Imāmī Shīʿīs, having become doubtful about al-Ṣādiq's *ʿilm* and his own imamate, had already left him during his lifetime.[1] Anti-Ismāʿīlī sources also add that Ismāʿīl had been deprived of his succession rights due to his indulgence in drink. Such reports about Ismāʿīl's dipsomania and his disavowal by his father, especially as related by the Twelver sources, probably represent later fabrications by those who did not accept the Ismāʿīlī line of imams.[2] It is not absolutely certain whether Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq designated another of his sons after Ismāʿīl, although the later Twelver Shīʿīs claimed such a *naṣṣ* for Mūsā b. Jaʿfar, the younger half-brother of Ismāʿīl, producing several *ḥadīth*s to this effect.[3] However, the fact remains that Ismāʿīl was not present at the time of the Imam al-Ṣādiq's death, when three other sons simultaneously claimed his succession, though none of them could convincingly prove to have been the beneficiary of a second *naṣṣ*. As a result, the Imam al-Ṣādiq's Shīʿī partisans split into six groups, two of which constituted the nucleus of the nascent Ismāʿīliyya.[4]

A small group refused to believe in al-Ṣādiq's death and awaited his reappearance as the Mahdī. They were called the Nāwūsiyya after their leader, a certain ʿAbd Allāh (or ʿIjlān) b. al-Nāwūs. A few others recognized Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar, known as al-Dībāj, the younger full-brother of Mūsā and they became denominated as the Shumayṭiyya (Sumayṭiyya), after their leader Yaḥyā b. Abi'l-Shumayṭ (al-Sumayṭ). Muḥammad al-Dībāj revolted unsuccessfully in 200/815–816 against the ʿAbbāsid caliph al-Maʾmūn (198–218/813–833), and died soon afterwards in 203/818. But the majority of al-Ṣādiq's partisans now accepted his eldest surviving son ʿAbd Allāh al-Afṭaḥ, the full-brother of Ismāʿīl, as their new imam. His adherents, the Afṭaḥiyya or Faṭḥiyya, cited a *ḥadīth* from the Imam al-Ṣādiq to the effect that the imamate must be transmitted through the eldest son of the imam. At any rate, when ʿAbd Allāh died, about seventy days after his father, the bulk of his supporters went over to Mūsā b. Jaʿfar, later called al-Kāẓim, who had already been acknowledged as his father's successor by some

of the Imāmiyya. Imāmī Shīʿīs who continued to recognize ʿAbd Allāh as the rightful imam before Mūsā constituted an important Imāmī sect in Kūfa until the 4th/10th century.

Thus, Mūsā al-Kāẓim soon received the allegiance of the majority of the Imāmī Shīʿīs, including the most renowned scholars in al-Ṣādiq's entourage, such as Hishām b. al-Ḥakam and Muʾmin al-Ṭāq who had supported Mūsā from the start. Mūsā, later counted as the seventh imam of the Twelvers, refrained from all political activity and was more quiescent than his father. He was, in fact, one of the two ʿAlids who reportedly refused to support al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī, known as Ṣāḥib Fakhkh. This Ḥasanid ʿAlid, a great-nephew of ʿAbd Allāh al-Maḥḍ, revolted in the Ḥijāz during the short caliphate of al-Hādī (169–170/785–786), and was killed at Fakhkh near Mecca, together with many other ʿAlids, in 169/786.[5] Nevertheless, Mūsā was not spared the Shīʿī persecutions of the ʿAbbāsids. He was arrested several times and finally died (possibly having been poisoned) in 183/799, whilst imprisoned at Baghdad on the caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd's orders. Subsequently, one group of Mūsā's partisans acknowledged the imamate of his eldest son ʿAlī b. Mūsā al-Riḍā. The caliph al-Maʾmūn attempted to achieve reconciliation between the ʿAbbāsids and ʿAlids by appointing al-Riḍā as his heir-apparent in 201/816, also giving the imam a daughter in marriage.[6] However, soon afterwards, ʿAlī al-Riḍā died in Khurāsān in 203/818, and most of his followers traced the imamate through four more imams, the direct descendants of al-Riḍā, namely, Muḥammad al-Taqī (d. 220/835), ʿAlī al-Naqī (d. 254/868), al-Ḥasan al-ʿAskarī (d. 260/874), and Muḥammad al-Mahdī (b. 255/869). This sub-sect of the Imāmiyya eventually became known as the Ithnāʿashariyya, or the Twelver Shīʿa, referring to those Imāmīs who recognize a line of twelve imams, starting with ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib and ending with Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Mahdī, Lord of Time (*ṣāḥib al-zamān*) whose emergence or *ẓuhūr* is still being awaited.[7]

Two other groups, supporting the claims of Ismāʿīl b. Jaʿfar and his son Muḥammad and constituting the earliest Ismāʿīlīs, issued from amongst the Imāmī Shīʿī following of the Imam al-Ṣādiq. These Kūfan groups had actually come into being earlier, as pro-Ismāʿīl or proto-Ismāʿīlī factions of the Imāmiyya. However, these groups seceded from the rest of the Imāmiyya only after al-Ṣādiq's death. One group, denying the death of Ismāʿīl during his father's lifetime, maintained that he was the true imam after al-Ṣādiq, and they also held that he remained alive and would eventually return as the Mahdī. These Shīʿīs defended their claims by noting that al-Ṣādiq, who as an imam could speak only the truth, had done nothing to revoke Ismāʿīl's succession rights to the imamate, accordingly they had no reason for renouncing their allegiance to Ismāʿīl. They believed that the Imam al-Ṣādiq had announced Ismāʿīl's death merely as a ruse to protect his son, whom he had hidden because he feared for his safety. Al-Nawbakhtī and

al-Qummī call the members of this group, who recognized Ismāʿīl as their Imam-Mahdī, the 'pure Ismāʿīliyya' (*al-Ismāʿīliyya al-khāliṣa*).[8] Some later heresiographers, notably al-Shahrastānī, designate this group as *al-Ismāʿīliyya al-wāqifa*, referring to those who stopped their line of imams with Ismāʿīl.[9]

There was a second group of pro-Ismāʿīl Shīʿīs who, affirming Ismāʿīl's death during the lifetime of al-Ṣādiq, now recognized Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl as their imam. They held that he was the rightful successor to Ismāʿīl and that the Imam al-Ṣādiq had personally designated him as such, after Ismāʿīl's death. According to these partisans of Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl, the imamate could not be transferred from brother to brother after the case of the Imams al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn. This was why they rejected the claims of Mūsā and other brothers of Ismāʿīl, as they did that of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya, who, according to them, had falsely claimed the imamate in rivalry with ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn. The Imāmī heresiographers call this group the Mubārakiyya, named supposedly after their leader al-Mubārak, a *mawlā* of Ismāʿīl.[10] However, Ivanow[11] has shown that al-Mubārak ('The Blessed One') was the epithet of Ismāʿīl himself, on the basis of some passages from the famous Ismāʿīlī *dāʿī* of the 4th/10th century, al-Sijistānī, as well as other sources.[12] It seems likely then that the Mubārakiyya were at first the upholders of Ismāʿīl's imamate, and it was only after al-Ṣādiq's death that the bulk of Ismāʿīl's supporters rallied to the side of Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl and recognized him as their new imam. At the same time, Ismāʿīl had to be elevated retrospectively to the imamate.[13] At any rate, it is certain that Mubārakiyya was the original name of the nascent Ismāʿīliyya.

Al-Qummī identifies *al-Ismāʿīliyya al-khāliṣa* with the Khaṭṭābiyya, and al-Nawbakhtī has a similar statement.[14] Furthermore, both authors, intent on showing the influence of the Khaṭṭābīs on the nascent Ismāʿīliyya, report that a group of Abu'l-Khaṭṭāb's followers after his death joined the supporters of Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl, claiming that the spirit of the Imam al-Ṣādiq had passed into Abu'l-Khaṭṭāb and from him to Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl.[15] Many later sources, too, speak of close connections between the early Ismāʿīlīs and the Khaṭṭābīs.[16] The exact nature of the relationships between *al-Ismāʿīliyya al-khāliṣa* and the Mubārakiyya on the one hand, and the Khaṭṭābiyya on the other, remains rather obscure. It is certain, however, that all these groups in the following of the Imam al-Ṣādiq were comprised of activist Shīʿīs who provided the milieus in which Ismāʿīlism originated.

Few biographical details are available on Ismāʿīl. For the Ismāʿīlīs, he is an imam, the sixth one in the series. As such, he is highly revered by them, but unfortunately, Ismāʿīlī sources such as the *ʿUyūn al-akhbār* contain little historical information of any value concerning him. On the other hand, the Twelver sources, which are better informed than the Sunnī ones regarding the Shīʿī groups, are

basically hostile towards Ismāʿīl and the claims raised on his behalf. The Twelvers, who recognize Mūsā al-Kāẓim as their imam after al-Ṣādiq, are interested in upholding Mūsā's rights against Ismāʿīl.[17] We have to keep these reservations in mind in utilizing the Twelver references to Ismāʿīl, about whom our knowledge is extremely limited.

Abū Muḥammad Ismāʿīl b. Jaʿfar (al-Mubārak) and his full-brother ʿAbd Allāh were the eldest sons of the Imam al-Ṣādiq by his first wife Fāṭima, a granddaughter of the Imam al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī. It is related that al-Ṣādiq did not take a second wife as long as Fāṭima was alive. As a result, there was a significant age difference between ʿAbd Allāh and Ismāʿīl on the one hand, and Mūsā, Isḥāq and Muḥammad, al-Ṣādiq's sons from a slave concubine called Ḥamīda, on the other. Ismāʿīl's birth date is unknown, but apparently he was the second son of al-Ṣādiq, born between 80 and 83/699–702, and was also some twenty-five years older than Mūsā, who was born in 128/745–746. It seems likely then that Ismāʿīl was born sometime during the initial years of the second Islamic century.[18] The exact date and the circumstances of Ismāʿīl's death also remain unknown. According to some Ismāʿīlī authors, Ismāʿīl survived the Imam al-Ṣādiq. However, the majority of sources report that he predeceased his father in Medina, and was buried in the Baqīʿ cemetery. Ḥasan b. Nūḥ al-Bharūchī, an Indian Ismāʿīlī author, relates visiting Ismāʿīl's grave in 904/1498.[19] Many Ismāʿīlī and non-Ismāʿīlī sources repeat the story of how, before and during Ismāʿīl's funeral procession, the Imam al-Ṣādiq made deliberate attempts to show the face of his dead son to witnesses,[20] though some of the same sources also relate reports indicating that Ismāʿīl was seen in Baṣra soon afterwards. There are few other indisputable facts available on Ismāʿīl's biography. Al-Kashshī relates several versions of an event regarding how Ismāʿīl acted on behalf of his father to protest against the killing of al-Muʿallā b. Khunays, one of Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq's extremist followers.[21] The execution of al-Muʿallā, which greatly angered the imam, had been ordered by the governor of Medina, Dāʾūd b. ʿAlī. As the latter's term of office lasted only a few months during 133/750, it is possible to infer that Ismāʿīl was still alive in that year. One source actually places his death in the year 133 AH.[22] Other sources, however, mention later years, the latest one being 145/762–763.[23] In addition, in the accounts of Ismāʿīl's death and burial, al-Manṣūr, who succeeded his brother in 136/754, is usually named as the ruling ʿAbbāsid caliph. It is, therefore, safe to conclude that Ismāʿīl's premature death occurred during 136–145/754–763, and possibly later.

Regarding Ismāʿīl's activities, reference has already been made to his contacts with the activist Shīʿīs in his father's following. These contacts are clearly alluded to in several traditions reported by al-Kashshī,[24] showing Ismāʿīl's popularity amongst the radical Shīʿīs and his close association with them, especially with al-Mufaḍḍal b. ʿUmar al-Juʿfī, a moneylender. At the same time, these traditions

reveal al-Ṣādiq's dissatisfaction with the radical Shīʿīs who were leading his son astray. Al-Mufaḍḍal, the supposed author of several works,[25] was the transmitter of certain gnostic teachings and the cyclical history associated with the earlier Kaysānīs. He was also an extremist disciple of al-Ṣādiq and initially an associate of Abu'l-Khaṭṭāb. He is also mentioned as the leader of the Mufaḍḍaliyya, one of the subgroups into which the Khaṭṭābiyya split after Abu'l-Khaṭṭāb's disavowal by the Imam al-Ṣādiq.[26] However, unlike the other four Khaṭṭābī subgroups, the Mufaḍḍaliyya repudiated Abu'l-Khaṭṭāb. And Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq, though making some uncomplimentary remarks about him, never openly denounced al-Mufaḍḍal, as he did in the case of other Khaṭṭābī leaders. In fact, there are reports to the effect that Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq appointed al-Mufaḍḍal to guide his Kūfan followers, or at least those amongst them who had supported Abu'l-Khaṭṭāb, subsequent to the imam's rift with the latter. In any event, al-Mufaḍḍal later became an adherent of Mūsā al-Kāẓim during whose imamate he died, although he did not lend support to the condemnation of Ismāʿīl by certain Imāmī circles. According to another report, Ismāʿīl was evidently involved in an anti-ʿAbbāsid plot in collaboration with several others, including Bassām b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ṣayrafī, another extremist Shīʿī engaged in moneylending in Kūfa.[27] The caliph al-Manṣūr summoned Ismāʿīl along with the Imam al-Ṣādiq, as well as Bassām, to his administrative capital at al-Ḥīra near Kūfa. The suspected plotters were taken before the caliph, who had Bassām executed but spared Ismāʿīl. Massignon places the date of this event in the year 138/755, and suggests that Bassām had the responsibility of financing the alleged plot.[28] This is one of the occasions reported by the Imāmī sources when al-Ṣādiq expressed his strong disapproval of such activities.

All this evidence confirms the existence of relations between Ismāʿīl and the radical circles in al-Ṣādiq's following, and it definitely places the young Ismāʿīl amongst those Shīʿīs who were not satisfied with their imam's conservatism and passivity. Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq, for his part, could not approve of such activities that were at variance with his efforts to consolidate Shīʿism on a quietist basis. As noted, some Imāmī sources do identify the early Khaṭṭābiyya, one of the most extremist Shīʿī groups, with the nascent Ismāʿīliyya. In modern times, too, this identification has been maintained by certain scholars, notably Massignon and Corbin.[29] Massignon has in fact suggested that Abu'l-Khaṭṭāb was the spiritual or adoptive father of Ismāʿīl, whence his *kunya* of Abū Ismāʿīl.[30] In this connection, he formulated a general hypothesis, contending that since the beginning of the second Islamic century, the expression *anta minnā ahl al-bayt* (you are from the Prophet's family) purportedly used by the Prophet in reference to Salmān al-Fārisī, and as reported in a *ḥadīth*, had acquired a ritual value indicating 'spiritual adoption' amongst the revolutionary Shīʿīs, for whom real family ties were established

through spiritual parentage, adoption or initiation. Lewis, too, accepts the idea of 'spiritual adoption' and envisages a close collaboration between Ismāʿīl and Abu'l-Khaṭṭāb who, according to him, worked for the creation of a revolutionary Shīʿī sect comprised of all the minor Shīʿī groups, around the imamate of Ismāʿīl and his descendants.[31]

However, such interconnections as may have existed between the proto-Ismāʿīlīs and the early Khaṭṭābīs should not be exaggerated, especially in the doctrinal domain, although certain ideas and terminologies attributed to Abu'l-Khaṭṭāb and his followers were subsequently adopted by the early Ismāʿīlīs.[32] The Khaṭṭābiyya, as noted, believed in the divinity of the imams and also held that al-Ṣādiq's spirit had passed to Abu'l-Khaṭṭāb, while some of them maintained that after the latter's death this spirit had devolved to Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl. The Mubārakiyya and their successors, on the other hand, did not entertain such beliefs but they simply upheld the imamate of Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl, who later came to be regarded as the awaited Mahdī by the bulk of the early Ismāʿīlīs. Fāṭimid Ismāʿīlism, in fact, regarded Abu'l-Khaṭṭāb as a heretic and repudiated the Khaṭṭābiyya.[33]

There is, however, the enigmatic *Umm al-kitāb*,[34] preserved by the Nizārī Ismāʿīlīs of Central Asia, in which the Khaṭṭābīs are mentioned as the founders of Ismāʿīlism. More specifically, it states that the Ismāʿīlī religion (*madhhab*) is that founded by the children (*farzandān*, referring probably to disciples) of Abu'l-Khaṭṭāb, who gave their lives for love of Ismāʿīl, the son of Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq, and it will continue through the cycle of cycles (*dawr-i dawāʾir*).[35] This book, extant only in an archaic Persian, contains the discourses of the Imam Muḥammad al-Bāqir in response to questions raised by an anachronistic group of disciples, including Jābir b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Anṣārī, Jaʿfar (Jābir) al-Juʿfī and Muḥammad b. al-Mufaḍḍal. The Imam al-Bāqir appears here in the guise of a five-year-old child, strongly reminiscent of certain apocryphal Gospels relating to Jesus.[36] The *Umm al-kitāb*, containing the doctrines of certain Shīʿī *ghulāt*, is a syncretic work reflecting the influences of diverse non-Islamic religious traditions and schools of thought, such as Valentinian Gnosticism and Manichaeism. However, the author (or authors) and the date of the composition of this treatise remain unknown. According to Ivanow, it must have been written before the beginning of the 5th/11th century. Corbin assigns its origins to those Shīʿī milieus in the 2nd/8th century which produced proto-Ismāʿīlism, while Madelung is of the opinion that the final redaction of this book probably dates from the earlier part of the 6th/12th century.[37]

Recent scholarship, by examining the terminology and the cosmogony of the *Umm al-kitāb* which is expressed in the form of a gnostic myth, has revealed that the treatise was in all probability produced by an early Shīʿī group called

al-Mukhammisa.[38] This inference is supported by other doctrinal features of the treatise, such as its endorsement of metempsychosis, and by the important role it assigns to Salmān al-Fārisī, whose gnostic name here is al-Salsal. In fact Salmān and Abu'l-Khaṭṭāb are mentioned jointly and repeatedly in a sacred formula throughout the text. The Mukhammisa or the Pentadists were a group of the Shīʿī *ghulāt* who originated in Kūfa during the second half of the 2nd/8th century, and subsequently survived for some time, like the Khaṭṭābiyya, on the fringe of the Imāmiyya. Al-Qummī, the only early heresiographer who discusses the Mukhammisa in some detail, identifies them with the Khaṭṭābiyya.[39] According to his account, they preached that the Prophet Muḥammad was God, who had appeared in five different bodies or persons, namely, Muḥammad, ʿAlī, Fāṭima, al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn. In this divine pentad, however, only the person of Muḥammad was real and represented the true meaning (*maʿnā*), for he was the first person created and the first speaker (*nāṭiq*). They also maintained that Muḥammad had been Ādam, Nūḥ, Ibrāhīm, Mūsā and ʿĪsā, appearing continuously among the Arabs and non-Arabs, and that Salmān was the *bāb*, or gate, who always appeared with Muḥammad. These and other doctrines of the Mukhammisa are strongly represented in the *Umm al-kitāb*.

Al-Qummī describes a variant of the Mukhammisa, the so-called ʿUlyāʾiyya or ʿAlbāʾiyya, followers of Bashshār al-Shaʿīrī, a Kūfan *ghālī* who was reportedly repudiated by Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq.[40] The members of this group upheld the divinity of ʿAlī instead of that of Muḥammad, and this was the main point distinguishing them from the rest of the Mukhammisa. The doctrines of the Mukhammisa, especially those held by the ʿUlyāʾiyya, provided the basis of the beliefs of the later Nuṣayriyya, one of the most egregious extremist Shīʿī groups.[41] The cosmological and eschatological ideas of the Nuṣayrīs, named after Muḥammad b. Nuṣayr (d. 270/883) who initially followed the tenth imam of the Twelvers but who later made exaggerated claims for himself, are equally present in the *Umm al-kitāb*. The Nuṣayrīs, who are still found in Syria, where for centuries they have maintained rivalries with their Nizārī Ismāʿīlī neighbours, worship ʿAlī as God. Besides these two, Salmān assumes a special rank for them.[42] If ʿAlī is the original sense or the true meaning (*maʿnā*), and Muḥammad his name (*ism*), then Salmān is the gate (*bāb*) leading to the 'name' and the 'meaning'. In Nuṣayrī thought, this triad is designated symbolically by *ʿayn–mīm–sīn*, standing for the first letters of the names ʿAlī, Muḥammad and Salmān, and corresponding to *maʿnā–ism–bāb*. Such gnostic designations, and the use of the mystical properties of the letters of the alphabet, are also important features of the *Umm al-kitāb*.

The technical terminology of the Mukhammisa–ʿUlyāʾiyya tradition is equally incorporated into the already-noted *Kitāb al-haft*, which is essentially a Mufaḍḍalī–Nuṣayrī text. This book, also known amongst the Ṭayyibīs, found

its way to the Nizārī Ismāʿīlīs, who seized the Nuṣayrī fortresses and settlements of central Syria, also recruiting new converts from the defeated community, in the first half of the 6th/12th century. The Ismāʿīlīs came to view the book in question as their own, though no Ismāʿīlī ideas are found in it. The *Umm al-kitāb* of the Central Asian Nizārīs may have had a similar fate. It is safe to conclude that the *Umm al-kitāb* originated, probably during the second half of the 2nd/8th century, in the Shīʿī *ghulāt* milieus of southern ʿIrāq, which gave rise to the Mukhammisa and later to the Nuṣayriyya traditions. It represents the earliest extant Shīʿī record of the Mukhammisa–ʿUlyāʾiyya type, which is quite distinct from the beliefs of the early Ismāʿīlīs, especially regarding creation. Evidently, this text was eventually adopted into Ismāʿīlī literature, and, under obscure circumstances, found its way into the private libraries of the Nizārīs of Shughnān, Wakhān and Chitral in the upper Oxus, where these sectarians have claimed the book as their own. Filippani-Ronconi has postulated a complex hypothesis regarding the origins of this work and how it came to be located in Central Asia.[43]

As in the case of Ismāʿīl, little is known about Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl, the seventh imam of the Ismāʿīliyya. No specific details are related about him in Muslim historical literature, as he did not openly participate in any anti-ʿAbbāsid revolt. In Ismāʿīlī literature, he is treated briefly and with numerous anachronisms. The relevant information contained in Ismāʿīlī sources has been collected by Idrīs ʿImād al-Dīn, who provides the most detailed biographical account of him.[44] Muḥammad was the eldest son of Ismāʿīl who had at least one other son named ʿAlī. He was also the eldest grandson of the Imam al-Ṣādiq and, according to Ismāʿīlī tradition, was twenty-six years old at the time of the latter's death.[45] Furthermore, all sources agree that he was older than his uncle Mūsā by about eight years. On the basis of these details, Muḥammad must have been born around 120/738. The *Dastūr al-munajjimīn*, in fact, places his birth in Dhu'l-Ḥijja 121/November 739.[46] He was the imam of the Mubārakiyya and the eldest male member of the Imam al-Ṣādiq's family, after the death of his uncle ʿAbd Allāh al-Afṭaḥ. As such, he enjoyed a certain degree of esteem and seniority in this Fāṭimid branch of the ʿAlid family. However, after the recognition of the imamate of Mūsā al-Kāẓim by the majority of al-Ṣādiq's followers, Muḥammad's position became untenable in his native Ḥijāz where his uncle and chief rival Mūsā also lived. It was probably then, not long after al-Ṣādiq's death, that Muḥammad left Medina for the east and went into hiding, henceforth acquiring the epithet al-Maktūm, the Hidden. As a result, he was saved from persecution by the ʿAbbāsids, while continuing to maintain close contacts with the Mubārakiyya, who like most other radical Shīʿī groups of the time were centred in Kūfa. Different sources mention various localities and regions as Muḥammad's final destination, but it is certain that he first went to southern ʿIrāq and then to Persia.[47] According to the

later Ismāʿīlīs, this emigration marks the beginning of the period of concealment (*dawr al-satr*) in early Ismāʿīlism, the concealment ending with the establishment of the Fāṭimid caliphate.

Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl seems to have spent the latter part of his life in Khūzistān, in southwestern Persia, where he had a certain number of supporters and from where he despatched his own *dāʿī*s to adjoining areas. The exact date of Muḥammad's death remains unknown. But it is almost certain that he died during the caliphate of the celebrated Hārūn al-Rashīd (170–193/786–809), perhaps soon after 179/795–796,[48] the year in which al-Rashīd, continuing the anti-ʿAlid policy of his predecessors, arrested Mūsā al-Kāẓim in Medina and banished him to ʿIrāq as a prisoner. The Twelver sources, which are hostile to Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl, maintain that it was he who betrayed Mūsā to the ʿAbbāsids, though they also relate the story of a reconciliation between these two Fāṭimids prior to Muḥammad's departure for ʿIrāq.[49] Muḥammad had at least two sons, Ismāʿīl and Jaʿfar, while he lived openly in Medina. After his emigration, he had four more sons, including ʿAbd Allāh, who, according to the later Ismāʿīlīs, was his rightful successor.[50]

Almost nothing is known about the earliest history of Ismāʿīlism after these beginnings. On the basis of the opening remarks of al-Nawbakhtī and al-Qummī on the Qarāmiṭa, and in view of the later history of the Ismāʿīlīs, however, it may be assumed that the Mubārakiyya split into two groups on the death of Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl.[51] One small and obscure group apparently traced the imamate in the posterity of the deceased imam. However, the separate existence of this group is not recorded in any contemporary source, until ʿAbd Allāh (or ʿUbayd Allāh in non-Ismāʿīlī sources), the future leader of the movement, openly claimed the imamate of the Ismāʿīlīs for himself and his ancestors. There was a second group, still small but comprising the bulk of the Mubārakiyya, who refused to acknowledge the death of Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl. For these sectarians, identified by the Imāmī heresiographers as the immediate predecessors of the Qarmaṭīs, Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl was regarded as their seventh and last imam, who was expected to reappear as the Mahdī or Qāʾim, 'riser'. It should be added that the terms al-Mahdī and al-Qāʾim are basically synonymous in their Shīʿī usage, though al-Qāʾim came to be preferred by the Ismāʿīlīs, especially after the accession of ʿAbd Allāh to the Fāṭimid caliphate. Such sects of the so-called *wāqifiyya*, 'those who stand fast' by their last imam, upholding his imminent return as the Mahdī to fill the earth with justice, were quite numerous during the 2nd/8th century. Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl, who had a considerable following, could easily have qualified for the position of the eschatological Mahdī.

More details of the original beliefs of the Ismāʿīlīs may cautiously and selectively be derived from what al-Nawbakhtī and al-Qummī relate about the Qarmaṭīs.[52]

These writers do not mention any other specific Ismāʿīlī group of their time, and their accounts antedate ʿAbd Allāh's open claim to the imamate and the splitting up of the movement in 286/899. According to their accounts, the Qarmaṭīs, who had issued from the Mubārakiyya, limited the number of their imams to seven, which also explains why the Ismāʿīliyya later acquired the additional denomination of the Sabʿiyya or the Seveners.[53] These imams were ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, who was both an imam and a messenger-prophet (*rasūl*), al-Ḥasan, al-Ḥusayn, ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusasyn, Muḥammad b. ʿAlī, Jaʿfar b. Muḥammad, and finally Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl b. Jaʿfar, who was the Imam al-Qāʾim al-Mahdī and also a messenger-prophet. It is interesting to note that in order to keep within the limit of seven, and starting with ʿAlī, both authors omit the name of Ismāʿīl b. Jaʿfar from the series of the imams recognized by the Qarmaṭīs. As a result, Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl ranks as the seventh imam in the series. At the same time, however, these Imāmī heresiographers contradict themselves by adding that according to the Qarmaṭīs, the imamate had in effect been transferred during the lifetime of the Imam al-Ṣādiq to his son Ismāʿīl, just as the position of God's emissary and messenger-prophet had passed by divine command at Ghadīr Khumm, from Muḥammad to ʿAlī, while the former was still alive. On the basis of this reckoning, Ismāʿīl would have to be counted as an imam, the seventh one, with the result that his son Muḥammad would now become the eighth imam in the series. The matter is not very clear, however. It seems that some Qarmaṭīs or early Ismāʿīlīs included Ismāʿīl as an imam, while others omitted him. In later Ismāʿīlī literature, ʿAlī acquires a higher rank than that of an ordinary imam, being regarded as the foundation of the imamate (*asās al-imāma*), and Ismāʿīl is always included in the list of the imams. According to this enumeration, still maintained by the Mustaʿlians, al-Ḥasan is counted as the first imam, with Ismāʿīl and Muḥammad occupying, respectively, the sixth and seventh positions. The latter system of enumeration was somewhat modified by the Nizārīs who, emphasizing the equality of all imams, counted ʿAlī as the first and al-Ḥusayn as the second imam. The Nizārīs exclude al-Ḥasan who according to them was a temporary or trustee (*mustawdaʿ*) imam as distinct from the permanent (*mustaqarr*) imams.

In any event, the Qarmaṭīs and their predecessors maintained that Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl, who had remained alive, was the Qāʾim and the last of the great messenger-prophets. On his reappearance, he would bring a new religious law, abrogating the one announced by the Prophet Muḥammad. The Qarmaṭīs recognized a series of seven such law-announcing (*shāriʿ*) prophets, the so-called *ūlu'l-ʿazm* or the prophets 'with resolution', namely, Nūḥ, Ibrāhīm, Mūsā, ʿĪsā, Muḥammad, ʿAlī, and Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl, the last being the seal of the series. The inclusion of ʿAlī in this sequence cannot easily be understood. As the early Ismāʿīlīs emphasized the distinction between the inward and outward aspects of

the religious scriptures and commandments, this inclusion may have been due to the role conceived for ʿAlī as the revealer of the all-important inner (*bāṭin*) meaning of the *sharīʿa* delivered by Muḥammad, rather than as the promulgator of a religious law of his own, replacing Muḥammad's. The latter role was clearly reserved for the Qāʾim, Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl. Indeed, it cannot be doubted that the bulk of the Ismāʿīlīs (Qarmaṭīs) originally preached the Mahdīsm of Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl. Aside from the testimony of the Imāmī heresiographers, this is confirmed by the already-mentioned letter of the first Fāṭimid caliph,[54] as well as by the few other extant early Ismāʿīlī sources. The *Kitāb al-rushd*, for instance, centres around the idea of the reappearance of the Mahdī, the seventh *nāṭiq* and the eighth imam whose name is Muḥammad.[55] There is another early Ismāʿīlī text, the *Kitāb al-kashf*, a collection of six short treatises, written separately but attributed to Jaʿfar b. Manṣūr al-Yaman who apparently acted only in the capacity of the compiler and editor of the collection. In this work, too, the expectation of the return of the seventh speaker-prophet (*nāṭiq*) as the Mahdī or Qāʾim, often referred to as the *ṣāḥib al-zamān*, plays a significant part.[56] In close affinity with the ideas of the early Ismāʿīlīs, the final chapter of the *Umm al-kitāb* also contains brief references to the cycles of the seven prophets, the names here being Ādam, Nūḥ, Ibrāhīm, Mūsā, ʿĪsā, Muḥammad, and the Qāʾim who, as the last in the series, will on his return initiate the seventh and final cycle (*dawr*).[57]

The *daʿwa* of the 3rd/9th century

After these obscure and underground beginnings, lasting for almost a century, the Ismāʿīlī movement suddenly appeared on the historical stage shortly after the middle of the 3rd/9th century. The movement now emerged as a dynamic, revolutionary organization conducting intensive *daʿwa* activity through a network of *dāʿī*s. Behind this outburst of activity, one can clearly discern the guiding hands of an energetic and secret central leadership. Stern denies the existence of strict historical continuity between this Ismāʿīlī movement and the earliest Ismāʿīlī (or proto-Ismāʿīlī) group or groups of the 2nd/8th century, although he does allow for some such continuity as most clearly manifested in the role assigned to the figure of Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl in early Ismāʿīlī thought.[58] In any event, the Ismāʿīlīs who were awaiting the reappearance of Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl as the Qāʾim now began to attract the attention of the ʿAbbāsid officials and the public at large, under the name of al-Qarāmiṭa. In fact, al-Nawbakhtī and al-Qummī, who as well-informed contemporary writers describe the situation of the Ismāʿīlīs prior to the year 286/899 when a schism occurred in the movement, mention no other Ismāʿīlī group besides the Qarmaṭīs. They report that

at the time they were writing there were some 100,000 Qarmaṭīs concentrated chiefly in the Sawād of Kūfa, Yaman and Yamāma.[59] This figure and the designation al-Qarāmiṭa were obviously meant to refer to the whole movement. The Ismāʿīlī *daʿwa* soon met with unprecedented success, managing in a few decades to spread rapidly from southwestern Persia and southern ʿIrāq to several other parts of the Muslim world, including Yaman, Baḥrayn, Syria, the Jibāl, Khurāsān, Transoxania, Sind, and North Africa where the Ismāʿīlī imam finally inaugurated a new caliphate.

There are diverse accounts of the beginnings of the Ismāʿīlī *daʿwa* of the 3rd/9th century, and of the exact religious functions and descent of the central leaders who were responsible for organizing and directing the movement. There is the brief and vague official version, sponsored by the Fāṭimid caliphs who censured the extremist aspects of the earlier history of the movement. This version is summed up in the fourth volume of the *ʿUyūn al-akhbār* of the *dāʿī* Idrīs who based himself on the few Ismāʿīlī historical sources produced during the 4th/10th century. There is, on the other hand, the anti-Ismāʿīlī version of the Sunnī pamphleteers and polemicists who gave rise to a fanciful 'black legend' regarding early Ismāʿīlism and its alleged founder, a diabolical non-ʿAlid bent on destroying Islam from within. As already noted, this hostile account can be traced in its main outline to a work written as a refutation of Ismāʿīlism by Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Rizām (or Razzām) al-Ṭāʾī al-Kūfī who flourished in the opening decades of the 4th/10th century.[60] There is, furthermore, al-Ṭabarī's narrative of the opening phase of the Qarmaṭī movement in ʿIrāq.[61] This narrative is based on the report of the interrogation of an Ismāʿīlī captive (a relative of the *dāʿī* Zikrawayh b. Mihrawayh) by an ʿAbbāsid official, Muḥammad b. Dāʾūd al-Jarrāḥ (d. 296/908), an event which took place around 291/903–904.

According to the official Fāṭimid version, the founder of the Fāṭimid dynasty, ʿAbd Allāh al-Mahdī, was preceded by a series of 'hidden imams' (*al-aʾimma al-mastūrīn*) who were descendants of Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl.[62] Al-Nawbakhtī and al-Qummī, it is true, refer to a subgroup of the Mubārakiyya who maintained the imamate in the progeny of Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl. However, as the same writers indicate, the majority of the nascent Ismāʿīliyya, known as the Qarāmiṭa by the middle of the 3rd/9th century, did not recognize any imams after Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl. As we shall see later on, it seems that the ancestors of the Fāṭimids, the central leaders of the Ismāʿīlī movement, were initially regarded as the lieutenants or representatives of the Qāʾim, and it was only due to the reform of ʿAbd Allāh that the imamate came to be openly claimed for these past leaders. According to this official version, Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl appointed as his successor his eldest son ʿAbd Allāh, the first of the second heptad of the Ismāʿīlī imams. In order to escape ʿAbbāsid persecution, ʿAbd Allāh, who later received the surname

al-Raḍī, sought refuge in different parts of Persia and did not reveal his identity and place of residence except to a few trusted associates. Eventually, he settled in ʿAskar Mukram near Ahwāz, in the province of Khūzistān, whence he later fled to Baṣra and then to Salamiyya in central Syria. In Salamiyya, the residence of the imams and the headquarters of the Ismāʿīlī *daʿwa* for the next few decades, he posed as an ordinary Hāshimid, of whom there were many in that locality, and as a merchant.[63] At the time, the ancient town of Salamiyya, situated at the edge of the Syrian desert some thirty-five kilometres southeast of Ḥamā, was being resettled by Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Ṣāliḥ, an ʿAbbāsid in charge of the locality. The Ismāʿīlī *dāʿī*s had acquired a plot of land in Salamiyya for ʿAbd Allāh, who settled there permanently. Before dying in about 212/827–828,[64] ʿAbd Allāh had designated his son Aḥmad as his successor. Aḥmad, who according to Ismāʿīlī tradition was the author of the famous *Rasāʾil Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ*, was, in turn, succeeded by his son al-Ḥusayn, and then by the latter's son ʿAbd Allāh (ʿAlī), also called Saʿīd, who later became known as ʿAbd Allāh al-Mahdī. ʿAbd Allāh was born in 259 or 260/873–874, and he was about eight years of age when his father died around 268/881–882.[65] In fact, ʿAbd Allāh spent many years under the care and tutelage of his paternal uncle and future father-in-law Muḥammad b. Aḥmad, known as Saʿīd al-Khayr and al-Ḥakīm with the additional *kunya* Abu'l-Shalaghlagh (or Shalaʿlaʿ). It is not clear whether or not Muḥammad b. Aḥmad himself had meanwhile succeeded to the leadership of the movement.[66] However, it is reported that before ʿAbd Allāh took charge of the leadership his uncle Muḥammad had attempted several times, in vain, to usurp the leadership for his own sons, all of whom died prematurely.[67]

It is necessary to point out at this juncture that the issue of the genealogy of the Fāṭimid caliphs has been the centre of numerous controversies, some of which seem to defy satisfactory solution. The ancestors of the Fāṭimids, according to the later official doctrine, were the Ismāʿīlī imams who descended from Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl. However, the Ismāʿīlī sources are very reluctant to mention the names of these so-called 'hidden imams', the links between ʿAbd Allāh al-Mahdī and Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl b. Jaʿfar, individuals who lived under obscure circumstances. Their names are, in fact, not to be found in the earliest Ismāʿīlī sources which have so far come to light. Consequently, there has developed some disagreement among the Ismāʿīlīs concerning the names, number, sequence and the actual descent of the 'hidden imams',[68] notwithstanding the traditional Fāṭimid version, namely, Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl, ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad, Aḥmad b. ʿAbd Allāh, al-Ḥusayn b. Aḥmad, and ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Ḥusayn. The difficulties have been accentuated by the fact that the ancestors of the Fāṭimids who led the Ismāʿīlī movement used pseudonyms to protect their identity, while their enemies produced their own non-ʿAlid pedigrees of the Fāṭimid dynasty.

The Fāṭimid caliphs did not clarify matters by their persistent refusal to publish any official genealogy. ʿAbd Allāh al-Mahdī, the only one among them who did make such an attempt, simply added to the confusion. In his letter to the Ismāʿīlī community in Yaman, reproduced from memory at a later date by Jaʿfar b. Manṣūr al-Yaman, ʿAbd Allāh explains the *nasab* or genealogy of the Fāṭimid caliphs, divulging the names of the 'hidden imams' in the manner he desired them to be known. He does claim Fāṭimid ʿAlid ancestry by declaring himself to be ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn b. Aḥmad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq. But strangely enough, instead of tracing his descent to Ismāʿīl b. Jaʿfar and his son Muḥammad, he names Jaʿfar's eldest surviving son ʿAbd Allāh as his progenitor, whom he regards as the *ṣāḥib al-ḥaqq* or the legitimate successor of the Imam al-Ṣādiq.[69] We shall have more to say about this important letter. Here it suffices to add that, according to ʿAbd Allāh al-Mahdī, ʿAbd Allāh b. Jaʿfar had called himself Ismāʿīl b. Jaʿfar, for the sake of *taqiyya*, and similarly each of his successors had assumed the name Muḥammad. Be this as it may, ʿAbd Allāh's explanation of his ancestry, whatever its merits or authenticity, was never accepted as the official genealogy of the Fāṭimid dynasty by his successors.

As noted, there is also an anti-Ismāʿīlī version of events and of the Fāṭimid genealogy which can be traced back to Ibn Rizām who, it seems, had access to some early Ismāʿīlī sources. The original polemical treatise of Ibn Rizām has been lost, though excerpts of it have been preserved in some later works, notably Ibn al-Nadīm's *al-Fihrist*. Above all, it was utilized extensively in another anti-Ismāʿīlī book written in about 372/982 by the Sharīf Abu'l-Ḥusayn Muḥammad b. ʿAlī, known as Akhū Muḥsin, an ʿAlid from Damascus and a descendant of Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl.[70] Akhū Muḥsin, who died around 375/985–986, was a polemicist and one of the early genealogists of the ʿAlid family. His book, which contained historical and doctrinal parts, is also lost. However, substantial portions of it, as already noted in Chapter 1, have been preserved by the Egyptian historians al-Nuwayrī, Ibn al-Dawādārī, and al-Maqrīzī.[71] The Ibn Rizām–Akhū Muḥsin account, which aimed at discrediting the whole Ismāʿīlī movement, provided the basis for most subsequent Sunnī writing on the subject.[72] It also influenced the famous anti-Fāṭimid manifesto of Baghdad, issued in 402/1011, by a number of ʿAlids and jurists.[73] This declaration, sponsored by the reigning ʿAbbāsid caliph al-Qādir (381–422/991–1031), was a public denunciation of the ʿAlid descent of the Fāṭimid caliphs. In short, this anti-Ismāʿīlī account became the standard treatment of the rise of Ismāʿīlism, and, as such, it came to be adopted also by the majority of the nineteenth-century orientalists.

The most derogatory and lasting aspect of the Ibn Rizām–Akhū Muḥsin narrative has been the allegation that a certain non-ʿAlid, ʿAbd Allāh b. Maymūn al-Qaddāḥ, was the founder of Ismāʿīlism as well as the progenitor of the Fāṭimid

caliphs. According to this allegation, Maymūn al-Qaddāḥ was a follower of Abu'l-Khaṭṭāb and founded a sect called al-Maymūniyya. He was also a Dayṣānī (Bardesanian), an adherent of Ibn Dayṣān (Bar Dīṣān or Bardesanes), the celebrated heresiarch of Edessa and a dualist who founded the Christian Gnostic sect of the Bardesanians or Dayṣāniyya and died at the beginning of the third century AD.[74] This explains why in some later sources, following Akhū Muḥsin, Maymūn was referred to as the son of Dayṣān, while the Baghdad manifesto names a certain Dayṣān b. Saʿīd as the ancestor of the Fāṭimids. The story then develops further with Maymūn's son, ʿAbd Allāh, claiming to be a prophet, and supporting his claim by performing tricks. He organized a movement and instituted a system of belief consisting of seven stages that culminated in libertinism and atheism. He pretended to preach on behalf of Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl as the expected Mahdī. ʿAbd Allāh came originally from the vicinity of Ahwāz, but later moved to ʿAskar Mukram[75] and then to Baṣra, fleeing from the Shīʿīs and the Muʿtazilīs, accompanied by an associate al-Ḥusayn al-Ahwāzī. In Baṣra, he sought refuge with the family of the Hāshimid ʿAqīl b. Abī Ṭālib. Later, he fled to Salamiyya, where he remained in hiding until his death sometime after 261/874. From Salamiyya, *dāʿī*s were sent to ʿIrāq, one of whom converted a certain Ḥamdān Qarmaṭ. ʿAbd Allāh was succeeded by his son Aḥmad, and then by the latter's descendants who extended the *daʿwa* to many regions, as their *dāʿī*s operated in ʿIrāq, Yaman, Baḥrayn, Rayy, Ṭabaristān, Khurāsān and Fārs. Eventually, one of ʿAbd Allāh's Qaddāḥid successors, Saʿīd b. al-Ḥusayn, went to the Maghrib in North Africa and founded the Fāṭimid dynasty. He claimed to be a descendant of Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl, and called himself ʿUbayd Allāh (ʿAbd Allāh) al-Mahdī.

This is essentially what Akhū Muḥsin and his source, Ibn Rizām, have to say on Ibn al-Qaddāḥ and the origins of Ismāʿīlism. Akhū Muḥsin also included in his book an outline of the doctrine of the Ismāʿīlīs. He quotes long passages on the procedures observed by the *dāʿī*s for winning new converts and the various degrees of initiation into Ismāʿīlism, from an allegedly Ismāʿīlī book entitled the *Kitāb al-siyāsa*.[76] Ibn al-Nadīm also claims to have seen such works describing the degrees of attainment through which a proselyte was gradually initiated.[77] However, the Ismāʿīlī tradition knows the book in question only through the polemics of its enemies[78] and, as quoted by Akhū Muḥsin, it seems to be a malevolent forgery.[79] Nevertheless, the doctrinal part of Akhū Muḥsin's work still holds some accurate details, although its attribution of libertinism and atheism to the Ismāʿīlīs should be dismissed as totally unfounded. The doctrine of the imamate which it describes agrees almost completely with that ascribed to the Qarmaṭīs by al-Nawbakhtī and al-Qummī. Akhū Muḥsin lists the same series of seven imams, starting with ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib and ending with Muḥammad b.

Ismāʿīl, and states that the seventh imam was the expected Qāʾim. However, by counting ʿAlī as the first imam, he faces the same problem as the Imāmī heresiographers, and like them, mentions that some included while others omitted Ismāʿīl as an imam. Another important piece of information is Akhū Muḥsin's reference to a schism in the movement, resulting from some new policies. In this connection, he notes, there was a change of opinion about Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl, for whom they had first demanded recognition as the Imam-Mahdī, but whom they then replaced by a descendant of ʿAbd Allāh b. Maymūn al-Qaddāḥ, whose progeny ruled in the Maghrib, Egypt and Syria.[80]

The modern progress in Ismāʿīlī studies has, indeed, shown that the Ibn Rizām–Akhū Muḥsin account, despite its hostile intentions and false accusations, sheds some valuable light on early Ismāʿīlism. Aside from containing certain valid points of doctrine, it also provides the main source of information on the history of the Ismāʿīlī movement during the second half of the 3rd/9th century. But the section which treats Ibn al-Qaddāḥ as the founder of Ismāʿīlism and the ancestor of ʿAbd Allāh al-Mahdī, the most controversial part of the account, was motivated by strongly anti-Ismāʿīlī sentiments. Al-Nawbakhtī and al-Qummī, as well as many other important early authorities such as al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/923) and ʿArīb b. Saʿd (d. 370/980), do not mention Ibn al-Qaddāḥ in connection with the Ismāʿīliyya, nor is he named in the anti-Fāṭimid Baghdad manifesto of 402/1011. Massignon, Qazvīnī and Lewis were the first modern scholars to have clarified the biographies of Maymūn al-Qaddāḥ and his son ʿAbd Allāh.[81] It was Ivanow, however, who produced the most detailed study of the true personalities of these individuals, based on a comprehensive survey of various types of Twelver Shīʿī sources.[82] In fact, Ivanow made every effort to refute what he called the myth of Ibn al-Qaddāḥ, a myth which according to him was probably invented by Ibn Rizām himself.

Maymūn b. al-Aswad al-Qaddāḥ al-Makkī, a *mawlā* of the Banū Makhzūm and a resident of Mecca, was actually a disciple of the Imam Muḥammad al-Bāqir, from whom he reported a few *ḥadīth*s. Maymūn's son ʿAbd Allāh, who died sometime during the second half of the 2nd/8th century, was a companion of the Imam al-Ṣādiq and a reporter (*rāwī*) of numerous traditions from him. These Qaddāḥids may also have taken care of the properties of the imams in Mecca. In any event, Maymūn al-Qaddāḥ and ʿAbd Allāh are known in the Twelver literature as respected Shīʿī traditionists from the Ḥijāz,[83] and not as Bardesanians originating in Khūzistān. It is, therefore, curious that this Ibn al-Qaddāḥ, who lived in the 2nd/8th century, was chosen by Ibn Rizām as the organizer of a movement that occurred in the 3rd/9th century, several decades after his death. Recent access to Ismāʿīlī sources has made it possible to formulate a plausible answer to this question.

As noted, the early leaders of the Ismāʿīlī movement lived under the utmost secrecy and kept their identity hidden, in order to escape persecution. In his letter to the Yamanī Ismāʿīlīs, ʿAbd Allāh al-Mahdī explains that the true imams after Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq indeed assumed names other than their own, calling themselves Mubārak (the Blessed One), Maymūn (the Fortunate One), and Saʿīd (the Happy One).[84] It has become evident that Mubārak was the epithet of Ismāʿīl b. Jaʿfar, and, according to numerous Ismāʿīlī and non-Ismāʿīlī sources, Saʿīd was ʿAbd Allāh al-Mahdī's pseudonym prior to his arrival in North Africa. Now, the myth of ʿAbd Allāh b. Maymūn can be solved if it is shown that Maymūn was the sobriquet of Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl. This conclusion is strongly implied by ʿAbd Allāh's letter.[85] It is also suggested by a report,[86] dating back to the 6th/12th century, naming Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl as the imam of the Maymūniyya, a sect which according to Ibn Rizām was founded by Maymūn al-Qaddāḥ. In all probability, then, the Maymūniyya, like the Mubārakiyya, must have been one of the original designations of the nascent Ismāʿīliyya, in this case named after the epithet of Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl.

There is, furthermore, the epistle of the fourth Fāṭimid caliph al-Muʿizz, written in 354/965, and sent to the chief *dāʿī* of Sind, Ḥalam (or Jalam) b. Shaybān.[87] This document, which represents perhaps the earliest official refutation of the myth of Ibn al-Qaddāḥ, reasserts the ʿAlid ancestry of the Fāṭimid caliphs. It states that when the *daʿwa* on behalf of Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl spread, the ʿAbbāsids sought the person who was acknowledged as its leader. Therefore, the imams went into hiding and the *dāʿīs*, to protect the imams, called them by pseudonyms (or esoteric names). For instance, they referred to ʿAbd Allāh, the son and successor of Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl, as the son of Maymūn al-Qaddāḥ. This was true, the epistle affirms, since ʿAbd Allāh was the son of *maymūn al-naqība* (the one with the happy disposition) and *al-qādiḥ zand al-hidāya* (striking the spark of right guidance). Similar names were applied to the imams succeeding ʿAbd Allāh, according to the instructions of the imams to their *dāʿīs*. But then, such code-names reached those who did not understand their real meaning, and so they erred and misled others. The substance of this epistle is confirmed by an earlier document, preserved in one of al-Qāḍī al-Nuʿmān's books, reporting a conversation between al-Muʿizz and some envoys sent by a *dāʿī* from a distant land.[88] In this audience, which took place about the year 348/959–960, the Fāṭimid caliph again explains that Maymūn and Qādiḥ had been the pseudonyms of the true imams from the family of the Prophet. In short, al-Muʿizz emphasizes that in reality ʿAbd Allāh b. Maymūn al-Qaddāḥ had been a code-name for ʿAbd Allāh, the son of Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl, the 'hidden imam' whom the Fāṭimids regarded as their ancestor. It is, therefore, not surprising that the name of this Fāṭimid ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad, esoterically called ʿAbd Allāh b. Maymūn, should have been

confused, deliberately or accidentally, with the Shīʿī traditionist of earlier times, ʿAbd Allāh b. Maymūn al-Qaddāḥ.

Finally, it is interesting to review the manner in which Ibn al-Qaddāḥ has been treated in Ismāʿīlī tradition.[89] The earliest Ismāʿīlī sources do not mention Maymūn al-Qaddāḥ and his son ʿAbd Allāh. Later, after Ibn Rizām had already produced his account, the official Fāṭimid doctrine consistently denied any connection between these persons and the Ismāʿīlī movement. Nevertheless, in the time of al-Muʿizz, certain Ismāʿīlī circles from amongst his adherents deviated from the official position and held that the leadership of the movement had passed, after Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl, to ʿAbd Allāh b. Maymūn al-Qaddāḥ and his Qaddāḥid descendants, and then it had reverted to the progeny of Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl, who ruled as the Fāṭimid caliphs.[90] As noted, al-Muʿizz had found it necessary to refute the views of these dissident eastern Ismāʿīlīs. The sectarians in question seem to have been influenced by some Qarmaṭī groups who had persisted in not recognizing any imams after Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl. Still later, around the beginning of the 5th/11th century, Ḥamīd al-Dīn al-Kirmānī, one of the most learned Ismāʿīlī *dāʿī*s, produced his own refutation of the Qaddāḥid ancestry of the Fāṭimids. He wrote a short treatise rejecting the views of a certain Zaydī Imam al-Muʾayyad biʾllāh Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn al-Buṭḥānī al-Hārūnī (333–411/944–1020), who had attacked the claims of the Fāṭimid caliph al-Ḥākim to the imamate while accepting Ibn al-Qaddāḥ as the progenitor of the Fāṭimids.[91] At about the same time, highly complex and often contradictory ideas concerning Ibn al-Qaddāḥ began to appear in the sacred literature of the Druzes, who split off from the Ismāʿīlīs. According to these ideas,[92] there had been seven 'hidden imams', not all genuine ʿAlids. ʿAbd Allāh b. Maymūn al-Qaddāḥ, possibly an ʿAlid, was an associate and the *asās* of Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl, the seventh *nāṭiq*, and he was also the progenitor of some of the latter's successors, including ʿAbd Allāh al-Mahdī. But the second Fāṭimid caliph was a genuine descendant of Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl. Ibn Rizām had already stated that the second Fāṭimid caliph was not the son of ʿAbd Allāh.[93] He had thus implied that only the 'hidden imams' and ʿAbd Allāh al-Mahdī were descended from Maymūn al-Qaddāḥ, without clarifying the ancestry of the second Fāṭimid caliph al-Qāʾim.

The idea that al-Qāʾim may not have been the son of ʿAbd Allāh al-Mahdī reappears in the post-Fāṭimid Ismāʿīlī works of some Yamanī *dāʿī*s who assigned a compromise role to al-Qaddāḥ and his son. Al-Khaṭṭāb b. al-Ḥasan al-Hamdānī (d. 533/1138), in his esoteric work the *Ghāyat al-mawālīd*, sought to establish historical precedents supporting his ideas on the need for a substitute or guardian when the rightful imam was under age, the particular minor in point being al-Ṭayyib, the son of the Mustaʿlian Imam al-Āmir. He says that Ismāʿīl b. Jaʿfar entrusted his infant son and heir Muḥammad to the care of Maymūn al-Qaddāḥ,

who was his *ḥujja*.[94] Upon attaining maturity, Muḥammad took up his responsibilities and the imamate continued in his lineage from father to son, until it reached ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn b. Aḥmad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl. It should be noted that al-Khaṭṭāb here introduces ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn as the fourth 'hidden imam' after the usual sequence of three, and adds that this imam, before dying on the way to the Maghrib, handed over the charge of the *daʿwa*, as a trust or *wadīʿa*, to his *ḥujja* al-Saʿīd, known as al-Mahdī. Later, al-Mahdī, whose own descent is not specified, returned the trust to its legitimate *mustaqarr* holder, Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Qāʾim, and the imamate continued in his progeny. It is not possible to evaluate the historical truth of these statements which appear for the first time in the literature of the Mustaʿlian Ismāʿīlīs. Suffice it to note that in his obvious zeal to prove that ʿAbd Allāh al-Mahdī was the temporary substitute for, rather than the true imam and the father of, the second Fāṭimid caliph whom he reports to have been the son of ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn, al-Khaṭṭāb overlooked the fact that ʿAlī had been one of the names, beside Saʿīd, used by ʿAbd Allāh himself. Al-Khaṭṭāb presents the cases of al-Qaddāḥ and ʿAbd Allāh as sufficient proof that the *ḥujja* of an under-age imam can take temporary charge of the imamate. Similarly, al-Khaṭṭāb's younger contemporary and the second Yamanī *dāʿī* Ibrāhīm b. al-Ḥusayn al-Ḥāmidī (d. 557/1162) briefly refers to ʿAbd Allāh b. Maymūn as the tutor of the Imam Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl, adding that the latter was succeeded by his son ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad.[95] But he regards ʿAbd Allāh as the father of the second Fāṭimid caliph, whom he names as Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Mahdī. The divergencies between al-Khaṭṭāb's account and the official Fāṭimid version of the sequence of the 'hidden imams' proved to be particularly confusing some three centuries later, for the learned *dāʿī* Idrīs, who mentions Maymūn al-Qaddāḥ and his son as the guardians and the *ḥujja*s of the successive Imams Ismāʿīl b. Jaʿfar, Muḥammad, ʿAbd Allāh and Aḥmad.[96] In his exoteric historical work, *ʿUyūn al-akhbār*, he adopts the official version, according to which the Imams al-Ḥusayn b. Aḥmad, ʿAbd Allāh al-Mahdī and al-Qāʾim are of the same lineage. But in his esoteric work *Zahr al-maʿānī*, he attempts to reconcile this version with al-Khaṭṭāb's ideas, which he follows closely. The results are very ambiguous indeed.[97]

The available evidence, both Ismāʿīlī and non-Ismāʿīlī, does not prove that ʿAbd Allāh al-Mahdī was not the father of al-Qāʾim, nor does it lend support to the alleged Qaddāḥid origin of the Fāṭimid dynasty. Amongst the modern authorities, Ivanow laboured indefatigably to show the absence of any connection between the Shīʿī traditionists Maymūn al-Qaddāḥ and his son and the Ismāʿīlī movement. On the other hand, following the earlier suggestion of Qazvīnī, Stern believes that the basis for the story about Maymūn and his son ʿAbd Allāh is to be sought in the role that some of their descendants may have played in the Ismāʿīlī

movement of the 3rd/9th century.[98] There is also the interpretation of Lewis who accepts the historicity of the roles of the non-ʿAlid Maymūn and his son in early Ismāʿīlism.[99] By relying mainly on the allusions of the Druze scriptures and the *Ghāyat al-mawālīd* and by emphasizing the significance of spiritual parentage and the distinction between *mustaqarr* and *mustawdaʿ* imams in Ismāʿīlism, Lewis is of the opinion that there existed actually two lines of imams during the period of concealment. According to this interpretation, not generally accepted by other scholars, Maymūn al-Qaddāḥ was the chief *dāʿī* and guardian of Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl. Further, ʿAbd Allāh b. Maymūn, who succeeded his father in the role of chief *dāʿī*, received the imamate in trust and bequeathed it to his own descendants down to ʿAbd Allāh al-Mahdī. These were the *mustawdaʿ* or trustee imams who were of Qaddāḥid origin but were spiritually associated to the ʿAlids. There was, however, a second line of 'hidden imams', the genuine ʿAlid and *mustaqarr* imams, starting with Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl and ending with the second Fāṭimid caliph al-Qāʾim, with whom the imamate returned to the Fāṭimids. In other words, while attributing a Qaddāḥid ancestry to ʿAbd Allāh, al-Qāʾim and his successors are thought to have been genuine Fāṭimids. Finally, we should recall again at this juncture the already-mentioned hypothesis of Hamdani and de Blois who argue that the official version of the genealogy of the 'hidden imams' and the Fāṭimid caliphs was, in fact, constructed by combining two parallel lines of descendants of Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq, viz., the descendants of ʿAbd Allāh and Ismāʿīl b. Jaʿfar. Thus this official genealogy reflected a rearrangement of the genealogy claimed by ʿAbd Allāh al-Mahdī, who was a descendant of ʿAbd Allāh b. Jaʿfar.

Resuming our discussion of the history of Ismāʿīlism during the second half of the 3rd/9th century, it should be recalled that the main sources of information are still the Ibn Rizām–Akhū Muḥsin account, along with al-Ṭabarī's statements on the Qarmaṭī movement in ʿIrāq. It is certain that after Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl, ʿAbd Allāh and his descendants organized and led the Ismāʿīlī *daʿwa*, first from Khūzistān and eventually from Salamiyya. Shortly after the middle of the 3rd/9th century, when the fragmentation of the ʿAbbāsid state had already begun, the Ismāʿīlī leadership intensified its activities by sending numerous *dāʿī*s to various regions, especially to southern ʿIrāq and the adjoining areas where earlier forms of revolutionary Shīʿism had been successful. Ibn al-Nadīm quotes Ibn Rizām as saying that the *daʿwa* in ʿIrāq was organized in 261 AH, soon after the death of the Twelvers' eleventh imam and the occultation of their twelfth imam. It was in that year, or in 264/877–878 according to Akhū Muḥsin,[100] that Ḥamdān Qarmaṭ, the son of al-Ashʿath, was converted to Ismāʿīlism by al-Ḥusayn al-Ahwāzī. This prominent *dāʿī* had been sent to southern ʿIrāq to propagate Ismāʿīlī doctrines where he met and converted Ḥamdān, a carrier, in the latter's native locality, the Sawād of Kūfa.[101] Ḥamdān's surname Qarmaṭ (or Qarmaṭūya), which is probably

of Aramaic origin, is variously explained as meaning short-legged or red-eyed, amongst other descriptions and etymologies.

Ḥamdān organized the *daʿwa* in the villages around Kūfa and in other parts of southern ʿIrāq, appointing *dāʿī*s for the major districts. Soon, he succeeded in winning many converts who were named Qarmaṭī (plural, Qarāmiṭa) after their first local leader. This term came to be applied also to the sections of the Ismāʿīlī movement not organized by Ḥamdān. At the time, there was one unified *daʿwa* centrally directed from Syria, and Ḥamdān, having his own headquarters at Kalwādhā near Baghdad, accepted the authority of the central leaders with whom he corresponded but whose identity continued to remain a well-kept secret. A major factor contributing to the rapid success of Ḥamdān was the revolt of the Zanj, the rebellious black slaves who for fifteen years (255–270/869–883) rampaged through southern ʿIrāq and distracted the attention of the ʿAbbāsid officials at Baghdad. The Qarmaṭīs of ʿIrāq had become quite numerous by 267/880, when Ḥamdān found it opportune to make an offer of alliance to the leader of the Zanj, ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Zanjī. The latter, however, being at the height of his own power, declined the offer.[102] The rapid success of the *daʿwa* in ʿIrāq is attested by the fact that references to the Qarmaṭīs began to appear soon after 261/874–875. However, Ḥamdān's activities may have started earlier than that year, which is the earliest date mentioned in our sources, though probably still during the caliphate of al-Muʿtamid (256–279/870–892). This is because al-Faḍl b. Shādhān, the great Imāmī scholar of Nīshāpūr who died in 260/873–874, had already written a refutation of the Qarāmiṭa.[103] The revolutionary, messianic movement of the Ismāʿīlīs (Qarmaṭīs) achieved particular success amongst those Imāmīs who had become increasingly dissatisfied with the quietism and political inactivity of Imāmī Shīʿism. Furthermore, with the death of their eleventh imam in 260 AH, who had left no apparent successor, the Imāmīs had been left in disarray. Under such circumstances, the Ismāʿīlī *daʿwa*, then promising the imminent advent of Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl as the Mahdī and the restorer of religion and justice, had obvious appeals for them. As a result, many dissatisfied Imāmīs in southern ʿIrāq and elsewhere converted to Ismāʿīlism, contributing significantly to the success of the Ismāʿīlī movement during the second half of the 3rd/9th century.

Ḥamdān's chief assistant and one of the most celebrated early Ismāʿīlī *dāʿī*s was his brother-in-law ʿAbdān.[104] ʿAbdān, who enjoyed a high degree of independence, appointed many of the *dāʿī*s in ʿIrāq and probably also in southern Persia and Baḥrayn, such as Zikrawayh b. Mihrawayh and Abū Saʿīd al-Jannābī. A number of different taxes were levied on the Qarmaṭīs of ʿIrāq, including a fifth (*khums*) of the individual's income to be saved for the expected Qāʾim. In 277/890–891, Ḥamdān founded a fortified *dār al-hijra*, an abode of emigration

and congregation, near Kūfa for the Qarmaṭīs. The Qarmaṭī movement, however, continued to escape the general notice of the ʿAbbāsids, who had not re-established effective control over southern ʿIrāq since the Zanj revolt. It was only in 278/891–892, mentioned by al-Ṭabarī as the year in which the Qarmaṭīs of the Sawād intensified their activity, that the Baghdad officials began to realize the danger of the new movement, on the basis of some reports coming from Kūfa.[105] But no immediate action was taken against the Qarmaṭīs, who staged their first protest in 284/897. However, the energetic caliph al-Muʿtaḍid (279–289/892–902) did not permit any unrest to succeed in ʿIrāq, and he repressed the three Qarmaṭī revolts which were attempted during 287–289/900–902. The doctrine preached by Ḥamdān and ʿAbdān must have been that ascribed to the Qarmaṭīs by al-Nawbakhtī and al-Qummī, and confirmed by the Ibn Rizām–Akhū Muḥsin account. There is no indication that at the time the beliefs of the Qarmaṭīs of ʿIrāq differed in any significant respect from those held by the rest of the Qarmaṭīs (Ismāʿīlīs). It is interesting to note that Ḥamdān and ʿAbdān are not mentioned in any of the early Ismāʿīlī sources, which may be attributed to their eventual rift with the central leadership.

The Ismāʿīlī *daʿwa* was started in other regions, besides ʿIrāq, around the 260s/870s. In southern Persia, the mission was apparently under the supervision of the Qarmaṭī leaders of ʿIrāq. Abū Saʿīd al-Ḥasan b. Bahrām al-Jannābī, born at Jannāba (Persian, Gannāva) on the coast of Fārs and trained by ʿAbdān, was initially active there with much success.[106] And in Fārs proper, ʿAbdān's brother al-Maʾmūn was appointed as a *dāʿī*, and the Ismāʿīlīs of that region were reportedly called al-Maʾmūniyya after him.[107] The *daʿwa* in Yaman, which has remained an important Ismāʿīlī stronghold over the last eleven centuries, was from its inception in close contact with the central leadership of the movement. The recruitment and despatch of two famous *dāʿī*s to this southwestern corner of the Arabian peninsula in 266/879–880, to start the mission there, is fully narrated by al-Qāḍī al-Nuʿmān.[108] These *dāʿī*s were ʿAlī b. al-Faḍl, a Shīʿī from Yaman who had been converted to Ismāʿīlism while on pilgrimage to the tomb of the Imam al-Ḥusayn in Karbalāʾ, and Abu'l-Qāsim al-Ḥasan b. Faraj (or Faraḥ) b. Ḥawshab al-Kūfī, known as Manṣūr al-Yaman, who came from a prominent Imāmī Shīʿī family. Ibn Faḍl and Ibn Ḥawshab, who were to collaborate closely for some time, reached Yaman in 268/881, and, as a result of their initial success, preached their cause publicly as early as 270/883. Ibn Ḥawshab launched his activities from ʿAdan Lāʿa near the Jabal Maswar, where he built a *dār al-hijra*. Ibn al-Faḍl first established himself at Janad and, like his companion, founded a place of refuge. From these mountainous strongholds, the Yamanī Ismāʿīlīs penetrated into the surrounding areas, a strategy fully utilized by the later Nizārī Ismāʿīlīs of Persia and Syria. The mission in Yaman won strong tribal support

and met with astonishing success. By 293/905–906, when Ibn al-Faḍl occupied Ṣanʿāʾ, almost all of Yaman had been brought under the control of the Ismāʿīlīs. Later, however, the Ismāʿīlīs were obliged to abandon the greater part of their conquests under pressure from the local Zaydī imams who had established a state in northern Yaman in 280/893. Yaman also served as an important base for the extension of the *daʿwa* to adjoining areas, such as Yamāma, as well as to remote lands. In 270/883, Ibn Ḥawshab sent his nephew al-Haytham as a *dāʿī* to Sind, from where the *daʿwa* spread to other parts of the Indian subcontinent[109] and, as we shall see, another *dāʿī* later went from Yaman to the Maghrib, where he prepared the ground for Fāṭimid rule.

In the meantime, the *daʿwa* had appeared in eastern Arabia in 281/894, or perhaps even earlier in 273/886. After his initial career in southern Persia, Abū Saʿīd al-Jannābī was sent by Ḥamdān to Baḥrayn, entrusted with the mission there.[110] This is reported by the majority of the sources, which also add that Abū Saʿīd had been preceded by another *dāʿī*, a certain Abū Zakariyyāʾ al-Ṭamāmī (or al-Ẓamāmī), who may have been despatched by Ibn Ḥawshab. Abū Saʿīd, who in time disposed of Abū Zakariyyāʾ, married the daughter of al-Ḥasan b. Sanbar, the head of a prominent local family, and rapidly won converts from amongst the bedouins and the Persians residing there. By 286/899, with the important support of the Rabīʿī tribe of the ʿAbd al-Qafs, Abū Saʿīd had brought under submission a large part of Baḥrayn and had also taken Qaṭīf, on the coastal region of eastern Arabia, causing considerable alarm in Baṣra.[111] In 287/900, the Qarmaṭīs were in control of the suburbs of Hajar, the ancient capital of Baḥrayn and seat of the ʿAbbāsid governor. The caliph al-Muʿtaḍid sent an army of 2,000 fighting men and a large number of volunteers against them, but the ʿAbbāsid force was utterly defeated. Around 290/903, Hajar was finally subdued after a long siege. Abū Saʿīd now established his headquarters at al-Aḥsāʾ (al-Ḥasā), which became the capital of the Qarmaṭī state of Baḥrayn in 314/926 after Abū Saʿīd's second successor had built a fortress in the locality. Later, the Qarmaṭīs of Baḥrayn extended their control to the adjoining regions, including Yamāma and ʿUmān.

Abū Saʿīd had in effect founded a prospering state which lasted for almost two centuries, and was a menace not only to the Sunnī ʿAbbāsids, but also to the Shīʿī Fāṭimids. Although the *daʿwa* propagated by Abū Saʿīd did not openly contain any specific social programme, nevertheless communal and egalitarian principles seem to have played an important role in the organization of the Qarmaṭī state, especially in terms of the ownership of property, cultivation of agricultural land, collection of taxes, distribution of public expenditures, and various types of state assistance to the underprivileged. In governing the affairs of the community, too, Abū Saʿīd and his successors conferred in major decisions with a council known as al-ʿIqdāniyya, comprised of some high-ranking officials and the representatives

of the influential families. The state's concern for the welfare of the Qarmaṭīs of Baḥrayn, and the particular order established there, evoked the admiration of many a keen observer like Ibn Ḥawqal, and later Nāṣir-i Khusraw, who visited al-Aḥsāʾin 443/1051 when the local Qarāmiṭa were still called Abū Saʿīdīs after their initial leader.[112]

Ismāʿīlism spread also in many parts of west-central and northwest Persia, the region called al-Jibāl by the Arabs, including cities like Rayy, Qumm, Kāshān and Hamadān. It was shortly after 260 AH, when the Qarmaṭī leaders of ʿIrāq were at the beginning of their activities, that the central leaders of the movement despatched *dāʿī*s to the Jibāl. Later the *daʿwa* was also extended to Khurāsān and Transoxania. The most detailed account of this phase of the early *daʿwa*, containing the names of the chief *dāʿī*s until the opening decades of the 4th/10th century, is related by Niẓam al-Mulk, the famous Saljūq *wazīr* who was assassinated in 485/1092.[113] The account of Niẓam al-Mulk, who was an outspoken enemy of the Ismāʿīlīs and apparently had access to the earlier works of Ibn Rizām and Akhū Muḥsin, reappears in several other sources utilizing the same anti-Ismāʿīlī authorities.[114]

In the area of Rayy, which served as the headquarters of the Ismāʿīlī mission in the Jibāl, the *daʿwa* was started by a certain Khalaf al-Ḥallāj, after whom the Ismāʿīlīs of Rayy became also known as the Khalafiyya. He established himself in the village of Kulayn (Kulīn), in the district of Pashāpūya (the present Fashāfūya to the south of Tehran), and began to preach secretly in the name of the Qāʾim Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl. Khalaf had barely commenced his activity when he was discovered. Subsequently, he was forced to go into hiding in Rayy, where he died at an unknown date. He was succeeded by his son Aḥmad and then by the latter's chief disciple Ghiyāth, a native of Kulayn. Ghiyāth, who was well versed in *ḥadīth* and Arabic literature and wrote a book of religious terms entitled *Kitāb al-bayān*,[115] held disputations with the local Sunnīs and won disciples in the cities of Qumm and Kāshān. Eventually, one of the Sunnī jurists, al-Zaʿfarānī, incited the people of Rayy against him and the Ismāʿīlīs, forcing Ghiyāth to flee to Khurāsān. In Marw al-Rūdh (the present-day Bālā Murghāb in northern Afghanistan), he met and converted the *amīr* al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī al-Marwazī (or al-Marwarrūdhī). Many of the inhabitants of the surrounding districts of Ṭāliqān, Maymana, Harāt, Gharjistān and Ghūr, under the influence of this powerful *amīr* who later became a *dāʿī* himself, also adopted Ismāʿīlism. Ghiyāth later returned to Rayy and appointed as his deputy a learned man from the district of Pashāpūya, Abū Ḥātim Aḥmad b. Ḥamdān al-Rāzī, the future chief *dāʿī* of Rayy and one of the most important early Ismāʿīlī authorities.[116] Ghiyāth disappeared under mysterious circumstances and was succeeded by Abū Jaʿfar-i Kabīr, a descendant of Khalaf. He became afflicted with melancholy and was ousted by Abū Ḥātim

who now became the fifth chief *dāʿī* of Rayy and the leader of the *daʿwa* in the Jibāl.

Abū Ḥātim greatly expanded the *daʿwa* activities upon assuming office during the first decade of the 4th century/912–923, sending numerous *dāʿī*s to Iṣfahān, Ādharbayjān, Ṭabaristān and Gurgān. He also succeeded in converting the *amīr* Aḥmad b. ʿAlī, who governed Rayy during the period from 307 to 311/919 to 924. Around 313/925, after the conquest of Rayy by the Sunnī Sāmānids, Abū Ḥātim went to Ṭabaristān, in Daylam, the mountainous region south of the Caspian Sea and a sanctuary for numerous ʿAlids who had fled the ʿAbbāsids. There, he sided with Asfār b. Shirawahy (d. 319/931), a Daylamī military leader who soon became for a short period the master of Ṭabaristān, Rayy, Gurgān, etc. against the local Zaydī ruler al-Ḥasan b. al-Qāsim, known as al-Dāʿī al-Ṣaghīr.[117] In 316/928, Asfār had this Zaydī imam killed while seizing many other ʿAlids and sending them to the court of the Sāmānid *amīr* Naṣr II, to whom Asfār had declared his allegiance. It is interesting to note here that Asfār established himself for a while at the fortress of Alamūt, the later seat of the Nizārī Ismāʿīlī state. Abū Ḥātim acquired many converts and sympathizers in Daylam and Gīlān, including Asfār and his lieutenant Mardāwīj b. Ziyār (d. 323/935), who later rebelled against Asfār and founded the Ziyārid dynasty of northern Persia, with his capital at Rayy. According to the *dāʿī* al-Kirmānī, the famous disputation between the *dāʿī* Abū Ḥātim and the physician-philosopher Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Zakariyyāʾ al-Rāzī (Latin, Rhazes) took place in Mardāwīj's presence.[118] Mardāwīj at first supported Abū Ḥātim,[119] but soon afterwards he adopted an anti-Ismāʿīlī policy in the region under his control, perhaps because Abū Ḥātim's predicted date for the emergence of the Mahdī had proved wrong. Consequently, Abū Ḥātim, who had meanwhile returned to Rayy, was obliged to flee to Ādharbayjān where he sought refuge with a local ruler called Mufliḥ. After Abū Ḥātim's death in 322/934, the Ismāʿīlīs of the Jibāl were thrown into disorder, and their leadership eventually passed to two persons, namely, ʿAbd al-Malik al-Kawkabī who resided in Girdkūh, the future Nizārī stronghold, and a certain Isḥāq staying in Rayy, who may perhaps be the same person as the famous *dāʿī* Abū Yaʿqūb Isḥāq b. Aḥmad al-Sijistānī.

The *daʿwa* was officially taken to Khurāsān around the last decade of the 3rd century/903–913 by Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Khādim, while Ghiyāth, as noted, had earlier introduced Ismāʿīlism to that province on his own initiative. It was probably also at that time that Aḥmad b. al-Kayyāl, originally a *dāʿī*, seceded from the Ismāʿīlī movement and claimed the imamate for himself. This enigmatic Shīʿī personality, wrongly identified by some authorities as one of the 'hidden imams' of the Ismāʿīlīs, later gained the favour of the Sāmānid court during the rule of Naṣr II (301–331/914–943), and acquired a significant following in

Transoxania.[120] In any event, al-Khādim established himself in Nīshāpūr as the first chief *dāʿī* of Khurāsān. He was succeeded around the year 307/919, by Abū Saʿīd al-Shaʿrānī, who was despatched by ʿAbd Allāh al-Mahdī. This *dāʿī* managed to convert several notable military men of the province. The next head of the *daʿwa* in northeastern Persia and the adjoining region was the already-mentioned al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī al-Marwazī who had been converted by Ghiyāth. It was during his time that the provincial seat of the *daʿwa* was transferred from Nīshāpūr to Marw al-Rūdh. Al-Ḥusayn al-Marwazī is well known in the annals of the Sāmānid dynasty.[121] During the rule of Aḥmad b. Ismāʿīl (295–301/907–914), he commanded the Sāmānid forces in Sīstān (Arabic, Sijistān). Later, he rebelled at Harāt against Aḥmad's son and successor Naṣr II, and was defeated in 306/918. After being pardoned and spending some time at the Sāmānid court, he returned to Khurāsān, and subsequently became designated as the chief Ismāʿīlī *dāʿī* there.

On his deathbed, al-Ḥusayn al-Marwazī appointed as his successor Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Nasafī (or al-Nakhshabī), a brilliant philosopher who came from the village of Bazda in the vicinity of the Central Asian town of Nakhshab (Arabicized into Nasaf).[122] This *dāʿī*, who is generally credited with introducing a form of Neoplatonism into Ismāʿīlī thought, soon set out for Transoxania, where he had been advised to go by his predecessor in order to convert the dignitaries of the Sāmānid court at Bukhārā (in present-day Uzbekistan). He left a certain Ibn Sawāda, an Ismāʿīlī refugee from Rayy, as his deputy in Marw al-Rūdh. After a short and fruitless initial stay in Bukhārā, al-Nasafī retreated to his native Nakhshab from where he had more success in penetrating the inner circles of the Sāmānid capital from around 326/937–938. He converted several confidants of the Sāmānid *amīr*, including his private secretary Abū Ashʿath. Al-Nasafī then moved to Bukhārā, and, with the help of his influential converts at the court, managed to win over the young *amīr* Naṣr II and his *wazīr*, Abū ʿAlī Muḥammad al-Jayhānī. As a result, the Ismāʿīlī *dāʿī* acquired a particular position of influence in the Sāmānid capital and began to preach openly. At the same time, he extended the *daʿwa* to Sīstān through one of his subordinate *dāʿīs*. These developments displeased the Sunnī religious leaders of the state and their military allies, the Turkish guards of the Sāmānid rulers. They conspired together and finally deposed Naṣr II, under whose son and successor, Nūḥ I (331–343/943–954), the Ismāʿīlīs of Khurāsān and Transoxania were severely persecuted. Al-Nasafī and his chief associates were executed at Bukhārā in 332/943, soon after the accession of the *amīr* Nūḥ I. But the *daʿwa* in Khurāsān outlived this catastrophe and was later resumed under al-Nasafī's son Masʿūd, nicknamed Dihqān, and other *dāʿīs*, notably Abū Yaʿqūb al-Sijistānī who may also have had the mission in Rayy under his control.[123]

It is worthwhile to digress briefly now and consider the social character of early Ismāʿīlism and the composition of its following. The Muslim Near East experienced important economic transformations during the first two centuries of ʿAbbāsid rule. In particular, there was significant expansion of activity in the fields of industry, crafts and trade, and urban centres were growing very rapidly. There were also changes in the organization of the factors of production and in economic relationships prevalent in Muslim society. All these developments brought about or accompanied important social changes which subjected the ʿAbbāsid state to new strains and grievances. The Arab tribal aristocracy of the Umayyad times was now replaced by a ruling class composed of merchants, landowners, professional military men, administrators, religious leaders and men of learning. The garrison towns had been transformed from simple military encampments in the conquered territories to flourishing urban centres and vital market places where all types of exchange took place. And the emancipation of the *mawālī* had finally removed the distinction between the Arab and non-Arab Muslims, a distinction that in earlier times had given rise to a vocal malcontented social class and so provided a ready recruiting ground for revolutionary Shīʿism.

In this new and more complex socio-economic setting, there appeared new strains and conflicts of interest. In broad terms, the city had now become sharply delineated from the open country, and the interests of the landless peasantry and the bedouin tribesmen had become distinguishable from those of the prospering urban classes, which derived attractive revenues from their properties and activities. The various distressed groups, along with the common people, were naturally attractable to any movement opposed to the established order. Indeed, there were some minor peasant revolts and anti-regime movements in Persia and ʿIrāq, while the appearance of various local dynasties, such as the Ṣaffārids and the Zaydī ʿAlids of the Caspian region, had signalled the early political disintegration of the caliphate. The first serious sign of unrest came with the revolt of the Zanj, the black slaves who were employed on the large estates near Baṣra for the drainage of the salt marshes. But it was revolutionary Shīʿism, and particularly Ismāʿīlism, that held the greatest appeal for the discontented, both amongst the Arabs and non-Arabs. The message of the Ismāʿīlī *daʿwa* of the 3rd/9th century, which centred on the expectation of the imminent emergence of the Qāʾim, who would establish the rule of justice in the world, was most promising to the underprivileged people of diverse backgrounds. Therefore, as soon as the Ismāʿīlī *daʿwa* had become sufficiently organized, it attracted an ever-increasing number of adherents through the efforts of its able propagandists. In sum, as some Sunnī authorities later observed,[124] the Ismāʿīlī movement from the very beginning paid particular attention to social grievances and inequities and, as

such, it acquired the character of a movement of social protest, posing a serious threat to the ʿAbbāsid order.

The Ismāʿīlī *dāʿī*s, as noted, were sent to many regions, and they appealed to different social strata. Their initial success, though, was greatest in the less urbanized areas that were removed from the vital administrative centres of the caliphate. Socially speaking, the early Ismāʿīlī movement took the form of a protest against the oppressive rule of the ʿAbbāsids, the privileged urban classes and the centralized administration.[125] The Ismāʿīlīs, and other Shīʿīs, had also all along accused the ʿAbbāsids, and the Umayyads before them, of having usurped the rights of the ʿAlids to leadership. It cannot be denied that the early Ismāʿīlīs (Qarmaṭīs) also had some partisans in the towns, especially among the upper strata. But, as in the case of the Zanj, the urban proletariat and artisans did not join them, probably because they did not see their interests championed by the Ismāʿīlī *dāʿī*s. In short, early Ismāʿīlism seems to have mainly addressed itself to, and relied upon the support of, the peasants and the bedouins, with the result that one does not find real urban penetration of the movement until later times. There is, however, a hypothesis expounded chiefly by Massignon suggesting that the Ismāʿīlīs were responsible for the creation of the professional corporations or the so-called Islamic guilds (*aṣnāf*, singular, *ṣinf*) in Muslim cities during early medieval times, in order to mobilize the support of the urban working classes and the artisan groups against the regime.[126] But recent research does not substantiate the alleged Ismāʿīlī origin of the guilds in the Near East. It has, furthermore, become evident that the Islamic guilds, which were different from their European counterparts, did not exist in the strict sense of the term prior to the later Middle Ages, while during the earlier centuries any such loose associations that may have existed were generally instruments of state control.[127]

Under such circumstances, the social composition of the Ismāʿīlī following varied from region to region, despite the fact that early Ismāʿīlism was primarily concentrated in non-urban parts. In ʿIrāq, the *daʿwa* appealed mainly to the rural inhabitants of the Sawād of Kūfa and, to some extent, to the nearby bedouin tribesmen. It was in this semi-sedentary, semi-bedouin milieu that Ismāʿīlism established a simple socio-economic system and witnessed its initial success. In Baḥrayn and Syria, the bedouin tribes provided the backbone of the movement. In Yaman, Ismāʿīlism was supported by the tribesmen of the mountainous regions and later in North Africa the *daʿwa* was based on the support of the Kutāma Berbers. In Persia, the *daʿwa* originally aimed at converting the rural population, the first *dāʿī*s in the Jibāl concentrating on the villagers around Rayy. But after the early realization of the movement's failure to acquire a large popular following that could be led in open revolt against the authorities, as had been the case in the Arab lands, a new policy was adopted for the mission in Persia. According to this

policy, implemented especially in Khurāsān and Transoxania, the *dāʿī*s directed their efforts towards the elite and the ruling classes. It was in line with this policy that the *amīr* al-Ḥusayn al-Marwazī, himself belonging to the aristocracy, was selected to head the *daʿwa* in northeastern Persia. However, in spite of winning over many dignitaries, the new policy did not lead to any lasting political success and the *daʿwa* failed to gain any of the eastern provinces through the conversion of their rulers. The only eastern region where the early *daʿwa* eventually succeeded in establishing itself for a few decades was Sind. There, the Ismāʿīlīs, recognizing Fāṭimid suzerainty, won over the local ruler and made the city of Multān their capital, but their rule was soon brought to an end in 401/1010–1011, when Sultan Maḥmūd of Ghazna invaded Multān and massacred many Ismāʿīlīs.[128]

By the early 280s/890s, a unified and expanding Ismāʿīlī movement had replaced the earlier Kūfan-based splinter groups. This single Ismāʿīlī movement was centrally directed from Salamiyya. The Ismāʿīlīs now referred to their religio-political campaign and movement simply as *al-daʿwa*, 'the mission', or more formally as *al-daʿwa al-hādiya*, 'the rightly guiding mission', in addition to using expressions such as *daʿwat al-ḥaqq*, 'summons to the truth', or *dīn al-ḥaqq*, 'religion of truth'.[129] Such expressions, stressing the attitude of the Ismāʿīlīs towards their movement and their divine duty to appeal for the allegiance of other Muslims, continued to be utilized by the Ismāʿīlīs in Fāṭimid and later times,[130] in preference to al-Ismāʿīliyya, which owed its origins to heresiographical works, notably those of al-Nawbakhtī and al-Qummī. The term al-Qarāmiṭa, originally designated in reference to only one section of the movement, was soon applied by the outsiders in a wider and derogatory sense to the entire Ismāʿīlī movement. Indeed, the Ismāʿīlīs, when not referred to abusively as the *malāḥida*, and later also as the *ḥashīshiyya*, were normally denominated as Qarmaṭīs or Bāṭinīs by their non-Ismāʿīlī Muslim contemporaries.

The Ismāʿīlī–Qarmaṭī schism of 286/899

By the 280s/890s, the central leaders of the Ismāʿīlī *daʿwa* had been quite successful in hiding their true identity while directing the activities of *dāʿī*s of different regions. Ḥamdān Qarmaṭ, as noted, maintained a correspondence with the Ismāʿīlī headquarters in Salamiyya and received his main instructions from there, like the chief *dāʿī*s of certain other regions. In 286/899, shortly after ʿAbd Allāh, the future Fāṭimid caliph al-Mahdī, had succeeded to the central leadership, Ḥamdān noticed a change of tone in the written instructions sent to him from Salamiyya, suggesting certain doctrinal changes. Consequently, he despatched ʿAbdān to the central headquarters in order to investigate the reason

behind the new instructions. It was only at Salamiyya that ʿAbdān learned of the recent accession of ʿAbd Allāh, whom he met in due course. Upon returning from his fact-finding mission, ʿAbdān reported that instead of acknowledging the Mahdīship of the hidden Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl, on whose behalf the *daʿwa* had been so far conducted, the new leader now claimed the imamate for himself and his ancestors: the same leaders who had actually organized and led the movement after Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl. On receiving ʿAbdān's report, Ḥamdān renounced his allegiance to the central leadership in Salamiyya, and ordered his subordinate *dāʿī*s to suspend all *daʿwa* activities in their districts. Soon afterwards, Ḥamdān disappeared, while ʿAbdān was murdered at the instigation of Zikrawayh b. Mihrawayh, a major *dāʿī* in ʿIrāq, who had remained loyal to central leadership. The sources relate that all these events occurred in the year 286/899.[131]

The reform introduced by ʿAbd Allāh, which brought about the apostasy of Ḥamdān and ʿAbdān, concerned the imamate. As noted, according to the Ibn Rizām–Akhū Muḥsin account, confirmed by al-Nawbakhtī and al-Qummī, the early Ismāʿīlīs, or at least their overwhelming majority, originally recognized only seven imams, the last one being Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl, the expected Qāʾim and the seventh *nāṭiq*. This is also attested by the few extant early Ismāʿīlī sources. But in 286/899, ʿAbd Allāh had felt secure enough to make a public claim to the imamate for himself and his ancestors who had led the movement after Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl. In order to fully understand this important reform, it is necessary to investigate the nature of the authority assumed by these central leaders up to that time, especially since the belief in the Mahdīship of Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl had left no place for any further Ismāʿīlī imams. On the basis of certain allusions found in the early Ismāʿīlī sources, it seems that the central leaders of the *daʿwa*, before ʿAbd Allāh's reform, assumed the rank of the *ḥujja* for themselves.[132] It was through the *ḥujja* that one could establish contact with the exalted *ʿayn*, namely the imam, and the imam referred to the hidden Mahdī. In other words, the leaders of the movement at first apparently acted as the *ḥujja*s of the hidden Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl and summoned people to obey him. By his reform, ʿAbd Allāh had in effect openly elevated himself and his predecessors from the *ḥujja* of the expected Qāʾim to actual imams. This, of course, also implied the denial of the Mahdīship of Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl.

The term *ḥujja*, which appears in the Qurʾān, means proof or testimony, but it also means argument. Amongst the Shīʿīs, the term has been used in different senses. Initially, it meant the 'proof' of God's presence or will, and as such, referred to that person who at any given time served as evidence for mankind of God's will. It was in this sense that the application of the term was systematized by the Twelver Shīʿīs to designate the category of prophets and imams and, after the Prophet Muḥammad, more particularly the imams without whom the world

could not exist. The Imāmiyya had indeed come to use *al-ḥujja* as the equivalent of *al-imām*, as best reflected in the adoption of the term for the heading of the section on the imamate in al-Kulaynī's *al-Kāfī*.

The original Shīʿī application of the term *ḥujja*, going back to the time of the Imam al-Ṣādiq, was retained by the pre-Fāṭimid Ismāʿīlīs who held that in every era (*ʿaṣr*) there is a *ḥujja* of God, whether he be a prophet (*nabī*), a messenger-prophet (*rasūl*), or an imam.[133] They also used *ḥujja* in reference to a dignitary in their religious hierarchy (*ḥudūd al-dīn*), notably one through whom the inaccessible hidden Mahdī could become accessible to his adherents.[134] As a rank in the early *daʿwa* organization, the *ḥujja* came directly after the imam and had a special significance during the *dawr al-satr*. If the world could not exist without a 'proof' of God, it would follow that during the time of the imam's concealment his representative would have to manifest God's true will. In other words, during his concealment, the Qāʾim Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl would have to be represented by his *ḥujja*. It is in line with this usage that al-Shahrastānī attributes to the Ismāʿīlīs the tenet holding that when the imam is visible, his *ḥujja* may be hidden, and when the imam is concealed, his *ḥujja* and *dāʿī*s must be visible.[135]

The early Ismāʿīlīs used the term *ḥujja* in a third sense, namely as the designated successor of the *nāṭiq* (or the imam), whilst they were both alive. This is why they referred to ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib as Muḥammad's *ḥujja*.[136] In this sense, the imam is at first a *ḥujja* prior to becoming the imam, and the *ḥujja* becomes an imam after his imam.[137] It is interesting to note that the *Kitāb al-kashf* allows for several *ḥujja*s by specifying that only the 'greatest *ḥujja*' (*al-ḥujja al-kubrā*) succeeds to the imamate after the imam of his time.[138] Our Imāmī heresiographers, too, mention twelve *ḥujja*s, one for each of the twelve regions (*jazāʾir*) into which the *daʿwa* territory was, in theory, divided.[139] But this usage of the term in connection with the *daʿwa* hierarchy attained its full development under the Fāṭimids. During the earlier period, it seems that in the absence of the imam, the *ḥujja* was his full representative in the Ismāʿīlī community. This also explains why ʿAbd Allāh's open claim to the imamate did not meet with more resistance. After all, the bulk of the early Ismāʿīlīs (Qarmaṭīs) had already acknowledged ʿAbd Allāh as the *ḥujja* of the expected Qāʾim and as such he was entitled to the highest religious authority.

Other aspects of ʿAbd Allāh's new instructions are revealed in his letter to the Ismāʿīlīs of Yaman. In this document, the Ismāʿīlī leader claims descent from ʿAbd Allāh b. Jaʿfar, and explains how the 'misunderstanding' concerning the Mahdīship of Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl had come about. According to him, the name Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl referred to all the true imams in the progeny of ʿAbd Allāh b. Jaʿfar who had assumed the name Ismāʿīl and whose successors had

assumed the name Muḥammad. Consequently, the Mahdīship of Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl, instead of referring to a certain grandson of the Imam al-Ṣādiq, now acquired a collective meaning and referred to every imam after ʿAbd Allāh b. Jaʿfar, until the advent of the Mahdī, the *ṣāḥib al-zamān*.[140] In other words, ʿAbd Allāh denied both the imamate and the Mahdīship of the particular ʿAlid who had hitherto been regarded as the expected Qāʾim by the Ismāʿīlīs (Qarmaṭīs) because, according to his explanation, all the legitimate imams after ʿAbd Allāh b. Jaʿfar had adopted the name Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl as a code-name in addition to other pseudonyms whilst assuming the rank of *ḥujja*, for the sake of *taqiyya*. In support of his reform, ʿAbd Allāh attributed a tradition to the Imam al-Ṣādiq, affirming that the family of the Prophet was to produce more than one Mahdī.[141] These were evidently the same points gathered by ʿAbdān in Salamiyya, as described with certain variations by Akhū Muḥsin.

ʿAbd Allāh's ideas on Mahdīship required modifications concerning the function of the Mahdī, if the new doctrine was to be adapted to actual realities and especially because the 'order' traditionally expected upon the advent of the Mahdī had not yet materialized. Consequently, the task of the Mahdī was now redefined essentially to encompass the defence of the *sharīʿa* by means of the sword, rather than to abrogate the sacred law of Islam and to establish the rule of justice throughout the world.[142] The new ideas concerning the Mahdī and his function were later corroborated by al-Qāḍī al-Nuʿmān, who entered into the service of the first Fāṭimid caliph in 313/925, in his collection of traditions called the *Sharḥ al-akhbār*.[143] Finally, it may be added that by adopting the title of al-Mahdī on becoming the first Fāṭimid caliph, ʿAbd Allāh may have initially aspired to the 'modified' position of the awaited Mahdī. Soon, however, he designated his young son Muḥammad as his successor, and for the role of *al-imām al-muntaẓar* and the *ṣāḥib al-zamān*,[144] giving him the title al-Qāʾim. The significance of this nomination becomes more apparent if it is recalled that ʿAbd Allāh's son in fact bore the name of the Prophet, Abu'l-Qāsim Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh, the name required by the old Shīʿī traditions and prophecies for the would-be Mahdī from amongst the *ahl al-bayt*. The eschatological importance of this designation is clearly alluded to in some poems composed by al-Qāḍī al-Nuʿmān, in which the qualities and deeds of the Mahdī are attributed to the then reigning second Fāṭimid caliph.[145] These, then, were the changes introduced by ʿAbd Allāh into the doctrine of the imamate upheld hitherto by the majority of the early Ismāʿīlīs. It should, however, be added that a section of the community had from the beginning traced the imamate in the progeny of Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl and, thus, for this group ʿAbd Allāh's open claims to the imamate for himself and his ancestors did not represent doctrinal changes. For them, it merely represented the lifting of the *taqiyya*.

The reform of ʿAbd Allāh and the consequent revolt of Ḥamdān and ʿAbdān split the Ismāʿīlī movement into two rival factions in 286 AH. On the one side, there were those who accepted the reform, later incorporated into the official Fāṭimid doctrine of the imamate according to which there was always a visible imam at the head of the Ismāʿīlī community. These Ismāʿīlīs maintained continuity in the imamate and accepted ʿAbd Allāh's explanation that the Ismāʿīlī imamate had been handed down amongst the direct descendants of Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq. In contrast, the dissident Ismāʿīlīs, who lacked a united leadership, refused to recognize ʿAbd Allāh's claim to the imamate, retained their original doctrine and expected the return of the hidden Qāʾim, Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl. And in time, some of the leaders of these dissident communities claimed the Mahdīship for themselves or others. In line with earlier ideas, the Mahdī as the seventh *nāṭiq* was expected to end the era of Islam and initiate the final era of the world and the *qiyāma*. Henceforth, the term Qarāmiṭa came to be generally applied to those sectarians who did not acknowledge the Fāṭimid caliphs as imams, although it was sometimes used in a derogatory sense also in reference to those Ismāʿīlīs supporting the imamate of the Fāṭimids.

The available evidence on the reaction of the various Ismāʿīlī groups to the schism in the movement can be summed up as follows. The Qarmaṭīs of ʿIrāq were left in a state of confusion and doctrinal crisis following the demise of Ḥamdān and ʿAbdān. According to Ibn al-Mālik al-Ḥammādī al-Yamānī (d. ca. 470/1077), an anti-Ismāʿīlī polemicist, Ḥamdān was killed in Baghdad in 286 AH, or soon afterwards.[146] However, as pointed out recently by Madelung,[147] according to Ibn Ḥawqal, the well-informed geographer and traveller who may have been in the service of the Fāṭimids, Ḥamdān Qarmaṭ survived. Indeed, he later switched his allegiance and emerged as a loyal Fāṭimid *dāʿī* in the service of ʿAbd Allāh al-Mahdī in Egypt with a new identity under the name of Abū ʿAlī Ḥasan b. Aḥmad. Ibn Ḥawqal had evidently obtained this valuable information directly from the *dāʿī* Abū ʿAlī's son, Abu'l-Ḥasan Muḥammad, who served the early Fāṭimid caliphs.[148] Be that as it may, soon ʿĪsā b. Mūsā, a nephew of ʿAbdān, rose to a leading position among the Qarmaṭīs of ʿIrāq and continued the *daʿwa* in the name of Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl. These sectarians survived in southern ʿIrāq, with some support in Baghdad, through the first quarter of the 4th/10th century and on into even later times.[149] ʿĪsā and other Qarmaṭī *dāʿī*s of ʿIrāq, like the brothers Abū Muslim and Abū Bakr b. Ḥammād in Mawṣil, apparently ascribed their own writings to ʿAbdān, who had continued to be recognized as their authoritative teacher. In doing so, they were perhaps motivated by a desire to stress their doctrinal continuity, besides wanting to attribute a high degree of learning to their fallen teacher. Some of the works attributed to ʿAbdān apparently came also to be esteemed by the Fāṭimid Ismāʿīlīs. Even such a loyal

supporter of the Fāṭimids as the Qāḍī al-Nuʿmān did not find it objectionable to quote him.[150]

In the case of Baḥrayn, Ibn Ḥawqal has preserved another very valuable piece of information revealing that Abū Saʿīd al-Jannābī sided with Ḥamdān and ʿAbdān against the central leadership,[151] killing the *dāʿī* Abū Zakariyyāʾ who had remained loyal to ʿAbd Allāh. Abū Saʿīd then claimed to represent the awaited Mahdī. For Abū Saʿīd, who established his rule over Baḥrayn in the same eventful year 286 AH, the schism may actually have provided a favourable opportunity to make himself completely independent. He had, indeed, succeeded in founding an independent state when he was murdered by a slave in 301/913–914. He was succeeded by his sons Abu'l-Qāsim Saʿīd (301–311/913–923) and Abū Ṭāhir Sulaymān (d. 332/943–944). Under the latter, the Qarmaṭīs of Baḥrayn, reflecting a view then prevalent amongst the Qarmaṭī *dāʿī*s, were at the time predicting the advent of the Mahdī on the basis of certain astrological calculations for the year 316/928, an event which would end the era of Islam and usher in the seventh, final era of history. In 319/931, they accepted a young Persian as the Mahdī, to whom Abū Ṭāhir turned over the rule. The early and disastrous end of this turn of affairs, however, weakened the doctrinal vigour of the Qarmaṭīs of Baḥrayn and their influence over the dissident Ismāʿīlīs of ʿIrāq and Persia. We shall have more to say on the Qarmaṭīs of Baḥrayn. Here it suffices to note that their state survived until 470/1077–1078, after they had achieved some sort of a political rapprochement with the Fāṭimids.

In western Persia and the Jibāl, too, some Ismāʿīlīs joined the dissident faction. Circumstantial evidence indicates that the Ismāʿīlī community in the area of Rayy repudiated the claims of ʿAbd Allāh and continued to expect the reappearance of Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl. It seems that the *dāʿī*s there had close contacts with the Qarmaṭī leaders of ʿIrāq and Baḥrayn, and sided with the dissenters after the schism. Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī, for instance, corresponded with Abū Ṭāhir and may even have claimed to be the lieutenant of the hidden imam. Later, the *dāʿī*s of Rayy converted some members of the Musāfirid dynasty of Daylam and Ādharbayjān, notably Marzubān b. Muḥammad (330–346/941–957) and his brother Wahsūdān (330–355/941–966).[152] It is interesting to note that, in line with the views of the dissident Ismāʿīlīs, these Musāfirid rulers acknowledged the Mahdīship of Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl rather than the imamate of the Fāṭimid caliphs. This is clearly attested to by the inscriptions on the coins of Wahsūdān b. Muḥammad, minted in 343/954–955.[153] In Khurāsān, the Ismāʿīlīs generally maintained their allegiance to ʿAbd Allāh, who had appointed some of the earliest *dāʿī*s of that region. The dissident view, however, was also present there. It will be recalled that it had been Ghiyāth, the chief *dāʿī* of Rayy upholding the Mahdīship of Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl, who had introduced Ismāʿīlism to Khurāsān. Moreover,

Ghiyāth had also converted al-Ḥusayn al-Marwazī, who later spread Ismāʿīlism in the districts under his influence. It is likely, therefore, that both wings of Ismāʿīlism – Fāṭimid Ismāʿīlī and dissident Qarmaṭī – were strongly represented in northeastern Persia and Transoxania. On balance, however, the influence of the Fāṭimids in the eastern communities remained stifled until around the middle of the 4th/10th century, when the caliph al-Muʿizz was able to launch with some success an intensive campaign to regain the allegiance of the schismatic eastern Ismāʿīlīs.

The Ismāʿīlī community in Yaman at first remained completely loyal to ʿAbd Allāh al-Mahdī, supporting his imamate. By 291 AH, however, Ibn al-Faḍl seems to have manifested signs of disloyalty towards ʿAbd Allāh al-Mahdī. In Muḥarram 299/August 911, after reoccupying Ṣanʿāʾ, Ibn al-Faḍl publicly renounced his allegiance to ʿAbd Allāh, and himself claimed to be the Mahdī. Subsequently, he endeavoured unsuccessfully to coerce the collaboration of Ibn Ḥawshab (d. 302/914), the senior *dāʿī* who had remained loyal. After Ibn al-Faḍl's death in 303/915, his Qarmaṭī movement disintegrated rapidly. Asʿad b. Abī Yaʿfur of the local Yaʿfurid dynasty, who had acted as Ibn al-Faḍl's deputy in Ṣanʿāʾ and had recognized the latter's suzerainty over a part of Yaman, now revolted against the deceased *dāʿī*'s son and successor al-Faʾfāʾ (or al-Ghāfāʾ). In 304/917, he captured Mudhaykhira, the former residence of Ibn al-Faḍl and the seat of his movement, killing al-Faʾfāʾ and many of the dissenting Qarmaṭīs and ending their movement in Yaman. Finally, the *dāʿī*s in the Maghrib, having had close ties with Ibn Ḥawshab, also chose the loyalist camp and made it possible for ʿAbd Allāh al-Mahdī to select their territory for the seat of the Fāṭimid caliphate.

In the meantime, the loyal *dāʿī* Zikrawayh b. Mihrawayh had embarked on an adventurous campaign of his own on behalf of ʿAbd Allāh al-Mahdī. Zikrawayh had gone into hiding following the events of the year 286/899, possibly in fear of reprisals by ʿAbdān's supporters. Soon he organized a series of revolts in ʿIrāq and Syria during 289–294/902–907. He could not launch his activities effectively during the reign of the ʿAbbāsid caliph al-Muʿtaḍid, who severely repressed all the Qarmaṭī revolts taking place in ʿIrāq. But on the accession of the next caliph, al-Muktafī (289–295/902–908), Zikrawayh intensified his activities and sent several of his sons as *dāʿī*s to the Samāwa desert in Syria, between Palmyra and the Euphrates, where large numbers of bedouins from amongst the Banū Kalb were converted.[154] More specifically, Zikrawayh initially sent his son al-Ḥusayn (or al-Ḥasan) to the Syrian desert, where he achieved rapid success in winning the support of the Banu'l-ʿUlayṣ and some of the Banu'l-Aṣbagh, clans of Banū Kalb. Al-Ḥusayn, who became known as the *ṣāḥib al-shāma* as well as the *ṣāḥib al-khāl*, was soon joined by another brother Yaḥyā (called the *ṣāḥib al-nāqa* and also the *shaykh*). There are different modern interpretations of the intentions and

activities of Zikrawayh and his sons. However, Halm has argued convincingly on the basis of diverse sources that Zikrawayh and his sons initially remained zealously loyal to the Ismāʿīlī leader in Salamiyya, aiming to establish a Fāṭimid state there for ʿAbd Allāh al-Mahdī without his authorization.[155]

The premature campaign of Zikrawayh and his sons in fact compromised ʿAbd Allāh al-Mahdī's position. In their zeal to declare ʿAbd Allāh al-Mahdī's rule, Zikrawayh's sons revealed his true identity and summoned their bedouin followers to head for Salamiyya and pay homage to the imam there. It was to escape capture by the ʿAbbāsid agents that ʿAbd Allāh al-Mahdī secretly and hurriedly left Salamiyya in 289/902, at the height of Zikrawayh's success. Accompanied by his young son and future successor al-Qāʾim, the chief *dāʿī* Fīrūz, his chamberlain (*ḥājib*) Jaʿfar b. ʿAlī, and a few attendants, ʿAbd Allāh first went to Ramla, in Palestine, where he stayed for some time awaiting the outcome of Zikrawayh's activities. This historic journey eventually took al-Mahdī to North Africa, where he was to establish Fāṭimid rule.

Initially, Zikrawayh's sons and their army of Ismāʿīlī bedouins, who called themselves 'the Fāṭimids' (Fāṭimiyyūn), enjoyed much success in Syria. By 290/903 they had captured Salamiyya, Ḥimṣ and several other towns of the Orontes region, where they established a short-lived state in the name of ʿAbd Allāh al-Mahdī. In these towns, controlled by Zikrawayh's sons, it was in the name of the Ismāʿīlī imam, and not the ʿAbbāsid caliph, that for the first time the *khuṭba* was read and coins minted. Zikrawayh's sons now established contact with al-Mahdī in Ramla and attempted in vain to persuade him to return to Salamiyya and assume power. However, the Ismāʿīlī leader was not yet ready to confront the ʿAbbāsids. In 291/903, the Ismāʿīlī bedouins were routed almost completely by a major ʿAbbāsid army sent against them. It was in the immediate aftermath of this defeat that al-Ḥusayn b. Zikrawayh (*ṣāḥib al-shāma*), then leading the bedouins after his brother Yaḥyā was killed in 290/903, turned in anger against ʿAbd Allāh al-Mahdī. He destroyed al-Mahdī's residence in Salamiyya, also killing his relatives and servants who had stayed behind. In 291/904, al-Ḥusayn was captured by the ʿAbbāsid troops and sent to the caliph al-Muktafī in Baghdad, where he was interrogated under torture and revealed the identity and whereabouts of the Ismāʿīlī imam before being executed. Thereupon, the ʿAbbāsids launched a widespread search for ʿAbd Allāh al-Mahdī, who had meanwhile proceeded to Egypt.

Subsequently, Zikrawayh himself attempted to revive his campaign, which had by now acquired the characteristics of dissident Qarmaṭism. In 293/906, he sent a *dāʿī*, Abū Ghānim Naṣr, to lead his remaining Kalb followers. They attacked several towns, including Damascus, pillaging everywhere. In the same year, the ʿAbbāsid armies effectively took the field against these Qarmaṭīs, and

as a result the opportunistic Kalb betrayed and killed Abū Ghānim in order to gain an amnesty from the caliph. Zikrawayh now sent another *dāʿī*, al-Qāsim b. Aḥmad, to his Syrian supporters, informing them of his imminent personal appearance. They were apparently also told to migrate secretly to southern ʿIrāq. Soon afterwards, the Syrian tribesmen were joined by Zikrawayh's followers from the area of the Sawād and made a surprise attack on Kūfa but were quickly driven off. Thereupon, the Qarmaṭīs withdrew to the vicinity of Qādisiyya, where they were met in Dhu'l-Ḥijja 293/October 906 by Zikrawayh, who had finally emerged from his hiding place. The Qarmaṭīs repelled an ʿAbbāsid army sent after them and then began to pillage the caravans of the Persian pilgrims returning from Mecca, massacring a large number of them. Zikrawayh and his supporters continued their activities until 294/907, when they were finally defeated in battle by an ʿAbbāsid force. Zikrawayh was wounded, and died in captivity a few days later. Many of his followers were killed at the same time, bringing about an end to the Syro-Mesopotamian Qarmaṭī revolts. Several major factors contributed to Zikrawayh's inability to establish a state in ʿIrāq and Syria. Not only did he simultaneously engage in hostilities against the Sunnīs as well as all other Shīʿī groups, he also limited his base of support to the unreliable bedouins from amongst the Banū Kalb, who were more interested in booty than in any ideological issues. In fact, Zikrawayh's followers aroused the enmity of both the townspeople and the peasantry. Furthermore, the area of their activity was too close to the central administration of the caliphate, as in the case of all the defeated Shīʿī revolts of the Umayyad and early ʿAbbāsid times.

Some of the surviving supporters of Zikrawayh in the Sawād of Kūfa denied his death and awaited his return. In 295/907–908, a certain Abū Ḥātim al-Zuṭṭī was active as a *dāʿī* among these Qarmaṭīs.[156] He prohibited the consumption of certain vegetables and the slaughtering of animals, whence his followers were called the Baqliyya, a name subsequently applied to all the Qarmaṭīs of southern ʿIrāq, who for the most part had retained their belief in the Mahdīship of Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl. It seems that the Baqliyya, also called the Būrāniyya, were soon joined by the former adherents of Ḥamdān and ʿAbdān. This Qarmaṭī coalition survived for some time in southern ʿIrāq, under leaders like ʿĪsā b. Mūsā and Masʿūd b. Ḥurayth. In 312/925, we hear of these sectarians rallying to the side of a man who pretended to be the expected Mahdī, but they were defeated and dispersed by the ʿAbbāsids. Later in 316/928, the Qarāmiṭa (Baqliyya) revolted again in the Sawād, at which time ʿĪsā b. Mūsā was captured by the ʿAbbāsids, though in 320/932 he escaped from prison and resumed his missionary activity. Finally, a section of the Baqliyya, comprised mainly of Persians, joined the forces of Abū Ṭāhir al-Jannābī and went to Baḥrayn, where they became known as the Ajamiyyūn.

In the meantime, ʿAbd Allāh al-Mahdī had proceeded from Ramla, capital of Palestine, to Egypt, then under the quasi-autonomous rule of the Ṭūlūnids. Al-Mahdī's chamberlain Jaʿfar has left a detailed account of his master's fateful journey.[157] Al-Mahdī's small party arrived in Egypt early in 291/904. There, al-Mahdī was received by the chief local *dāʿī* Abū ʿAlī, who had been spreading the *daʿwa* in Egypt for some time. Abū ʿAlī, as already noted, was evidently none other than Ḥamdān Qarmaṭ, who had switched his allegiance back to ʿAbd Allāh al-Mahdī after the schism of 286/899 in Ismāʿīlism. ʿAbd Allāh al-Mahdī spent a year in the Ṭūlūnid capital of Fusṭāṭ or Old Cairo, retaining his earlier disguise as a Hāshimid merchant. In 292/905, the same ʿAbbāsid army that had defeated the bedouin converts of Zikrawayh and his sons in Syria, another Ṭūlūnid dominion, was despatched to Egypt to re-establish direct ʿAbbāsid rule there. These developments posed new dangers to al-Mahdī in Egypt. Instead of heading for Yaman, as evidently expected all along by his companions, al-Mahdī now decided to set out for the Kutāma Berber country in the Maghrib, where the loyal *dāʿī* Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Shīʿī had already achieved much success. It seems likely that al-Mahdī was deterred from going to Yaman, where a loyal Ismāʿīlī community awaited him under the leadership of Ibn Ḥawshab Manṣūr al-Yaman, in order to avoid serious confrontations with the ʿAbbāsids who had then intensified their chase of the Ismāʿīlī imam. It is also possible that dissident Qarmaṭī activities had already started in Yaman, making the imam's settlement there even more dangerous. This is attested by the fact that the chief *dāʿī* Fīrūz had deserted the imam in Egypt and joined ʿAlī b. al-Faḍl, who led the Qarmaṭī movement in Yaman.

It was under such circumstances that al-Mahdī now attached himself to a caravan of merchants travelling to the Maghrib. In Tripoli, he despatched the *dāʿī* Abu'l-ʿAbbās Muḥammad ahead to the Kutāma country to inform Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Shīʿī, the younger brother of Abu'l-ʿAbbās, of his imminent arrival. But Abu'l-ʿAbbās's identity was discovered in Qayrawān (Kairouan), where he was arrested and imprisoned by the Aghlabids, who ruled in the name of the ʿAbbāsids over Ifrīqiya, the eastern part of the Maghrib, from 184/800 to 296/909. The Aghlabids had then been instructed by their ʿAbbāsid overlords to search for the Ismāʿīlī imam and his companions. Once again, al-Mahdī was obliged to revise his plans. Accompanied by his son, al-Qāʾim, and the faithful chamberlain Jaʿfar, al-Mahdī now joined another caravan and, passing through southern Ifrīqiya in Shawwāl 292/August 905, he finally arrived in the remote town of Sijilmāsa (today's Rissani) in southeastern Morocco. An important trading route on the Saharan fringes, Sijilmāsa was the capital of the small Midrārid Khārijī state of Tāfilālt then ruled by Alīsaʿ b. Midrār. ʿAbd Allāh al-Mahdī lived quietly for four years (292–296/905–909) in this prosperous town as one of the locality's

many merchants, but maintaining his contacts with the *dāʿī* Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Shīʿī, who was meanwhile preparing to launch the final, military phase of his operations in the Maghrib.

Establishment of Fāṭimid rule

Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥusayn b. Aḥmad, known as al-Shīʿī due to his religious persuasion, and a native of Ṣanʿāʾ, had converted to Ismāʿīlism in southern ʿIrāq. He had then spent some time in Yaman working under Ibn Ḥawshab Manṣūr al-Yaman. In 279/892, while making the *ḥajj* pilgrimage, he met some Kutāma pilgrims in Mecca and, on Ibn Ḥawshab's instructions, accompanied them to their native land in the Maghrib. He was active as an Ismāʿīlī *dāʿī* among the Kutāma Berbers of the lesser Kabylia, in present-day eastern Algeria, from 280/893. It seems that the Kutāma had been originally introduced to Shīʿism by two *dāʿī*s, al-Ḥulwānī and Abū Sufyān, sent there in the time of the Imam Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq. Abū ʿAbd Allāh initially established himself in Īkjān, in the mountainous region north of Saṭīf, propagating Ismāʿīlism among the Kutāma tribesmen in the name of the Mahdī. The early success of the *daʿwa* was hastened by the fact that the Aghlabids did not exercise effective control over that part of the Maghrib. Subsequently, Abū ʿAbd Allāh transferred his headquarters to Tāzrūt, where he built a *dār al-hijra* for the Berber converts, as earlier *dāʿī*s had done in ʿIrāq and Yaman. Tāzrūt, a few kilometres to the southwest of Mīla, remained the seat of the *daʿwa* in the Maghrib for almost ten years. It was from that base of operations that Abū ʿAbd Allāh converted the bulk of the Kutāma Berbers, and transformed the Kutāma tribal confederation into a disciplined army of soldier-tribesmen.

Shīʿī Islam had never taken deep roots in the Maghrib, where the Berbers generally adhered to diverse schools of Khārijism, while Qayrawān itself, founded as a garrison town and inhabited by Arab soldiers, was the stronghold of Mālikī Sunnism. Under the circumstances, the newly converted Berbers' understanding of Ismāʿīlism, which at the time still lacked a distinctive school of jurisprudence, must have been rather superficial. It is reported that the *dāʿī* Abū ʿAbd Allāh exercised full authority over the affairs of his followers and enforced the *sharīʿa*, with some difficulty, on the Kutāma Berbers, who had been observing their own customary law. Adopting a simple lifestyle, he treated the occasionally unruly Kutāma with utter strictness, meting out punishments (*ḥudūd*) as specified for various offences in the Qurʾān. Abū ʿAbd Allāh personally taught the Kutāma initiates Ismāʿīlī doctrines in regularly held lectures. These lectures, developed fully under the Fāṭimids, were known as the 'sessions of wisdom' (*majālis al-ḥikma*).

Abū ʿAbd Allāh's subordinate *dāʿī*s held similar sessions, including separate ones for women.[158]

By 290/903, Abū ʿAbd Allāh had commenced the conquest of Ifrīqiya, covering today's Tunisia and eastern Algeria, then ruled by the Sunnī Aghlabids. After seizing Mīla and repelling two Aghlabid expeditions, Abū ʿAbd Allāh embarked on systematic offensives against Ṭubna, Billizma and other major cities of Ifrīqiya. By 296/909, the Kutāma army had seized Qafṣa and Qaṣṭīliya, effectively signalling the fall of Qayrawān, the Aghlabid capital. The fall of al-Urbus (Laribus) in the same year led the last Aghlabid ruler, Ziyādat Allāh III (290–296/903–906), to despair. He hastily abandoned the royal city of Raqqāda, in the suburbs of Qayrawān, and fled to Egypt. Shortly afterwards, on 1 Rajab 296/25 March 909, Abū ʿAbd Allāh entered Raqqāda and immediately received a delegation of the notables of Qayrawān who had come to congratulate the Ismāʿīlī *dāʿī* on his victory. Abū ʿAbd Allāh and the Kutāma chiefs now took up residence in Raqqāda.

Acting as al-Mahdī's deputy, Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Shīʿī governed Ifrīqiya for almost one year, after celebrating the victory of the 'helpers of the truth' (*anṣār al-ḥaqq*) as his Ismāʿīlī Berbers were called. He appointed new governors to every major city, and introduced the Shīʿī form of *adhān* or call to prayer. In the *khuṭba* at the Friday sermons, too, he added the blessings on the *ahl al-bayt*. Abū ʿAbd Allāh's new coins heralded the arrival of 'God's proof' (*ḥujjat Allāh*), reflecting the earlier Imāmī Shīʿī tradition of using this expression and *imām* synonymously. Abū ʿAbd Allāh's chief assistant was now his elder brother Abu'l-ʿAbbās Muḥammad, who had earlier been freed from prison in Qayrawān. A learned *dāʿī*, Abu'l-ʿAbbās held public disputations (*munāẓarāt*) with the leading Mālikī Sunnī jurists of Qayrawān in that city's Great Mosque, expounding the Shīʿī foundations of the new order and the legitimate rights of the *ahl al-bayt* to the leadership of Muslim society. The ground was thus rapidly prepared for the establishment of a new Shīʿī caliphate. An invaluable, newly-discovered account of the rise of Fāṭimid rule in Ifrīqiya and the early history of the Ismāʿīlī *daʿwa* there in the months following the victory of Abū ʿAbd Allāh is contained in the memoirs of Ibn al-Haytham, a scholar from Qayrawān who eventually became a prominent Ismāʿīlī *dāʿī*.[159]

Having consolidated his position in Ifrīqiya, and leaving Abu'l-ʿAbbās behind as his lieutenant, Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Shīʿī set off at the head of his Kutāma army towards Sijilmāsa, in Ramaḍān 296/June 909, to hand over the reins of power to al-Mahdī. On his way, he caused the downfall of another local dynasty of the Maghrib, the Ibāḍī Khārijī Rustamids of Tāhart who had ruled since 160/777 over a small principality in western Algeria. Abū ʿAbd Allāh arrived in Sijilmāsa some two months later. ʿAbd Allāh al-Mahdī, who had been earlier placed under house arrest in Sijilmāsa by its Midrārid *amīr*, was speedily liberated and united with

his faithful *dāʿī* and Kutāma followers who readily took control of the locality. In Sijilmāsa, al-Mahdī was acclaimed as caliph in ceremonies that lasted several days in Dhu'l-Ḥijja 296/August 909.

ʿAbd Allāh al-Mahdī made his triumphant entry into Raqqāda on 20 Rabīʿ II 297/4 January 910 and, on the same day, he was publicly proclaimed as ruler by the notables of Qayrawān and the Kutāma Berbers. On the following day, Friday 21 Rabīʿ II 297/5 January 910, the *khuṭba* was pronounced for the first time in all the mosques of Qayrawān in the name of Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh, with his full titles, namely, *al-imām al-mahdī bi'llāh* (the imam rightly guided by God) and *amīr al-muʾminīn* (commander of the faithful).[160] At the same time, a manifesto was read out from the pulpits announcing that the caliphate had come to be vested in the *ahl al-bayt*. As one of the first acts of the new regime, the jurists of Ifrīqiya were instructed to give their legal opinions in accordance with the Shīʿī principles of jurisprudence, paying particular attention to the teachings of the Imam Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq. The Shīʿī caliphate of the Fāṭimids had now officially begun in Ifrīqiya. The new caliphate was named as Fāṭimid (Fāṭimiyya), derived from the name of the Prophet's daughter Fāṭima, to whom al-Mahdī and his successors traced their ancestry.

The success of the Ismāʿīlī *daʿwa* was thus crowned, less than twenty years after its inauguration in North Africa, by the establishment of the Fāṭimid caliphate in Ifrīqiya, in the very heart of Mālikī Sunnī territory. The aspirations entertained by the Shīʿīs, for two and a half centuries, had finally become a reality in this distant land. For the Ismāʿīlīs in particular, this represented a great victory, since it was their imam who was installed to the new Shīʿī caliphate, which was to control important parts of the Muslim world for more than two centuries. With this event, the period of concealment (*dawr al-satr*) and of the 'hidden imams' in the history of early Ismāʿīlism had also come to an end, being followed by the period of unveiling or manifestation (*dawr al-kashf*), when the Ismāʿīlī imam appeared publicly at the head of his community.

Aspects of early Ismāʿīlī teachings

We have already discussed certain aspects of the doctrines expounded by the pre-Fāṭimid Ismāʿīlīs. The basic framework of an Ismāʿīlī system of religious thought was indeed laid during this early phase of Ismāʿīlī history. In fact, the distinctive Ismāʿīlī intellectual traditions had already acquired their familiar forms by 286/899 when the Ismāʿīlī *daʿwa* split into rival factions. As only a handful of Ismāʿīlī texts have survived from this formative period, and as the meagre literature of the Qarmaṭīs has disappeared almost completely, it is not possible to trace

the evolution of early Ismāʿīlī doctrines in any great detail. Although modern scholars disagree on certain aspects of early Ismāʿīlism, it is nevertheless possible to sketch a broad account of the fundamental teachings of the early Ismāʿīlīs. These were evidently expounded by the unified Ismāʿīlī movement from at least around 261/874 to 286/899. Subsequently, the early doctrines were further elaborated, and occasionally revised or modified, by the Fāṭimid Ismāʿīlīs, while the Qarmaṭīs followed a separate doctrinal path.

The early Ismāʿīlīs emphasized a fundamental distinction between the exoteric (*ẓāhir*) and the esoteric (*bāṭin*) aspects and dimensions of the sacred scriptures, as well as religious commandments and prohibitions. Going much further than earlier Shīʿī groups in southern ʿIrāq, including certain Shīʿī *ghulāt*, the early Ismāʿīlīs held that the revealed scriptures, including especially the Qurʾān and the sacred law of Islam (*sharīʿa*), had their apparent or literal meaning, the *ẓāhir*, which had to be distinguished from their inner meaning or true spiritual reality, hidden in the *bāṭin*. They further held that the *ẓāhir* or the religious laws (*sharīʿa*s) enunciated by different prophets underwent periodical changes, while the *bāṭin*, containing the spiritual truths (*ḥaqāʾiq*), remained immutable and eternal. For the Ismāʿīlīs, the *ḥaqāʾiq* in effect formed a gnostic system, representing an esoteric world of hidden spiritual reality.

The early Ismāʿīlīs further thought that, in every age, the esoteric world of spiritual reality could be accessible only to the elite (*khawāṣṣ*) of mankind, as distinct from the common people (*ʿawāmm*), who were merely capable of perceiving the *ẓāhir*, the outward world and the apparent meaning of the revelations. Accordingly, in the era of Islam initiated by the Prophet Muḥammad, and before the coming of the Qāʾim, the eternal truths of religion could be explained only to those who had been properly initiated into the Ismāʿīlī community and recognized the teaching authority of the Prophet Muḥammad, his *waṣī* ʿAlī, and the legitimate imams of that era. Initiation into Ismāʿīlism, known as *balāgh*, took place after the novice had taken an oath of allegiance (*ʿahd* or *mīthāq*).[161] The initiates were bound by their oath to keep secret the *bāṭin* imparted to them by a hierarchy of teachers authorized by the Ismāʿīlī imam. The *bāṭin* was thus both hidden and secret, and its knowledge had to be kept away from the uninitiated masses, the *ʿawāmm*, the non-Ismāʿīlīs who were incapable of understanding it. In this context, the Ismāʿīlīs reinterpreted the Imāmī Shīʿī principle of *taqiyya* to imply their obligation not to reveal the *bāṭin* to any unauthorized person, in addition to their duty to dissimulate when facing the danger of persecution. The process of initiation was gradual, involving the payment of certain dues for receiving instructions. The *Kitāb al-ʿālim waʾl-ghulām*, one of the few surviving early texts attributed to Jaʿfar b. Manṣūr al-Yaman, contains valuable details of this process.[162] This pedagogical gradualism is also related in the already-noted

Ibn Rizām–Akhū Muḥsin hostile account. But there is no evidence of any system of fixed (seven or more) initiation stages, as reported by anti-Ismāʿīlī polemicists.

By exalting the *bāṭin* and the truths (*ḥaqāʾiq*) contained therein, the early Ismāʿīlīs came to be regarded by the rest of the Muslim society as the most representative Shīʿī community espousing esotericism in Islam, hence their common designation as the Bāṭiniyya. This designation was, however, often used abusively by anti-Ismāʿīlī sources which accused the Ismāʿīlīs in general of ignoring the *ẓāhir*, or the commandments and prohibitions of Islam. The available evidence, including the existing texts of the Ismāʿīlī oath of allegiance, clearly shows that the early Ismāʿīlīs were not exempted in any sense from adhering to the *sharīʿa* and its rituals and prescriptions. Such accusations of *ibāḥa* or antinomianism against the early Ismāʿīlīs seem to have been entirely rooted in the hostilities of their enemies, who also blamed the entire Ismāʿīlī community for the anti-Islamic views and practices of the Qarmaṭī groups, expecially those of Baḥrayn.

The Ismāʿīlīs taught that the eternal truths (*ḥaqāʾiq*) hidden in the *bāṭin* in fact represented the true message common to Judaism, Christianity and Islam. The truths of the monotheistic religions recognized in the Qurʾān had, however, been veiled by different exoteric laws as required by changing temporal circumstances. While the religious laws were announced by the prophets, it was the function of their successors, the *awṣiyāʾ* (singular, *waṣī*) and imams, to interpret and explain their true meaning to those who were properly initiated and acknowledged the legitimate teaching authorities of their era. In the era of Islam, the unchangeable truths, contained in the *bāṭin*, were indeed the exclusive prerogative of the divinely-guided Ismāʿīlī imam, after the Prophet and his *waṣī* ʿAlī, and the hierarchy of teachers (*ḥudūd*) installed by the imam.

The truths behind the revealed scriptures and laws could be made apparent through the so-called *taʾwīl*, viz. the symbolical, allegorical or esoteric interpretation which came to be the hallmark of Ismāʿīlism.[163] The *taʾwīl*, literally meaning to lead back to the origin or to educe the *bāṭin* from the *ẓāhir*, must be distinguished from *tafsīr*, to explain and comment upon the apparent meaning of the sacred texts, and from *tanzīl*, which refers to the revelation of the religious scriptures through angelic intermediaries. The *taʾwīl* practised by the early Ismāʿīlīs was often of a cabalistic form, relying on the mystical properties and symbolism of letters and numbers. Although similar processes of interpretation and of spiritual exegesis had existed in the earlier Judaeo-Christian traditions and among the Gnostics, the immediate origins of the Ismāʿīlī *taʾwīl* are Islamic and may be traced especially to the Shīʿī circles of the 2nd/8th century. The purpose of *taʾwīl*, utilized extensively by the Ismāʿīliyya, was to manifest the hidden so as to unveil the true spiritual reality. It represented a journey from the *ẓāhir* or the exoteric appearance, to the original ideas hidden in the *bāṭin*, causing the

letters to regress to their true meaning, to the esoteric truths (*ḥaqāʾiq*). In short, the passage from *ẓāhir* to *bāṭin*, from *sharīʿa* to *ḥaqīqa*, or from *tanzīl* to *taʾwīl*, entailed the passage from the appearance to the true reality, from the letters of the revelation to the inner message behind them, and from the symbol to the symbolized. It corresponded to a passage from the world of phenomenon to the world of noumenon. The initiation into the *ḥaqāʾiq*, attained through the *taʾwīl* or *taʾwīl al-bāṭin*, indeed led to a spiritual rebirth for the Ismāʿīlīs. The *taʾwīl*, translated also as spiritual hermeneutics or hermeneutic exegesis, supplemented the Qurʾānic worldview with a more elaborate view which rapidly developed into an intellectual system. The centrality of *taʾwīl* for the early Ismāʿīlīs is attested by the fact that the bulk of their literature was evidently comprised of the *taʾwīl* genre of writing, generally seeking justification for Ismāʿīlī doctrines in Qurʾānic verses. The early Ismāʿīlīs thus laid the foundations of their later religious system as well as their intellectual sciences, according to which the sectarians would progress from the *ẓāhir* sciences of the *sharīʿa*, history, etc., to the *bāṭin* subjects, comprised of the *taʾwīl*, a means-science, leading to the *ḥaqāʾiq*, an ends-science, the final goal of human attainment.

The *ḥaqāʾiq* formed a gnostic system of thought for the early Ismāʿīlīs – a system that represented a distinctly Ismāʿīlī esoteric world of spiritual reality. The two main components of this system were a cyclical interpretation of hierohistory and a gnostic cosmological doctrine. By the early 280s/890s, the Ismāʿīlīs had already developed a cyclical interpretation of time and the religious history of mankind, which they applied to the Judaeo-Christian revelations as well as certain other pre-Islamic religions. They had a particular, semi-cyclical and semi-linear, conception of time. They conceived of time as a progression of successive cycles or eras with a beginning and an end.[164] On the basis of their eclectic temporal vision, reflecting Greek, Judaeo-Christian and Gnostic influences as well as the eschatological ideas of the earlier Shīʿīs and the Qurʾānic view on the evolution of man, the Ismāʿīlīs developed a conception of religious history in terms of the eras of the different prophets recognized in the Qurʾān. This view was combined with their doctrine of the imamate which, in its fundamental framework, had been inherited from the Imāmiyya.

Accordingly, the early Ismāʿīlīs believed that the hierohistory of mankind is consummated in seven eras (*dawr*s) of various durations, each one inaugurated by a speaker-prophet or enunciator (*nāṭiq*) of a revealed message, which in its exoteric aspect contains a religious law (*sharīʿa*).[165] In the first six eras of human history, the *nāṭiq*s (or *nuṭaqāʾ*), also known as the *ūluʾl-ʿazm* or the prophets 'with resolution', had been Ādam, Nūḥ (Noah), Ibrāhīm (Abraham), Mūsā (Moses), ʿĪsā (Jesus) and Muḥammad. The early Ismāʿīlīs further maintained, probably by projecting their current ideas into the past, that each of the first six *nāṭiq*s was

succeeded by a spiritual legatee or executor (*waṣī*), also called a foundation (*asās*) or silent one (*ṣāmit*), who interpreted the esoteric truths (*ḥaqāʾiq*) contained in the inner (*bāṭin*) dimension of that era's revealed messages to the elite. In the first six eras, Shīth (Seth), Sām (Shem), Ismāʿīl (Ishmael), Hārūn (Aaron) or Yūshaʿ (Joshua), Shamʿūn al-Ṣafāʾ (Simon Peter), and ʿAlī had been such legatees. Each *waṣī*, *asās*, or *ṣāmit* was, in turn, followed by seven imams called *atimmāʾ* (singular, *mutimm*, completer), who guarded the true meaning of the scriptures and the laws in both their *ẓāhir* and *bāṭin* aspects. In every prophetic era, the seventh imam would rise in rank to become the *nāṭiq* of the following era, abrogating the *sharīʿa* of the previous *nāṭiq* and promulgating a new one. This pattern would change only in the seventh, final era of history.

The seventh imam of the sixth era, the era of the Prophet Muḥammad, was Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl who had gone into concealment. On his parousia, he would become the seventh *nāṭiq*, and the Qāʾim or Mahdī, ruling over the final eschatological era. Only he would unite in himself the ranks of *nāṭiq* and *waṣī*, being also the last of the imams. Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl would initiate the final era of the world. He was not to announce a new religious law, however. Instead, he would fully reveal the esoteric truths concealed behind all the preceding messages, truths which had so far been revealed imperfectly and only to the elite of humanity. In the final era, before the end of the world, the *ḥaqāʾiq* would thus be fully known, free from all their symbolism, and an age of pure spiritual knowledge would be ushered in. In this messianic age of the Mahdī, there would no longer be any distinction between the *ẓāhir* and the *bāṭin*, the letter of the law and its inner spirituality. Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl would rule in justice before the physical world was consummated. He would be the *qāʾim al-qiyāma*, the Imam of the Resurrection and his era would mark the end of time and human history.

In order to reconcile a seemingly eternal universe with a limited number of cycles and with the partial temporality of man, later Ismāʿīlīs allowed for a greater, endless, series of cycles. On the basis of astronomical and astrological speculations, they conceived of a grand cycle (*al-kawr al-aʿẓam*), composed of numerous cycles, each divided into seven periods, the whole to be concluded by the Grand Resurrection. Furthermore, the cycles of time were held to progress through the epochs of concealment (*satr*), when appearance and true reality were essentially different, and epochs of epiphany or revelation (*kashf*), when truth was manifest and there was no need for external law.

It was in the light of such a syncretic and ecumenical worldview that the Ismāʿīlīs developed their system of thought, which had much appeal not only to Muslims belonging to different religious communities and social strata but also to a diversity of non-Islamic communities. Of all the Muslim communities only the Ismāʿīlīs accommodated so comprehensively, in their cyclical scheme

of religious history, the Judaeo-Christian traditions as well as a variety of other pre-Islamic religions, notably Zoroastrianism and Mazdakism, which were at the time still enjoying some prominence in the Iranian world. The propagation of the Mahdīship of Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl provided the early Ismāʿīlī *daʿwa* with a great deal of messianic appeal in Muslim milieux, especially amongst the Imāmī Shīʿīs. The Ismāʿīlī *daʿwa* would, thus, guarantee deliverance in this world and salvation in the hereafter. It was on the basis of such teachings that a unified Ismāʿīlī movement developed rapidly after the middle of the 3rd/9th century.

ʿAbd Allāh al-Mahdī's reform introduced important modifications into the cyclical view of religious history propounded by the early Ismāʿīlīs. After the schism of 286/899, while the dissident Qarmaṭīs continued to adhere to the earlier doctrine, the loyal Fāṭimid Ismāʿīlī faction developed a different conception of the sixth era of religious history, the era of Islam. By allowing for continuity in the imamate, ʿAbd Allāh al-Mahdī allowed for more than one heptad of imams in the era of Islam. As a result, the seventh era, earlier defined as the spiritual age of the Mahdī, had now completely lost its eschatological, popular appeal for the Fāṭimid Ismāʿīlīs and others. The final age, whatever its nature, was henceforth postponed indefinitely into the future and the functions of the Mahdī, who would initiate the Day of Resurrection (*yawm al-qiyāma*) at the end of time, were to be similar to those envisaged by other Muslims. The Qarmaṭīs, by contrast, retained their original belief in the Mahdīship of Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl and his role, as the seventh *nāṭiq*, for ending the era of Islam and, after 286/899, they made specific predictions for his advent. For instance, the Qarmaṭī *dāʿī* al-Nasafī in his *Kitāb al-maḥṣūl* conceived of the seventh era as an age without religious law. Furthermore, he seems to have maintained that the era of Islam had already ended with the first coming of Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl. The Qarmaṭīs' sack of Mecca should also be viewed in this context. These developments proved catastrophic for the Qarmaṭī movement. They were also seized upon by Sunnī polemicists to accuse all Ismāʿīlīs of libertinism and antinomianism.

The second main component of the early Ismāʿīlī *ḥaqāʾiq* system was a cosmology.[166] Elaborated in the second half of the 3rd/9th century, this pre-Fāṭimid cosmological doctrine seems to have been propagated mainly orally in Ismāʿīlī circles and it has not been preserved in any of the early Ismāʿīlī texts. In modern times, S. M. Stern and H. Halm have partially reconstructed and studied the original cosmology of the Ismāʿīlīs on the basis of fragmentary evidence contained in later writings, notably the works of Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī, Abū Yaʿqūb al-Sijistānī,[167] and above all a treatise by Abū ʿĪsā al-Murshid, a Fāṭimid *dāʿī* and judge in Egypt during the reign of the caliph-imam al-Muʿizz (341–365/953–975).[168] There are also precious contemporary references in certain Zaydī texts produced in Yaman.[169] According to this evidence, fully examined by Stern and

Halm,[170] the pre-Fāṭimid cosmology was espoused by the entire Ismāʿīlī movement until it was superseded in the 4th/10th century by a new cosmology of Neoplatonic provenance. More specifically, various motifs were combined into a mythological cosmogony, describing the creation of the universe and the analogies between the celestial and terrestrial worlds.

According to this early cosmological doctrine, God existed when there was no space, no eternity and no time. Through His intention (*irāda*) and will (*mashīʾa*), He first created a light (*nūr*) and addressed it with the Qurʾānic creative imperative *kun* (Be!), calling creation into being. Through duplication of the two letters of this divine fiat, *kāf* and *nūn*, *kun* acquired its feminine form, *kūnī*. On God's command (*amr*), *kūnī*, the first creature, also called the preceder (*sābiq*), created from her light (*nūr*) the second creature, called *qadar*, determination, to act as vizier and assistant to her. *Qadar*, also known as the follower (*tālī*), represented the male principle. *Kūnī* and *qadar* were, thus, the two original principles of creation, identified with the Qurʾānic terms 'pen' (*qalam*) and 'tablet' (*lawḥ*). These concepts were grossly misunderstood by the Zaydī authors of the 4th/10th century, who report that at the time the Ismāʿīlīs of Yaman considered *kūnī* and *qadar* as their gods.

The Arabic names of the primal pair, *kūnī* and *qadar*, were comprised of seven consonantal letters (KUNI-QDR), also called the higher letters (*al-ḥurūf al-ʿulwiyya*). These letters were interpreted as the archetypes of the seven *nāṭiq*s and their messages, beginning with K for Ādam and ending with R for Mahdī or Qāʾim. It was out of the original heptad of letters that all other letters of the Arabic alphabet and names emerged, and with the names there simultaneously appeared the very things they signified. Thus, in this system – a cabalistic mythological cosmogony – the letters and words provided a ready explanation for the genesis of the universe. God's creative activity by the intermediacy of the primal pair first brought forth the beings of the spiritual world, the pleroma. Corresponding to the seven *nāṭiq*s, *kūnī* created from her light the *karūbiyyūn*, corresponding to the Cherubim of Judaeo-Christian angelology, giving them esoteric names whose meaning can only be understood by the 'friends of God' (*awliyāʾ Allāh*) and the true believers who follow them, namely the Ismāʿīlīs. Then, on *kūnī*'s order, *qadar* created and named twelve spiritual beings (*rūḥāniyyūn*) from his light. The names of several of the spiritual beings are known from Islamic angelology, including Riḍwān (guardian of Paradise) and Mālik (angel of Hell). The spiritual beings act as intermediaries between *qadar*, in whom *kūnī* is veiled for creation, and the speaker-prophets and imams of human history. The first three spiritual beings or hypostases, called *jadd* (good fortune), *fatḥ* (triumph) and *khayāl* (imagination), identified with the archangels Jibrāʾīl (Gabriel), Mīkāʾīl (Michael) and Isrāfīl (Seraphiel), played a leading role in mediating between the spiritual

world and the religious hierarchy in the physical world.[171] These three spiritual beings – *jadd*, *fatḥ* and *khayāl* – formed an important pentad with *kūnī* and *qadar*, providing links between the cosmology of the early Ismāʿīlīs and their cyclical view of hierohistory. This cosmological doctrine also accounted for the creation of the lower physical world. The terrestrial world, too, was created through the mediation of *kūnī* and *qadar*, starting with the creation of air and water, identified esoterically with the Qurʾānic terms 'throne' (*ʿarsh*) and 'chair' (*kursī*), and, then, the creation of the seven skies, the earth, the seven seas and so on.

In this cosmology there are numerous parallels between the spiritual and the physical worlds. Almost everything in the higher world corresponds to something in the lower world, such as correspondences between *kūnī* and the sun, *qadar* and the moon, the seven Cherubim and the seven skies, etc. The early Ismāʿīlī cosmology also had a key soteriological purpose. Man, who appears at the end of the process of creation, is far from his origin and the Creator. This cosmology, thus, aimed to show the way for removing this distance and bringing about man's salvation. This could be achieved only if man acquired knowledge (Greek, *gnosis*) of his origin and the reasons for his distance from God, a knowledge that had to be imparted from above by God's messengers, *nāṭiq*s, as recognized in the Qurʾān.

The pre-Fāṭimid cosmology of the Ismāʿīlīs contains all the essential characteristics of a gnostic system. In the latter the first of God's creatures is usually feminine, and so here too the original Qurʾānic creative command *kun* is transformed into its feminine form, *kūnī*. The progressive creation first of the spiritual and then of the physical world, man's distance from God and his salvation through knowledge communicated by messengers are other key features of this gnostic system. Indeed, many of its mythological themes and concepts, symbolic numbers and hermeneutic speculations have parallels in the systems of earlier Gnostics, such as the Samaritan system and the related Ophite and Barbelo-Gnostic systems – classified under 'Syrian-Jewish' types of Gnosticism – as well as the Mandaean system, developed in southern ʿIrāq where the earliest Ismāʿīlīs flourished. There are also some Judaeo-Christian influences, such as the ultimate provenance of the Cherubim. However, none of these earlier systems seem to have served as a direct prototype of the early Ismāʿīlī cosmology: an original model which developed on its own in an Islamic milieu relying on Qurʾānic terminology and Shīʿī doctrines while apparently drawing on the overall pattern of an earlier type of Gnosticism.

The early Ismāʿīlīs appeared within the Imāmī Shīʿī tradition, and organized a revolutionary movement in the name of the Ismāʿīlī imam from the *ahl al-bayt*. As such, their doctrines were mainly of Islamic provenance, though they also borrowed from earlier traditions. But the Muslim adversaries of the Ismāʿīlīs from

early on attempted to depict their doctrines as anti-Islamic, rooted extensively in non-Islamic traditions, especially the various dualist Iranian religions such as Zoroastrianism and Manichaeism. These assertions are not substantiated by the findings of modern scholarship related to early Ismāʿīlī doctrines. *Kūnī* and *qadar*, for instance, do not reflect a cosmic dualism of light and darkness, or good and evil, as in some of these earlier religious traditions.[172] The available evidence, in fact, demonstrates that the Ismāʿīlīs had founded an Islamic gnostic tradition of their own, a tradition in which cosmology was closely connected to soteriology and a specific view of the sacred history of mankind.

4

The Fāṭimid period until 487/1094: *dawla* and *daʿwa*

This chapter will present a survey of Ismāʿīlī history during what is known as the classical Fāṭimid period, from the establishment of the Fāṭimid state in Ifrīqiya in 297/909 until the death of the eighth Fāṭimid caliph-imam al-Mustanṣir in 487/1094. This period is often referred to as the 'golden age' of Ismāʿīlism, when the Ismāʿīlīs achieved a prosperous state of their own and Ismāʿīlī literature and intellectual activities reached an apogee.

The foundation of the Fāṭimid caliphate in 297/909 marked the crowning success of the early Ismāʿīlīs. The religio-political *daʿwa* of the Ismāʿīliyya had finally led to the establishment of a state or *dawla* headed by the Ismāʿīlī imam. This represented not only a great success for the Ismāʿīlīs, but for the entire Shīʿa as well. Since the days of ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, this was the first time that an ʿAlid imam from the *ahl al-bayt* had succeeded to the leadership of a major Muslim state. By acquiring political power, and then transforming the nascent Fāṭimid *dawla* into a vast empire, the Ismāʿīlī imam had at the same time presented his Shīʿī challenge to ʿAbbāsid hegemony and Sunnī interpretations of Islam. Henceforth, the Ismāʿīlī Fāṭimid caliph-imam could readily and openly act as the spiritual spokesman of Shīʿī Islam in general, much in the same way that the ʿAbbāsid caliph was the mouthpiece of Sunnī Islam.

In Fāṭimid times, the Ismāʿīlīs were permitted to practise their faith openly and without fearing persecution within Fāṭimid dominions, while outside the boundaries of their state they were obliged to observe *taqiyya* as before. In fact, with the establishment of the Fāṭimid *dawla*, the need had arisen for promulgating a state religion and a legal code, even though Ismāʿīlism was never to be imposed on all the subjects of the Fāṭimid state. As a result, Ismāʿīlī law, which had not existed during the earlier secret and revolutionary phase of Ismāʿīlism, was codified during the early Fāṭimid period.

In line with their universal claims, the Fāṭimid caliph-imams did not abandon their *daʿwa* activities on assuming power. Aiming to extend their authority and rule over the entire Muslim society and beyond, they retained a network of *dāʿī*s, operating on their behalf as religio-political propagandists both within and outside Fāṭimid dominions. The Fāṭimids particularly concerned themselves

with the affairs of their *daʿwa* after transferring the seat of their state to Egypt in 362/973. The conquest of Egypt itself in 358/969 represented an intermediary stage in the Fāṭimids' strategy of eastern expansion. Cairo, founded as a caliphal city by the Fāṭimids, became the headquarters of the complex and hierarchical Ismāʿīlī *daʿwa* organization. Supreme leadership of the Ismāʿīlī *daʿwa* and the Fāṭimid *dawla* were the prerogatives of the Fāṭimid caliph-imam. Special institutions of learning and teaching were set up for the training of *dāʿī*s and ordinary Ismāʿīlīs. Educated primarily as theologians, the Ismāʿīlī *dāʿī*s of the Fāṭimid period were at the same time the scholars and authors of their community, producing what were to become the classical texts of Ismāʿīlī literature dealing with a multitude of exoteric and esoteric subjects, with works of the *taʾwīl* genre retaining their prominence. The *dāʿī*s of this period elaborated distinctive intellectual traditions. In particular, certain *dāʿī*s of the eastern, Iranian lands, such as Abū Yaʿqūb al-Sijistānī and Ḥamīd al-Dīn al-Kirmānī, amalgamated Ismāʿīlī theology with different philosophical traditions into highly complex metaphysical systems of thought. It was indeed during the classical Fāṭimid period that Ismāʿīlīs made their most lasting contributions to Islamic thought and culture. Modern recovery of their literature readily attests to the richness and diversity of the literary and intellectual heritage of the Ismāʿīlīs of this period. In Egypt, the Fāṭimids developed complex administrative and financial systems, drawing on earlier centralized models. They also elaborated their rituals and ceremonials.

After consolidating their position, the Fāṭimids paid particular attention to economic and intellectual activities. They established a vast network of trade and commerce. In rivalry with the ʿAbbāsids who used the Persian Gulf for trade purposes, the Fāṭimids successfully revived another trade route to India passing through the Red Sea. As a result, the Fāṭimid treasury received substantial revenues from the customs duties levied on imports of spices and luxury goods from India, China and other parts of Asia. Fāṭimid commercial activities were at times accompanied, or perhaps even motivated, by religious considerations. In particular, Fāṭimid trade with western India resulted in the extension of the Ismāʿīlī *daʿwa* to Gujarāt under the initial leadership of the Ṣulayḥids of Yaman who acknowledged Fāṭimid suzerainty. In Egypt, the Fāṭimid caliphate acquired a substantial economic base, supported not only by trade and commerce but by a flourishing agricultural sector, dependent on the Nile and a variety of domestic productive activities. Political stability and economic prosperity enabled the Fāṭimid regime to mobilize for extended periods the resources required to sustain the operations of its public administration, armies, and its vast fleet operating throughout the Mediterranean Sea. For much of the 5th/11th century, Fāṭimid Egypt was a major sea power, competing with the Byzantine empire from Sicily to the shores of Syria. In Egypt, the Fāṭimids also patronized intellectual activities. They founded major

libraries in Cairo, which became a flourishing centre of Islamic scholarship, science, art and culture. All in all, the Fāṭimid period marked not only a glorious age in Ismāʿīlī history, but also one of the greatest eras in the history of Egypt and Islam. It was in recognition of Fāṭimid contributions to Islamic civilization that Massignon designated the 4th/10th century as the 'Ismāʿīlī century' of Islam.[1]

The Fāṭimids were not to realize their universal ideals, and they did not succeed in uniting all Muslims under a Shīʿī caliphate headed by the Ismāʿīlī Fāṭimid caliph-imam. But they did manage, at least for a while, to have their suzerainty recognized from North Africa and Egypt to the Ḥijāz, Palestine and Syria. In the Ḥijāz, they supplanted the ʿAbbāsids as the custodians of the holy cities of Mecca and Medina. And for one full year, 450–451/1058–1059, the *khuṭba* at the Friday sermon in Baghdad itself, the ʿAbbāsid capital, was recited in the name of the Fāṭimid caliph. Confronted with a variety of internal and external problems, however, the Fāṭimid caliphate had already embarked on a steady path of decline by the second half of the 5th/11th century, almost one century before its actual collapse. By then, the Ismāʿīlī *dāʿīs* operating in the central and eastern lands of Islam, from Syria to Central Asia, had achieved lasting successes. The Ismāʿīlī converts in those lands, ruled by the ʿAbbāsids, Būyids, Saljūqs, Ṣaffārids, Ghaznawids and other dynasties, acknowledged the Fāṭimid caliph as the rightful imam of the time. All surviving dissident Qarmaṭīs outside Baḥrayn, too, had by then switched their allegiance to the Fāṭimid Ismāʿīlī *daʿwa*. It was largely due to the success of the Ismāʿīlī *dāʿīs* working outside the Fāṭimid dominions that Ismāʿīlism outlived the downfall of the Fāṭimid dynasty and caliphate, and survived the challenges posed by the Sunnī revival of the 5th/11th and 6th/12th centuries.

The Fāṭimid period is one of the best documented periods in Islamic history.[2] As noted, almost the entire corpus of the histories of the Fāṭimid dynasty and Fāṭimid Egypt, written in the time of the Fāṭimids themselves, did not survive directly. This material was, however, at least partially preserved by later authorities, especially by the Mamlūk historian al-Maqrīzī (d. 845/1442), who produced the most extensive account of the Fāṭimids in several of his works. Indeed, many medieval Muslim historians and chroniclers wrote about the Fāṭimids, who are also discussed in the universal histories of Miskawayh (d. 421/1030) and Ibn al-Athīr (d. 630/1233), amongst many others, as well as in a variety of regional histories of Egypt and Syria. Aside from historical sources, there exist valuable archival documents concerning the Fāṭimids. In fact, Fāṭimid Egypt is one of the rare periods in the annals of the Islamic Middle Ages from which such materials have survived. In Fāṭimid times, the official documents were issued mainly through the *dīwān al-inshāʾ*, the chancery of state, and their originals were preserved there or in other Fāṭimid archives. The texts of some of these documents,

such as decrees, epistles (singular, *manshūr* or *sijill*), letters of various kinds, diplomas, treatises, etc., have been preserved in certain chronicles, notably those of al-Maqrīzī and Ibn Taghrībirdī (d. 874/1470), and in al-Qalqashandī's *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshāʾ*, which remains an indispensable source for the study of Fāṭimid documents and institutions. Furthermore, there are those documents found amongst the famous Geniza collection of papers, which provide an invaluable source of information for the economic, social and cultural history of medieval Egypt, especially in Fāṭimid times.[3]

There are also numerous non-literary sources on the Fāṭimid dynasty and achievements. Fāṭimid monuments and works of art have been thoroughly studied, and scholarly investigations of numismatic, epigraphic and other types of existing evidence related to the Fāṭimids continue to occupy the attention of specialists in these fields. Finally, the extant Ismāʿīlī literature of the Fāṭimid period illuminates various aspects of the doctrines and intellectual traditions elaborated by the Fāṭimid Ismāʿīlīs.[4] Owing to this relative abundance of evidence, examined extensively by modern Islamicists as well as scholars of Ismāʿīlī studies, the Ismāʿīlism of the Fāṭimid period has now become perhaps the best known major phase in the history of Ismāʿīlism.

Fāṭimid history during its 'classical' period is normally divided into two phases. The initial phase, commonly designated as the North African phase, lasted just over sixty years from the establishment of Fāṭimid rule in Ifrīqiya in 297/909 to the Fāṭimid conquest of Egypt in 358/969 and the transference of the dynasty's seat of power there in 362/973. During this time the Fāṭimids were chiefly occupied with laying the foundations of their caliphate and assuring its endurance. In the second phase, covering a period of some 120 years from 362/973 until the death of the caliph-imam al-Mustanṣir in 487/1094, the Fāṭimid caliphate, now centred in Egypt and enjoying stability, reached and then passed its peak of glory and territorial expansion, which was subsequently followed by the rapid decline and fall of the dynasty.

Consolidation of the Fāṭimid caliphate in North Africa

The first three Fāṭimid caliphs, ʿAbd Allāh al-Mahdī bi'llāh (297–322/909–934), Abu'l-Qāsim Muḥammad al-Qāʾim bi-Amr Allāh (322–334/934–946) and Abū Ṭāhir Ismāʿīl al-Manṣūr bi'llāh (334–341/946–953), who reigned entirely from Ifrīqiya, encountered numerous internal and external difficulties while they were consolidating their power and position in that remote region of the Muslim world.[5] Not only did they face internal dissent and the continued enmity of the ʿAbbāsids, the Umayyads of Spain, the Byzantines, and the Qarmaṭīs of

Baḥrayn, but they also soon came to confront the hostility of various Sunnī and Khārijī dynasties and Berber tribes in their more immediate surroundings of the Maghrib.

The Fāṭimids, like the ʿAbbāsids before them, came to face a serious internal conflict soon after their victory. This conflict, threatening the very existence of the newly founded Shīʿī dynasty, had its roots in the incompatibility between the ideas and expectations of those *dāʿī*s who had played a vital role in bringing the Fāṭimids to power on the one hand, and the needs of the state and the responsibilities of sound government on the other. The establishment of Fāṭimid rule required some modifications in the revolutionary objectives and policies of the Ismāʿīlī *daʿwa*. Now that the Ismāʿīlī imam had become the Fāṭimid caliph, the *daʿwa* could no longer address itself primarily to the overthrow of the ʿAbbāsids, as it had done during the 3rd/9th century. It was also obliged to defend and uphold the claims of the Fāṭimids within the world of Islam. This changed attitude found its expression in Fāṭimid Ismāʿīlī literature, displaying a move away from the earlier revolutionary principles of the movement. At any rate, almost immediately after al-Mahdī's accession, serious disagreements developed between the caliph and his chief lieutenant the *dāʿī* Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Shīʿī. The *dāʿī* evidently had ideas of his own regarding the policies of the state, including taxation measures, and he also resented the new limits put on his authority. Under these circumstances, Abū ʿAbd Allāh, who was extremely popular amongst the Kutāma Berbers, began to conspire against his master. But al-Mahdī, knowing that the *dāʿī* could incite the Kutāma Berbers against him, moved swiftly. In 298/911, both Abū ʿAbd Allāh and his brother Abu'l-ʿAbbās were executed on his secret orders, reminiscent of Abū Muslim's fate in the aftermath of the ʿAbbāsid revolution. The demise of Abū ʿAbd Allāh outraged the Kutāma Berbers, some of whom now rose in open rebellion. However, al-Mahdī repressed this rebellion speedily, before it could become more widespread.[6] The various clans of Kutāma Berbers henceforth served the Fāṭimids loyally.

In North Africa, the Fāṭimids had to struggle against Sunnism, mainly in its Mālikī form, and more importantly, against Khārijism, the predominant religion of the Berbers. The existence of old rivalries in the Maghrib among the various Berber tribal groups, especially between the Zanāta and the Ṣanhāja, which was continuously exploited by the Umayyads of Spain, was another source of trouble for the early Fāṭimids. The Zanāta, who adhered mainly to Ibāḍī Khārijism and who, out of their hatred for the Fāṭimids, often placed themselves under the patronage of the Umayyads, were to be found in the western and furthest Maghrib, while the Ṣanhāja (or Ṣinhāja), as well as the Kutāma, were concentrated in the central and eastern regions of the Maghrib.[7] The Kutāma Berbers, it will be recalled, had been converted to Ismāʿīlism and now provided the backbone of

the Fāṭimid armies. After disposing of Abū ʿAbd Allāh, the caliph al-Mahdī had to deal with the revolts of the Zanāta, while in the west of his realm he was confronted by the Idrīsids of Fās (Fez), the first ʿAlid dynasty of the Maghrib, founded in 172/789.

The Rustamids of Tāhart, a Khārijī dynasty brought to power with the help of the Zanāta, had been overthrown in 296/909 by the Kutāma fighters of the *dāʿī* Abū ʿAbd Allāh. But Tāhart had continued to serve as the rallying point of the Ibāḍī Khārijī Berbers, and soon the Zanāta of western Maghrib revolted against the Fāṭimids. In 299/911, this revolt was subdued and Tāhart retaken by Maṣāla b. Ḥabūs, who then subjugated the Idrīsids of Morocco in 305/917. The Idrīsid ruler Yaḥyā IV was, however, permitted to retain the governorship of Fās and its province, under the condition that he recognize the sovereignty of the Fāṭimid al-Mahdī. The remainder of the Idrīsid territories was given to Mūsā b. Abi'l-ʿĀfiya, a Miknāsa Berber chief and Maṣāla's cousin. In 307/919–920, Maṣāla was obliged to return to Idrīsid territories, and this time he deposed Yaḥyā IV, also taking possession of Fās. Subsequently, the Fāṭimid general proceeded to Sijilmāsa, which he took in 309/921. After Maṣāla's death in 312/924, his lieutenant Ibn Abi'l-ʿĀfiya became the sole ruler of western Maghrib as far as Sabta (Ceuta). However, he eventually defected from the Fāṭimid camp, and, in 320/932, transferred his allegiance to the Spanish Umayyad ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III (300–350/912–961) who, as part of his anti-Fāṭimid campaign, had seized Sabta during the previous year. It was only in the initial year of the second Fāṭimid caliph's reign that a Fāṭimid army, under the command of Mayṣūr, succeeded in defeating Ibn Abi'l-ʿĀfiya and in re-establishing Fāṭimid authority over the western Maghrib. As a result, the Umayyads of Cordoba were obliged to abandon, at least temporarily, their expansionist policies in North Africa, where they had the support of the Zanāta.[8]

From the beginning of their rule, the Fāṭimids aspired to establish their hegemony over the entire Muslim world. Their more immediate objective, however, was to overthrow the ʿAbbāsids, who were their most obvious adversary. As a first step toward their campaign against the ʿAbbāsids, which was to culminate in the extension of their rule over the entire Muslim East, they addressed themselves to conquering the Egyptian province of the ʿAbbāsid caliphate. They attacked Egypt twice in al-Mahdī's reign, during 301–302/913–915 and 307–309/919–921, led by the caliph's son and future successor Abu'l-Qāsim Muḥammad. Both invasions, however, ended in failure, with only Barqa remaining in Fāṭimid hands. Meanwhile, in order to have better access to the Mediterranean and eastern lands, al-Mahdī had founded the town of Mahdiyya on the east coast of Ifrīqiya, to where, in 308/921, he transferred his capital from Qayrawān. Later, the Fāṭimid capital in Ifrīqiya was moved to Muḥammadiyya and then to Manṣūriyya, towns

founded by and named after al-Mahdī's next two successors. Mahdiyya was equipped with an impressive shipyard which soon enabled the Fāṭimids to possess a powerful fleet. This fleet was badly damaged in the second Fāṭimid invasion of Egypt, mainly due to the inexperience of its pilots. It did not take long, however, for the Fāṭimid warships to engage in numerous far-reaching battles and raids throughout the Mediterranean. After his accession, al-Qāʾim launched a third expedition against Egypt in 323/935, again without success. The founder of the Ikhshīdid dynasty, Muḥammad b. Ṭughj al-Ikhshīd (323–334/935–946), who was appointed to the governorship of Egypt by the ʿAbbāsids, repelled this attack, forcing the Fāṭimid troops to withdraw to Barqa. Ibn Ṭughj and his able general Kāfūr, who became the real authority behind the later Ikhshīdids, managed to delay the Fāṭimid conquest of Egypt for more than three decades. The military operations of the Fāṭimids in Egypt were accompanied by their Ismāʿīlī propaganda there. This propaganda, conducted by numerous *dāʿī*s and secret agents, was addressed both to the soldiery and the civilian populace, including the non-Muslims of that ʿAbbāsid province. On several occasions, the Egyptian authorities succeeded in arresting and punishing some of these Fāṭimid propagandists and their local collaborators; but the Fāṭimids were not deterred from continuing their campaign.[9]

As successors to the Aghlabids, the Fāṭimids had inherited the island of Sicily (Ṣiqilliyya), separated from Italy by the narrow strait of Messina. The Aghlabids had detached most of Sicily from the Byzantines in a gradual conquest that was completed by 264/878. Byzantium, however, kept possessions in eastern Sicily and in Calabria, in neighbouring southern Italy. As a result of numerous raids, conquests and migrations, Sicily had come to be inhabited by a mixture of races with different religious beliefs. There were, for instance, Lombards, Greeks, Arabs and Berbers who adhered to Christianity, Islam and Judaism. This heterogeneity was a source of constant friction in the island. Under the Aghlabids, Sicily was governed by an *amīr* residing in Palermo, and this tradition was retained by the Fāṭimids. The first Fāṭimid governor of Sicily was Ibn Abi'l-Fawāris, a former *amīr* of the island who had championed the Fāṭimid cause there. Soon afterwards in 297/910, he was replaced by al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad, better known as Ibn Abī Khinzīr, a more trustworthy individual and a former Fāṭimid police-chief of Qayrawān. In 299/912, the Arabs and the Berbers revolted against Ibn Abī Khinzīr in Palermo and Girgenti, also rejecting his successor, ʿAlī b. ʿUmar al-Balawī, sent by al-Mahdī. The Sicilians now chose a governor of their own, Ibn Qurhub, a rich nobleman associated with the Aghlabid family. Ibn Qurhub declared himself to be in support of the ʿAbbāsid caliph al-Muqtadir (295–320/908–932), and during the short span of his rule, representing virtual independence for Sicily, there was an influx of Mālikī Sunnīs to the island, refugees who feared the persecution of

the new Shīʿī masters of Ifrīqiya. Later, the Berbers of Girgenti, joined by the inhabitants of other parts of Sicily, revolted against Ibn Qurhub and, in 304/916, delivered him to al-Mahdī, who had him executed. After this short interval, Sicily reverted to the Fāṭimid domain, though periodical troubles continued to erupt on the island.

In 336/948, the Fāṭimid al-Manṣūr appointed al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī al-Kalbī, of the influential Maghribī Kalbid family of the Banū Abi'l-Ḥusayn, as governor of Sicily, in order to subdue the recurrent anti-Fāṭimid activities there. This appointment led to the foundation of the semi-independent dynasty of the Kalbids, which ruled over Sicily for almost a century on behalf of the Fāṭimids.[10] By the middle of the 5th/11th century, civil wars and Byzantine interventions had paved the way for the downfall of the Kalbids and the gradual reduction of Sicily by the Normans. The Kalbid period, it may be noted, was one of the most prosperous eras in the history of Muslim Sicily. The island developed vital trade relations with Ifrīqiya, while Palermo, with its numerous mosques, became a flourishing centre of traditional Islamic sciences. Fāṭimid Sicily also played an important part in the transmission of Islamic culture into Europe. It is interesting to note, however, that the Fāṭimid *daʿwa* does not seem to have penetrated into Sicily. The Kalbid *amīr*s and the ruling circles associated with them in view of their recognition of Fāṭimid suzerainty probably adhered to Ismāʿīlism, at least outwardly. But there is no evidence of the Fāṭimid *dāʿī*s trying to win converts on the island, whose Muslims continued to be mainly Mālikī Sunnīs. There were, however, some Ismāʿīlīs, mainly refugees, amongst the Sicilian masses. The bulk of them had fled from Ifrīqiya to avoid persecution by the Sunnīs, in the aftermath of the departure of the Fāṭimids for Egypt.

The early Fāṭimids used Sicily as a base for launching raids against the coastal towns of Italy and France as well as the islands of the western Mediterranean. At the same time, they continued to be engaged in both war and diplomacy with the Byzantines, who held possessions in eastern Sicily and southern Italy and occasionally benefited from the alliance of the Umayyads.[11] During al-Mahdī's reign, Fāṭimid forces raided the coasts of Lombardy and Calabria, forcing the Byzantines to pay an annual tribute. They also mounted further naval assaults against the territories of Salerno and Naples. In 322/934, the caliph al-Qā'im sent a fleet of twenty vessels from Mahdiyya to Italy. This expedition sacked Genoa in the following year, returning to Ifrīqiya with much booty. Fāṭimid fleets also attacked the southern coast of France, and temporarily occupied the islands of Sardinia and Corsica. Following several minor entanglements, in 345/956–957 they inflicted a major defeat on the Byzantines in Italy, obliging the emperor Constantine VII (913–959) to send tributes and a peace-negotiating embassy to the Fāṭimid al-Muʿizz in 346/957–958. In 351/962, the second Kalbid governor of

Sicily, Aḥmad b. al-Ḥasan, while consolidating his position, staged a war against the eastern part of the island, where several Christian towns had survived in a state of semi-independence under Byzantine protection. In the same year, the Kalbids captured Taormina, which had resisted Muslim rule, renaming it Muʿizziyya, after the reigning Fāṭimid caliph. The early Kalbids continued to have periodic clashes with Byzantium, whilst they were often asked to intercede in the struggles between the various small states of southern Italy. In 354/964, following the accession of the emperor Nicephorus II Phocas (963–969), who had refused to pay the customary tribute to the Fāṭimids and had also renewed hostilities in Sicily, the Byzantines were severely defeated on land and sea by the joint Fāṭimid–Kalbid forces. Rametta, the last Sicilian possession of Byzantium, was now seized by the Muslims. According to the terms of a peace treaty signed in 356/967 between the Fāṭimids and the Byzantines, the Muslims acquired the right to exact *jizya* from the Christian inhabitants of Sicily. This defeat of the Byzantines, who had menaced the Muslims of the Near East, was celebrated throughout the Islamic world. But subsequently the Fāṭimids did not find it objectionable to collaborate with Byzantium against a common enemy, the German emperor Otto I (d. 973), who was then establishing his authority in southern Italy. At any rate, after a decade of peace, relations between the Fāṭimid and the Byzantine empires once again became marked by sporadic conflicts, accompanied by frequent Kalbid raids into Calabria and Apulia, a situation lasting until the downfall of the Kalbid state in Sicily.

Having laid a solid foundation for Fāṭimid rule in North Africa, from Morocco to the borders of Egypt, ʿAbd Allāh al-Mahdī died in Rabīʿ I 322/March 934, after a caliphate of twenty-five years and an imamate of thirty-five years. He was succeeded by his son Abu'l-Qāsim Muḥammad, who had accompanied him from Salamiyya to the Maghrib, and had already participated in the affairs of the state and in numerous military campaigns before ascending to the throne as al-Qāʾim bi-Amr Allāh. The second Fāṭimid caliph-imam continued his father's policies of expansion and consolidation. It was towards the end of al-Qāʾim's reign that a protracted rebellion of the Khārijī Berbers, led by Abū Yazīd, broke out. This revolt, which capitalized on the socio-economic grievances of the Berbers as well as on the Zanāta–Ṣanhāja, Sunnī–Shīʿī and Khārijī–Shīʿī rivalries in the Fāṭimid dominions, almost succeeded in overthrowing the new dynasty.

Abū Yazīd Makhlad b. Kaydād, who traced his tribal origins to the Banū Īfran, the most important branch of the Zanāta, had studied and adopted the teachings of Nukkārī Ibāḍism, one of the main subgroups of the Ibāḍiyya. The latter, together with the Ṣufriyya, formed the moderate wing of Khārijism. In due time, Abū Yazīd was in fact elected the imam and '*shaykh* of the true believers' by the Nukkārīs of the Maghrib, in succession to Abū ʿAmmār al-Aʿmā, who had taught

him the doctrines of that group. Abū Yazīd was, however, more interested in acquiring political power, thus not finding it difficult to depart from the accepted doctrines of the Ibāḍīs. He authorized *istiʿrāḍ* for instance, the religio-political assassination of adversaries along with their women and children, following the practice of the Azraqīs and other radical Khārijīs. After spending some time in Tāhart as a schoolmaster, Abū Yazīd returned to Qasṭīliya in southern Ifrīqiya where he had been raised, and started his anti-Fāṭimid agitation in 316/928. He soon acquired a large following among the Ibāḍī Zanāta Berbers of the Awrās and elsewhere, and it was in recognition of his increasing popularity that the imamate of the Nukkārīs came to be ceded to him.

With the Berbers swarming quickly to his side, Abū Yazīd launched his revolt against the Fāṭimids in 332/943–944. He swiftly conquered almost all of southern Ifrīqiya, seizing Qayrawān in Ṣafar 333/October 944. The inhabitants of Qayrawān, the stronghold of Mālikī Sunnism in North Africa, initially cooperated with the Khārijī rebels. The rebels had promised to relieve them of the rule of the Shīʿī Fāṭimids and the exactions of their Kutāma supporters, who had monopolized most of the privileged positions in the state.[12] Being subjected to the devastation and the pillaging of the Khārijī Berbers, however, the Qayrawānīs soon came to submit themselves once again to the Fāṭimids. In the meantime, al-Qāʾim had adopted a purely defensive strategy in dealing with Abū Yazīd, and had split his troops into three groups in order to check the onslaught of the rebels. Abū Yazīd easily defeated the divided Fāṭimid forces, including the group stationed between Qayrawān and Mahdiyya under the command of Mayṣūr, who was killed in battle. Subsequently in Jumādā I 333/January 945, the rebels began their siege of Mahdiyya, where al-Qāʾim was now staying. But Mahdiyya put up a vigorous resistance for almost a year, repelling Abū Yazīd's repeated attempts to storm the capital and mounting its own counter-offensive, aided by the new reinforcements sent by Zīrī b. Manād, the *amīr* of the Ṣanhāja. At the same time, many of Abū Yazīd's Berber contingents, having become tired of the prolonged hostilities, had started to desert their leader, who had further irritated his followers by his newly-adopted luxurious manner of living. Consequently, Abū Yazīd was obliged to withdraw to Qayrawān, where he quickly returned to his former austere habits, such as riding a donkey, hence his nickname *ṣāḥib al-ḥimār*. He soon regained his popularity amongst the Khārijī Berbers, and once again heavy fighting broke out between the rebels and the Fāṭimid forces around Tunis and elsewhere in Ifrīqiya. But by the time al-Qāʾim died in Mahdiyya in Shawwāl 334/May 946, after a reign of twelve years, the tide of events had already begun to turn against Abū Yazīd.

Al-Qāʾim's son and successor Abū Ṭāhir Ismāʿīl, who adopted the title of al-Manṣūr bi'llāh, was the first Fāṭimid caliph born in Ifrīqiya. He came to power in

the midst of Abū Yazīd's revolt, and, like his father, kept his predecessor's death secret for a while. He immediately shifted to an offensive strategy towards the rebels, spending many months chasing them. Soon after his accession, al-Manṣūr defeated the rebels at Sūsa, which had been besieged by them for some time, forcing Abū Yazīd to retreat once again towards Qayrawān, whose inhabitants had now turned against him. Consequently, Abū Yazīd's attempts to seize the city proved futile and, in Muḥarram 335/August 946, he withdrew westward in the direction of the Zāb. Al-Manṣūr, who meanwhile had been well received in Qayrawān, personally conducted a close chase, defeating Abū Yazīd near Ṭubna and then around Masīla. In Muharram 336/August 947, al-Manṣūr, assisted by his general Zīrī b. Manād, inflicted a final defeat on the Khārijī Berbers in the mountains of Kiyāna, where the rebels had entrenched themselves in a fortress overlooking what was to become known as Qalʿat Banī Ḥammād. Abū Yazīd himself was captured and died of his wounds a few days later. His son Faḍl continued the revolt in the Awrās and elsewhere for a few more months until he, too, was defeated and killed. Other sons of Abū Yazīd found refuge at the Spanish court of the Umayyad ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III, who in response to Abū Yazīd's request had at one time allied himself with the Khārijī rebels against their common enemy.[13]

Al-Manṣūr built a new capital city, Manṣūriyya, named after himself. This royal city, situated near the village of Ṣabra to the south of Qayrawān, served as the Fāṭimid capital from 337/948, when al-Manṣūr settled there, until the seat of the Fāṭimid state was transferred to Cairo in 362/973. Manṣūriyya, with its palaces, al-Azhar Mosque and its gates, served as a model for Cairo. Today nothing remains of this Fāṭimid capital except what modern archaeological excavations have unearthed of its original circular layout and other foundational features. Having reasserted the Fāṭimid domination in North Africa and Sicily, al-Manṣūr died in Shawwāl 341/March 953, after a short caliphate and imamate of about seven years. He was succeeded by his eldest son Abū Tamīm Maʿadd al-Muʿizz li-Dīn Allāh.

Digression on Qarmaṭī communities

We shall now consider the situation of the Qarmaṭīs of Baḥrayn and other dissident eastern Ismāʿīlīs, who had awaited the reappearance of Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl as the Mahdī and the initiator of the final era of history, in the aftermath of the establishment of the Fāṭimid caliphate. According to al-Ṭabarī and the majority of the later Muslim chroniclers, Abū Saʿīd al-Jannābī, the founder of the Qarmaṭī state of Baḥrayn, was murdered in 301/913–914.[14] He was succeeded

by the eldest of his seven sons, Abu'l-Qāsim Saʿīd. The latter was apparently forced out of power in 311/923, or possibly even earlier, by his younger brother Abū Ṭāhir Sulaymān. This sequence of succession may have been in accordance with Abū Saʿīd's own instructions and last testament. At any rate, during the rule of Saʿīd, who lacked energy and authority, the Qarmaṭīs refrained from any outside activity, also maintaining good relations with the ʿAbbāsid regime. During this quiescent period, the Qarmaṭīs were in fact engaged in extensive negotiations with the ʿAbbāsid vizier (Arabic, *wazīr*) ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā (d. 334/946), on the latter's peace initiative. In 301 AH, soon after assuming his high office, and again in 303/915–916, ʿAlī despatched embassies to the Qarmaṭīs, and before being dismissed from the vizierate in 304/917, he had granted some privileges to them, such as access to the important port of Sīrāf on the northern shore of the Persian Gulf. These contacts, coinciding with the Qarmaṭīs' inactivity, gave the vizier's enemies, especially his chief rival and successor the Shīʿī Ibn al-Furāt (d. 312/924), a pretext for accusing him of being in complicity with the Qarmaṭīs. It may be noted in passing that ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā, who subsequently assumed the vizierate several more times, was the person responsible for organizing the ʿAbbāsid military forces that repelled the first two Fāṭimid invasions of Egypt. He is also the same vizier who, in 301 AH, interrogated the celebrated mystic al-Ḥusayn b. Manṣūr al-Ḥallāj, but declined to bring him to trial. Al-Ḥallāj, who had acquired great influence over many people, including some members of the ʿAbbāsid family, had aroused the jealousy of certain officials who accused him of being a Qarmaṭī agent. Deliberate misinterpretations of al-Ḥallāj's symbolic exegeses and of his missionary-like wanderings in remote lands were cited as sufficient evidence by his enemies, led by Ibn al-Furāt, for persecuting this enigmatic personality who claimed a mystical union with God and whose devoted disciples later founded a number of Ḥallājī sects and Sufi orders. After he had been imprisoned for several years, al-Ḥallāj's trial finally opened in 308/921. Amidst much intrigue, al-Ḥallāj was eventually condemned to death. He was tortured, crucified and then brutally dismembered before a large crowd at Baghdad in 309/922.[15] Ibn ʿĪsā's leniency with the martyred mystic was mentioned as another proof of his favourable disposition towards the Qarmaṭīs.

The Qarmaṭīs ended their temporarily peaceful relations with the ʿAbbāsids in 311/923. It was in that year that under the command of the young Abū Ṭāhir Sulaymān they entered Baṣra at night by surprise and pillaged the town for more than two weeks before returning to Hajar. Shortly afterwards, the Qarmaṭīs attacked and looted the pilgrims returning from Mecca, murdering a large number of them and taking many prisoners, including the Arab lexicographer al-Azharī (d. 370/980), who spent two years in Baḥrayn. These activities marked the beginning of a decade of devastating raids into ʿIrāq, interspersed with attacks

on pilgrim caravans, which greatly enriched the treasury of the Qarmaṭī state. In 312/925, following the ʿAbbāsids' refusal to cede Baṣra, Ahwāz and other territories to Abū Ṭāhir, the Qarmaṭīs sacked and pillaged Kūfa. During the year 314 AH, when Abū Ṭāhir was busy with the fortification of al-Aḥsāʾ, the ʿAbbāsid caliph al-Muqtadir recalled to ʿIrāq Yūsuf b. Abi'l-Sāj, the hereditary *amīr* of Ādharbayjān and Armenia, in order to have the Qarmaṭī menace checked. However, Abū Ṭāhir again sacked Kūfa in 315/927, and then defeated a much larger ʿAbbāsid army commanded by Ibn Abi'l-Sāj, who himself was captured and later killed. Subsequently, Abū Ṭāhir advanced up the Euphrates, seized al-Anbār and came close to taking Baghdad, before being stopped by the eunuch Muʾnis al-Khādim (d. 321/933), the all-powerful ʿAbbāsid commander-in-chief (*amīr al-umarāʾ*) who had earlier fought the Fāṭimids in their Egyptian expeditions. This campaign, lasting for almost two years, encouraged the Qarmaṭīs of southern ʿIrāq, who were concentrated in the Sawād of Kūfa and had close ties with their co-religionists in Baḥrayn, to launch rebellious activities of their own. The ʿIrāqī Qarmaṭīs, also known as the Baqliyya, led by ʿĪsā b. Mūsā and other *dāʿīs*, and joined by the tribesmen of the Banū Rifāʿa, Dhuhl and ʿIjl, rose in revolt in the area of Wāsiṭ and Kūfa in 316/928–929. After initial successes, however, they were subdued by the ʿAbbāsid general Hārūn b. Gharīb. Abū Ṭāhir, like other Qarmaṭī *dāʿīs* and leaders, was at that time predicting the advent of the Mahdī after the conjunction of Jupiter and Saturn in the year 316/928, an occurrence which was expected to end the era of Islam and initiate the seventh, final age. Abū Ṭāhir had indeed intensified his attacks as the expected date approached. He eventually returned to Baḥrayn at the beginning of 317 AH, having already completed the construction of a fortified *dār al-hijra* near al-Aḥsāʾ and taking with him many of the retreating Qarmaṭīs of southern ʿIrāq, the successors to the earlier Persian *mawālī* who were to become designated as the Ajamiyyūn.

The ravaging activities of Abū Ṭāhir culminated in his attack on Mecca, where he arrived in Dhu'l-Ḥijja 317/January 930, during the pilgrimage season. For several days the Qarmaṭīs massacred the pilgrims and the inhabitants of Mecca, committed innumerable plunderous and desecrating acts in the Great Mosque and other sacred places, and finally dislodged and carried away the Black Stone (*al-ḥajar al-aswad*) of the Kaʿba to their new capital, al-Aḥsāʾ, presumably to symbolize the end of the era of Islam. The sacrilege of the Qarmaṭīs at Mecca shocked the entire Muslim world, and most sources relate that soon afterwards, the Fāṭimid caliph al-Mahdī sent a letter to Abū Ṭāhir, reprehending him severely for his conduct and requesting him to return the Black Stone. Abū Ṭāhir rejected this however, along with similar requests put to him by the ʿAbbāsids. Having conquered ʿUmān in 318 AH, he now became the undisputed master of Arabia and the terror of all nearby rulers. Abū Ṭāhir was finally in a position to attempt

the conquest of ʿIrāq and, in 319 AH, he led the Qarmaṭīs as far as Kūfa. But after twenty-five days of plundering the town, he decided to return to Baḥrayn, alarmed possibly by the internal troubles that were developing in the Qarmaṭī state.

Abū Ṭāhir, who had been expecting the emergence of the Mahdī since the year 316 AH, turned over his rule to a young Persian from Iṣfahān, whose name may have been Zakarī or Zakariyyāʾ, in Ramaḍān 319/September–October 931. Abū Ṭāhir had in effect recognized the Mahdī in this Iṣfahānī who had arrived in Baḥrayn a few years earlier and who had rapidly acquired a position of influence amongst the ruling circles there. This, however, proved to be a disastrous act for the Qarmaṭī movement, and events now took a different course from what had been predicted by the Qarmaṭīs for the advent of the Mahdī. The date 316 AH had been evidently chosen to coincide with the passing of 1500 years after Zoroaster (equalling the end of the year 1242 of the era of Alexander), after which time prophecies attributed to Zoroaster and Jāmāsp predicted the restoration of the reign of the Zoroastrians or Magians (Arabic, al-Majūs). The Iṣfahānī, who is reported to have been a Zoroastrian, claimed descent from the Persian kings and manifested anti-Arab and antinomian sentiments. He also instituted a number of strange ceremonies, such as the cursing of Muḥammad and all other prophets, the burning of religious books, and the worship of fire, instead of initiating the circumstances prophesied for the advent of the expected Mahdī and ending the era of Islam. Furthermore, he started to execute the notable Qarmaṭīs of Baḥrayn, including some tribal chiefs and even the relatives of Abū Ṭāhir himself. As a result, after waiting some eighty days and now fearing for his own life, Abū Ṭāhir was obliged to admit that the young Persian was an imposter, and had him killed. It is interesting to note that a few years later the ʿAbbāsid caliph al-Rāḍī (322–329/934–940) executed Isfandiyār b. Ādharbād, the chief priest (*mubid*) of the Zoroastrians, for his alleged complicity with Abū Ṭāhir.

The obscure episode of the 'false Mahdī' seriously demoralized the Qarmaṭīs of Baḥrayn, and weakened their influence over other dissident Ismāʿīlī groups in the east. Many Qarmaṭīs, especially from amongst the Ajamiyyūn and the Arab tribal chiefs, now left Baḥrayn to serve during the following decades in the armies of various anti-Qarmaṭī rulers, including the ʿAbbāsids and the Shīʿī Būyids or Buwayhids. The Būyids took possession of Baghdad in 334/946 and became the real masters of the ʿAbbāsid realm for more than a century. The leading Qarmaṭī *dāʿīs* of ʿIrāq, including ʿĪsā b. Mūsā who had remained in Baghdad following his escape from an ʿAbbāsid prison, also severed their ties with Abū Ṭāhir and began to oppose him. These *dāʿīs* of ʿIrāq continued to propagate the Mahdīship of Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl, while devoting the greater part of their efforts to producing treatises which they often attributed to ʿAbdān.

In the meantime, after repudiating the Persian Mahdī, the Qarmaṭīs of Baḥrayn had reverted to their former beliefs and claimed to be acting on the orders of the hidden Mahdī. Abū Ṭāhir himself had not remained idle. After a brief respite, he had again started to plunder the pilgrim caravans and to carry out raids into ʿIrāq and southern Persia. In 322/934, Muḥammad b. Yaʿqūb, the caliph al-Rāḍī's chamberlain, negotiated in vain with Abū Ṭāhir for the restoration of the Black Stone and a Qarmaṭī guarantee of safe passage for the pilgrims. In 327/938–939, an agreement was finally concluded between Abū Ṭāhir and the ʿAbbāsid government, due mainly to the efforts of ʿUmar b. Yaḥyā, a Kūfan ʿAlid and a personal friend of the Qarmaṭī leader. Abū Ṭāhir now agreed to protect the pilgrims in return for an annual tribute from the ʿAbbāsid treasury and a specified sum from the pilgrims themselves. The Qarmaṭīs had thus once again adopted a peaceful policy towards the ʿAbbāsids when Abū Ṭāhir died in 332/944, the same year in which the Khārijī Abū Yazīd started his anti-Fāṭimid revolt.

Subsequently, the Qarmaṭī state of Baḥrayn was for some time ruled jointly by Abū Ṭāhir's surviving brothers, including Abu'l-Qāsim Saʿīd (d. 361/972), Abū Manṣūr Aḥmad and Abu'l-ʿAbbās al-Faḍl, while Abū Ṭāhir's sons, notably Sābūr, the eldest, enjoyed much esteem in the state and with the governing council of the ʿIqdāniyya. The Qarmaṭīs, who had continued to honour their peace treaty with the ʿAbbāsids, voluntarily returned the Black Stone in 339/950–951, in return for a large sum of money paid by the ʿAbbāsids, and not, as held by some authorities, in response to the Fāṭimid caliph-imam al-Manṣūr's request. One of the most distinguished Qarmaṭīs of Baḥrayn, Abū Muḥammad Sanbar, the son of al-Ḥasan b. Sanbar and the brother-in-law of Abū Saʿīd al-Jannābī, the most influential individual on Abū Ṭāhir's council of viziers, accompanied the Black Stone first to Kūfa, where it was displayed in the Great Mosque, and then to Mecca, where it was reinstalled in the Kaʿba after an absence of almost twenty-two years. The chroniclers do not relate any further activity on the part of the Qarmaṭīs of Baḥrayn for more than one decade.

Much has been written in modern times on relations between the Qarmaṭīs and the Fāṭimids. De Goeje was the first orientalist to deal with this issue in some detail, and he arrived at the conclusion that Abū Ṭāhir, in all his important undertakings, acted on the direct orders of the Fāṭimid ʿAbd Allāh al-Mahdī, who could not publicly acknowledge his secret alliance with the disreputable Qarmaṭīs of Baḥrayn. He further held that, with minor fluctuations, the Qarmaṭīs maintained their close co-operation with the Fāṭimids until their conquest of Egypt, at which time they broke openly with the Fāṭimids. Subsequently, this view was endorsed by others, notably Louis Massignon, Ḥasan I. Ḥasan and Ṭāhā A. Sharaf. More recent scholarship, however, does not attest to the existence of any close relations between the Qarmaṭīs and the Fāṭimid Ismāʿīlīs during the

first half of the 4th/10th century. To a great extent, the difficulty of determining the precise nature of the relationship between the Qarmaṭīs and the Fāṭimids has stemmed from the fact that we possess little reliable information on the creed of the Qarmaṭīs, who were extremely secretive about their doctrines and whose literature has perished almost completely. The Sunnī writers, who provide our main sources of information on the Qarmaṭīs, generally fail to distinguish between different Ismāʿīlī groups, treating all of them as belonging to one and the same 'heretical' Bāṭinī movement. But in the light of what is now known about the beliefs of the Qarmaṭīs, modern scholarship has taken cognizance of fundamental differences between Qarmaṭism and Fāṭimid Ismāʿīlism.

It is known that the Qarmaṭīs of Baḥrayn, from the outset of their history, expected the return of the Qāʾim Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl, as reported in the earliest chronicles and in the accounts traceable to Ibn Rizām, who, in 329/940, was the head of the *maẓālim* or the tribunal for the investigation of complaints in Baghdad, and Akhū Muḥsin. These reports clearly show that the imminent coming of the Mahdī played a dominant part in the creed of the Qarmaṭīs, and that this expectation was not fulfilled by the appearance of the Fāṭimids in North Africa. In other words, the Qarmaṭīs of Baḥrayn, Persia and other regions did not acknowledge the imamate of the Fāṭimid caliphs, nor did they recognize their expected Mahdī in ʿAbd Allāh al-Mahdī or his successors in the Fāṭimid dynasty. This is why they were so readily drawn into the catastrophic affair of the 'false Mahdī' during the reign of the first Fāṭimid caliph. However, as the Fāṭimids and the Qarmaṭīs of Baḥrayn shared a common hostility towards the Sunnī ʿAbbāsids, it may have appeared that at times they acted in unison. At any rate, there is no evidence to support the view that the Qarmaṭīs were in the service of the Fāṭimids and that the two acted on the basis of a joint strategy.[16]

During the first decade of the 4th century/912–923, when ʿAbd Allāh al-Mahdī was establishing his authority in North Africa and the Qarmaṭīs of Baḥrayn and ʿIrāq were quiescent, dissident Ismāʿīlism of the Qarmaṭī type began to spread in Persia. The *dāʿī* Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī, who corresponded with Abū Ṭāhir al-Jannābī, and like the latter was expecting the appearance of the Mahdī, succeeded in extending the *daʿwa* from his seat in Rayy to Ādharbayjān and Daylam, which at the time referred to a number of Caspian provinces, including Daylam proper (Daylamān), Gīlān, Ṭabaristān (Māzandarān) and Gurgān. Abū Ḥātim was particularly successful in converting, or winning the sympathy of, a number of rulers in the region. We have already noted Aḥmad b. ʿAlī, the governor of Rayy, Asfār b. Shirawayh, a Daylamī *amīr*, and Mardāwīj, the founder of the Ziyārid dynasty. The Persian *daʿwa* also succeeded in attracting Mahdī b. Khusraw Fīrūz (Fīrūzān), known as Siyāhchashm. He was one of the Justānid rulers of Daylam who, like his predecessors, had his seat at Alamūt, the same locality in the highlands of

Daylamān that about two centuries later was to become the headquarters of the Persian Nizārī Ismāʿīlīs.

The obscure dynasty of the Justānids (Jastānids) of Daylam was apparently founded towards the end of the 2nd/8th century, and one of its members, Wahsūdān b. Marzubān (d. ca. 251/865), is reported to have built the fortress of Alamūt around 246/860. Until the accession of Siyāhchashm, the Justānids normally supported the Zaydī ʿAlid rulers of Ṭabaristān, notably al-Ḥasan b. Zayd (d. 270/884) and his brother Muḥammad b. Zayd (d. 287/900), and later al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī al-Uṭrūsh (d. 304/917), who led the cause of Zaydī Shīʿism in the Caspian region. Justān II b. Wahsūdān was murdered during the last decade of the 3rd century/903–912, after a reign of some forty years, by his brother ʿAlī. Soon afterwards, the latter entered the service of the ʿAbbāsids, becoming a financial agent in Iṣfahān in 300/912 and then the governor of Rayy in 307/919. ʿAlī b. Wahsūdān was killed in 307 AH by Muḥammad b. Musāfir, Justān II's son-in-law and founder of the Musāfirid (also called Sallārid, Sālārid or Langarid) dynasty, which ruled from the fortress of Shamīrān in Ṭārum (Arabic, Ṭarm), the region along the middle course of the Safīdrūd before its confluence with the Shāhrūd. Khusraw Fīrūz b. Wahsūdān, another brother of ʿAlī, who had meanwhile ruled from the dynasty's traditional seat in the Rūdbār of Alamūt, situated in a side valley of the Shāhrūd basin, now marched against Ibn Musāfir to avenge his murdered brother, but he was killed in battle. Khusraw Fīrūz was succeeded in Alamūt by his son Mahdī (Siyāhchashm) who apparently was the first Justānid to have embraced Ismāʿīlism. After being defeated by Ibn Musāfir, Siyāhchashm sought refuge in 316/928 with Asfār b. Shirawayh who, aspiring to possess Alamūt, had his co-religionist killed.[17] With the demise of Siyāhchashm, the Justānid dynasty began to disintegrate, their local position being now eclipsed by the rise of the Musāfirids.

Qarmaṭī Ismāʿīlism continued to be preached in northwestern Persia for some time under the Daylamī Musāfirids. In 330/941–942, Muḥammad b. Musāfir, who had constructed the castle of Shamīrān with much splendour, was deposed and imprisoned by his sons, Marzubān and Wahsūdān. Both of these Musāfirids adhered to the Qarmaṭī form of Ismāʿīlism. While Wahsūdān remained at Shamīrān and governed his ancestral territories in Ṭārum, under the overall authority of his brother, Marzubān b. Muḥammad soon conquered Ādharbayjān and began to rule over the expanding Musāfirid domains from his own seat at Ardabīl. It may be noted that after the governorships of the Sājids Yūsuf b. Abi'l-Sāj and his nephew Abu'l-Musāfir (d. 317/929), Ādharbayjān had become the scene of rivalries among various independent local rulers, including one of Ibn Abi'l-Sāj's officers named Mufliḥ. The latter, who remained in power at least until 323/935, is the same ruler who gave protection to the *dāʿī* Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī

and who may have become an Ismāʿīlī himself. At any rate, by 326/937–938, the Khārijī Daysam b. Ibrāhīm al-Kurdī had gained control of the province. In 330/941–942, there appeared a rupture between Daysam and his vizier Abu'l-Qāsim ʿAlī b. Jaʿfar, initially a Sājid financial administrator who, according to Miskawayh, had also been active as a Bāṭinī (Ismāʿīlī) *dāʿī* in Ādharbayjān.

Abu'l-Qāsim now fled to Ṭārum and entered the service of Marzubān b. Muḥammad, soon encouraging his new master to invade Ādharbayjān. Marzubān conquered Ādharbayjān in 330 AH and extended his rule northwards into Transcaucasia as far as Darband. He appointed Abu'l-Qāsim as his vizier and, being an Ismāʿīlī (Qarmaṭī) himself, allowed him to advocate Ismāʿīlism openly in the Musāfirid dominions. Abu'l-Qāsim, who had previously converted a number of Daylamī notables and army officers in the entourage of Daysam, now became even more successful in his missionary activity. Ibn Ḥawqal, who visited Ādharbayjān around 344/955–956, reports the existence of many Ismāʿīlīs there.[18] Dissident Ismāʿīlism flourished also in Daylam under Wahsūdān b. Muḥammad, whose rule lasted until around 355/966. Numismatic evidence dating from the year 343/954–955 confirms that Wahsūdān and his more authoritative brother Marzubān (d. 346/957) adhered to the Qarmaṭī form of Ismāʿīlism, recognizing the Mahdīship of Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl rather than the imamate of the reigning Fāṭimid caliph al-Muʿizz. The Musāfirids eventually withdrew to Ṭārum and survived for some time under Saljūq suzerainty. Their dynasty was finally overthrown by the Persian Nizārī Ismāʿīlīs, who came to occupy Shamīrān and other fortresses of the region.[19]

In Khurāsān and Transoxania too, the dissident Ismāʿīlī view persisted after the advent of the Fāṭimids. The *dāʿī* al-Nasafī reaffirmed the imamate of Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl, who was to reappear as the Mahdī, in his *Kitāb al-maḥṣūl*, which also introduced a type of Neoplatonic philosophy into Ismāʿīlī thought. It seems that *al-Maḥṣūl* soon gained widespread acceptance within the various Qarmaṭī circles. In fact, it played an important part, prior to the episode of the Persian Mahdī, in unifying the ideas of the dissident eastern Qarmaṭīs, who lacked central leadership. As Madelung has noted, it may be assumed that Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī, who like other *dāʿī*s must have been shocked by the events in Baḥrayn, probably wrote his *al-Iṣlāḥ* to correct the erroneous statements of *al-Maḥṣūl*, after the episode of the 'Persian Mahdī' and as a partial censure of that event and its accompanying manifestations of libertinism.[20] This also explains why *al-Iṣlāḥ* pays particular attention to criticizing the antinomian aspects of *al-Maḥṣūl*. The *Iṣlāḥ* was, in turn, attacked in the non-extant *Kitāb al-nuṣra*, written by al-Nasafī's successor Abū Yaʿqūb al-Sijistānī, who initially defended most of al-Nasafī's views.

Abū Yaʿqūb Isḥāq b. Aḥmad al-Sijistānī (al-Sijzī), curiously nicknamed 'Cottonseed' (Persian, *panba-dāna*, or its Arabic equivalent, *khayshafūj*), who at the

time of the writing of the *Nuṣra* did not acknowledge the imamate of the Fāṭimids, is one of the most eminent early Ismāʿīlī scholars and *dāʿī*s of Persia.[21] He was particularly influenced by Neoplatonism, and continued the philosophical trend started by al-Nasafī. A prolific writer, al-Sijistānī's contributions to various theological and cosmological doctrines in Ismāʿīlism may be traced through his numerous extant works. Later in his life, sometime after the accession of the Fāṭimid al-Muʿizz, al-Sijistānī was won over by the Fāṭimids and many of his views became acceptable to the Fāṭimid *daʿwa*. The philosophico-theological system expounded by al-Nasafī and al-Sijistānī, and the general ideas current among the Ismāʿīlī circles of Persia during the 4th/10th century, are also reflected in a long poem (*qaṣīda*) by al-Sijistānī's contemporary Abu'l-Haytham Aḥmad b. al-Ḥasan al-Jurjānī (Persian, Gurgānī), an obscure Ismāʿīlī philosopher-poet from Gurgān, in northern Persia. Further, they are also echoed in a commentary to this poem by Muḥammad b. Surkh al-Nīshāpūrī, an Ismāʿīlī disciple of Abu'l-Haytham who had studied under him for nine years.[22]

Few details are known about the life and career of al-Sijistānī who, contrary to an earlier widely-held opinion, was not executed by the Sāmānids in 332/943 together with al-Nasafī.[23] In fact, he succeeded al-Nasafī as the *dāʿī* of Khurāsān and became prominent also in Sīstān (Arabic, Sijistān), possibly his original base of operation. He may have combined these posts with that of the chief *dāʿī* of Rayy, in which case he may perhaps be identified with the *dāʿī* Abū Yaʿqūb who, residing in Rayy, had succeeded Abū Ḥātim after 322/934 and who is reported by Ibn al-Nadīm to have also had the *daʿwa* in northern ʿIrāq (al-Jazīra) and the adjacent regions under his control.[24] According to the well-informed Ibn al-Nadīm, the brothers Abū Muslim and Abū Bakr b. Ḥammād in Mawṣil and Ibn Nafīs in Baghdad, amongst other high-ranking *dāʿī*s of northern ʿIrāq, were subordinate to the same Abū Yaʿqūb, referred to as the deputy (*khalīfa*) of the imam. Al-Sijistānī's date of death is also unknown. According to Rashīd al-Dīn and other sources, he was executed by the Ṣaffārid Khalaf b. Aḥmad who governed Khurāsān from 353/964 to 393/1003,[25] when he was overthrown by Maḥmud of Ghazna. Internal evidence contained in al-Sijistānī's *Kitāb al-iftikhār* indicates that this work was composed around 361/971.[26] It is, therefore, safe to assume that al-Sijistānī died not too long after that year, and, less probably, perhaps soon after the accession of the Fāṭimid al-Ḥākim in 386/996, another date deducible from two of his other works. At any rate, it is an established fact that, during the early Fāṭimid period, the *dāʿī*s of the Jibāl maintained close contacts with those in ʿIrāq and with the Qarmaṭīs of eastern Arabia, all belonging to the dissident wing of Ismāʿīlism and predicting the imminent return of Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl. Meanwhile, Qarmaṭī Ismāʿīlism had persisted elsewhere in Persia as well as in other regions of the Muslim East.

al-Muʿizz and the conquest of Egypt

It was only under the fourth Fāṭimid caliph, al-Muʿizz li-Dīn Allāh (341–365/953–975), that the Fāṭimid caliphate at last found the peace and internal security required for pursuing an effective policy of conquest and territorial expansion.[27] Al-Muʿizz was an excellent planner, an efficient organizer and a statesman amply talented in diplomacy. It was due to these skills of the young caliph-imam and the outstanding military competence of his general, Jawhar, that he soon succeeded in subduing the entire Maghrib as a prelude to implementing his own eastern policy. After gaining some initial victories in the Awrās, and against the Spanish Umayyad ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III and the Byzantines, al-Muʿizz next turned his attention to organizing a major military operation to re-establish Fāṭimid authority in the central and extreme Maghrib. He entrusted the command of this campaign to his general Jawhar b. ʿAbd Allāh, a freedman of the Fāṭimids and possibly of Slav origin, who carried various epithets such as al-Ṣaqlabī (the Slav), al-Ṣiqillī (the Sicilian) and al-Rūmī (the Greek), and who had risen in rank to become secretary to the caliphs al-Manṣūr and al-Muʿizz, and then the latter's chief general (*al-qāʾid*).[28]

In 347/958, Jawhar led the Fāṭimid forces westwards and defeated, near Tāhart, a large army of the Zanāta Berbers commanded by Yaʿlā b. Muḥammad, the chief of the Sunnī Banū Īfran and an ally of the Umayyads of Spain who had rebelled against the Fāṭimids. Yaʿlā, who had come to control the central Maghrib from Tāhart to Tangier, was killed in battle. With this defeat, the Īfranid domination of this part of the Maghrib was brought to an end, at least temporarily. Subsequently, Jawhar invaded the principality of Sijilmāsa, then still ruled by the Banū Midrār, and killed its *amīr*, Muḥammad b. al-Fatḥ. After spending a year in that region of eastern Morocco, Jawhar marched against Fās, and in 349/960, beseiged this important Umayyad stronghold in al-Maghrib al-Aqṣā. He seized the city after a few weeks, mainly due to the bravery of Zīrī b. Manād al-Ṣanhājī, and took prisoner its Umayyad governor. This victory brought all of the far-western Maghrib, with the main exception of Sabta, under Fāṭimid authority, which for a brief period now extended westwards as far as the Atlantic. Even the last of the Idrīsids of Rīf, al-Ḥasan b. Jannūn (d. 375/985), who from the city of Baṣra ruled over a small state in Morocco under Umayyad patronage, now pledged allegiance to the Fāṭimids.

In his North African campaign, Jawhar was assisted, as noted, by Zīrī b. Manād, the chief of the main tribe of the Ṣanhāja. Zīrī, who had earlier fought on the side of the Fāṭimids against Abū Yazīd, had become a fervent Ismāʿīlī Shīʿī, defending the cause of the Fāṭimids. In recognition of his services, Zīrī had been given permission by the caliph al-Qāʾim to found and fortify the town of Ashīr in the

central Maghrib, on the western borders of the Ṣanhāja territory. He had thus acquired a prestigious semi-autonomous status, ruling from Ashīr over a large area inhabited by the Ṣanhāja tribesmen and always ready to defend the Fāṭimids against the Zanāta and other enemies. As we shall see, Zīrī's son, Buluggīn (Arabic, Buluqqīn), was later entrusted by al-Muʿizz with the governorship of Ifrīqiya, where he founded the Zīrid dynasty.[29]

The early Fāṭimids also received the support of the Banū Ḥamdūn, a distinguished family of Yamanī Arabs who had settled in Spain and who had then moved, before the end of the 3rd/9th century, to North Africa. ʿAlī b. Ḥamdūn al-Andalusī had accompanied ʿAbd Allāh al-Mahdī from Sijilmāsa to Raqqāda and had later come to govern the Zāb for the Fāṭimid al-Qāʾim. He had personally supervised the construction of the city of Masīla, which became his capital. According to Ibn Khaldūn, ʿAlī b. Ḥamdūn was killed in 334/945–946 while fighting Abū Yazīd's son. He was succeeded by his son Jaʿfar who also fought against the Khārijī rebels and was in due course reaffirmed as the governor of the Zāb by the caliph al-Manṣūr. Jaʿfar held court, together with his brother Yaḥyā, at Masīla, where he patronized numerous poets and men of learning. Both Jaʿfar and Yaḥyā b. ʿAlī also participated actively in Jawhar's North African campaign.[30]

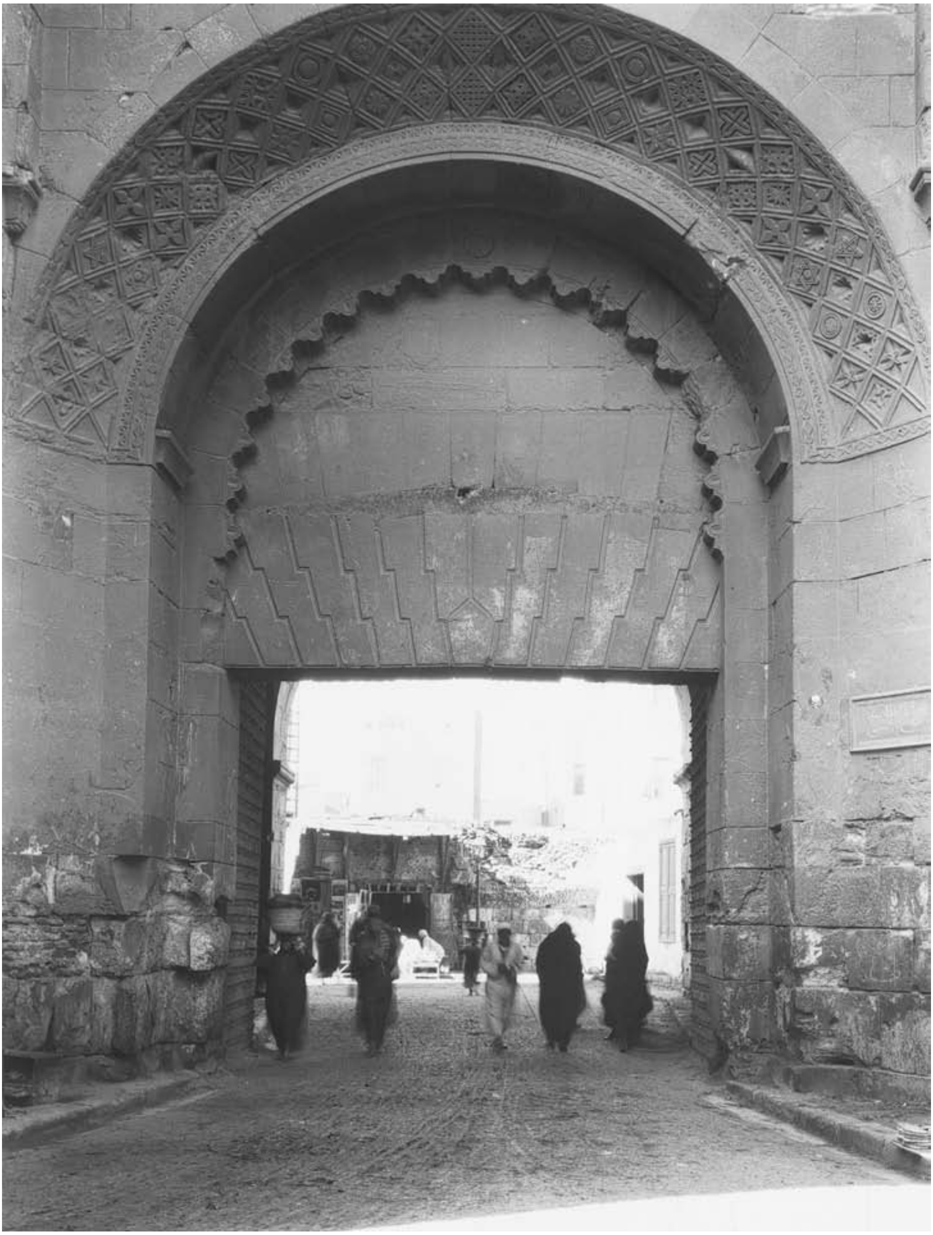
There existed, however, a bitter rivalry between the Zīrids of Ashīr and the Banū Ḥamdūn of Masīla, both families earnestly competing for the favour of their mutual Fāṭimid overlord. Zīrī b. Manād had gradually managed to acquire the more advantageous position in this contest. His position was particularly enhanced by the incorporation of Tāhart and its dependencies into his domain, while he had also extended his influence to the vicinity of Masīla. As a result of such humiliations, and also envisaging more important roles for himself in the broader context of the Zanāta–Ṣanhāja rivalry, in 360/971 Jaʿfar b. ʿAlī transferred his allegiance to the Umayyad al-Ḥakam II (350–366/961–976) and started rebellious activities against the Fāṭimids with the help of the Zanāta. In the same year Zīrī, who had continued to remain loyal to the Fāṭimids, led a Ṣanhāja force against the rebels, but fell in battle, and his head was carried by Yaḥyā b. ʿAlī to the Umayyad court. Soon afterwards, Buluggīn b. Zīrī, the new *amīr* of the Ṣanhāja, defeated the Zanāta Berbers under Jaʿfar's command and also took possession of Masīla and the Zāb. Jaʿfar b. ʿAlī, feeling insecure amongst the Zanāta, who desired to possess his treasure, was now obliged to flee to Cordoba. He rendered many valuable services to his new masters, and from 365/975–976 he governed a part of the central Maghrib for the Umayyads, while exercising authority over the chiefs of the Banū Īfran, the Maghrāwa, the Miknāsa and other branches of the Zanāta in that region. Jaʿfar was eventually killed in 372/982–983 on the order of al-Manṣūr Muḥammad b. Abī ʿĀmir (d. 392/1002), the influential chamberlain

(*ḥājib*) of the youthful Umayyad caliph Hishām II (366–399/976–1009) and the effective ruler of al-Andalus for several decades. Yaḥyā b. ʿAlī, too, served the Umayyads in North Africa, but later returned to the service of the Fāṭimids in Egypt, where he died in the reign of al-Ḥākim.

In the meantime, after pacifying the Maghrib, al-Muʿizz had started making detailed preparations for the conquest of Egypt, a vital Fāṭimid goal which the first two caliphs of Ifrīqiya had failed to achieve. The preparations took some ten years of meticulous work, while al-Muʿizz awaited an opportune moment to launch his invasion. The military base of the Fāṭimid regime was widened to include Berbers from tribes other than the Kutāma, in addition to incorporating Sicilians, Greeks and other non-Berber elements into the Fāṭimid armies. More significantly, al-Muʿizz could now count on the Ṣanhāja for the defence of the Maghrib during major Fāṭimid operations in the east. At the same time, the Ismāʿīlī *daʿwa* was intensified in Egypt through the activities of Abū Jaʿfar b. Naṣr, Abū ʿĪsā ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Aḥmad, and other *dāʿī*s, as well as many secret agents who advocated the cause of the Fāṭimids and undermined the Ikhshīdids. They also attempted to win over the high military officials and other influential persons of the Ikhshīdid regime, and approached in vain even Kāfūr himself.[31] However, although the Egyptian Muslims respected the numerous ʿAlids living amongst them, Shīʿism had never put down roots in Egypt, especially in terms of winning the support of the masses.[32] This state of affairs continued even after the introduction of Ismāʿīlī Shīʿism as the state religion of the country, under the Fāṭimids. In due time, the route of the Fāṭimid expedition to Egypt was carefully charted while the financial and manpower requirements of the campaign were being determined. Al-Muʿizz had no hesitation in selecting Jawhar to lead the expedition, as this ablest of all the Fāṭimid generals had already proved himself by his shining victories in the Maghrib. Meanwhile, the internal situation of Egypt was rapidly deteriorating due to famine and numerous economic difficulties, natural calamities, and dynastic instability, all causing political and civil disorder. In spite of this, Kāfūr, the effective ruler of Egypt for twenty-two years after al-Ikhshīd, had succeeded in averting the Fāṭimid conquest of Egypt. But on Kāfūr's death in 357/968 and the accession to leadership of a weak grandson of al-Ikhsīd, Aḥmad b. ʿAlī (357–358/968–969), the internal disorder soon turned into chaos, aggravated by mutinies within the army. The days of the Ikhshīdid regime were clearly numbered now. This was fully reported to al-Muʿizz by Ibn Killis, who had sought refuge with the Fāṭimids after Kāfūr's death. Ibn Killis, originally a Jew who had embraced Islam after entering the service of Kāfūr as a fiscal administrator and who may have been won over by the Fāṭimids while still in Egypt, encouraged al-Muʿizz to speed up his conquest. Ibn Killis later accompanied al-Muʿizz to Egypt, where he was to become the first Fāṭimid *wazīr*.

In Rabīʿ I 358/February 969, Jawhar led the Fāṭimid expedition out of Qayrawān after an elaborate ceremonial send-off attended by al-Muʿizz, who, as a sign of the high honour in which he held his commander, gave Jawhar his royal garments and ordered all the governors along the way to Egypt to dismount when greeting the commander. Jawhar, encountering token resistance near Jīza, entered Fusṭāṭ, the capital of Ikhshīdid Egypt, four months later in Shaʿbān 358/July 969. He behaved diplomatically and leniently towards the Egyptians, declaring a general amnesty and assuring the people of the safety of their lives and property, through a public proclamation. He ordered the name of the reigning ʿAbbāsid caliph, al-Muṭīʿ (334–363/946–974), to be dropped from the *khuṭba* in the Friday sermons, but tolerated religious freedom and introduced the Shīʿī modes of prayer only gradually. Doubtless, he was fully aware of the minority position of the Shīʿīs in Egypt, where the Sunnīs following the Shāfiʿī *madhhab* and the Christian Copts represented the majority. Nevertheless, Egypt was henceforth ruled by an Ismāʿīlī Shīʿī dynasty. Jawhar camped his large army to the north of Fusṭāṭ and immediately proceeded to build a new city there. Initially called Manṣūriyya, like its namesake in Ifrīqiya, the future Fāṭimid capital was later renamed 'al-Qāhira al-Muʿizziyya' (the Victorious One of al-Muʿizz), al-Qāhira (Cairo) for short. The new city, like its North African predecessor, was given northern and southern gates called Bāb al-Futūḥ and Bāb Zuwayla, respectively. Jawhar also marked the site of two royal palaces there, for the Fāṭimid caliph-imam and his heir-designate, separated by a wide space, in accordance with the plans drawn up by al-Muʿizz himself.[33] Also, special buildings were erected for government departments and the Fāṭimid army. Soon afterwards, in Jumādā I 359/April 970, Jawhar laid the foundations of al-Azhar. The original structure of this famous mosque was completed two years later. In 378/988–989, al-Azhar also became a university, the first in the world. It has remained the principal institution of religious learning in the Muslim world. Under the Fāṭimids, al-Azhar played a crucial role also in the dissemination of Ismāʿīlī doctrines, with numerous Ismāʿīlī scholars, jurists and students constantly participating in its seminars. This explains why al-Azhar suffered the hostility of the Sunnī Ayyūbids after the fall of the Fāṭimid dynasty.

The Fāṭimid conquest of Egypt was glorified in the poems of Muḥammad b. Hāniʾ al-Andalusī, the first great poet of the Maghrib and an ardent Ismāʿīlī.[34] Ibn Hāniʾ proclaims, in a number of panegyrical verses, that not only all of the Muslim world but the entire world belongs legitimately to the Fāṭimid al-Muʿizz. Ibn Hāniʾ was born in Seville (Ishbīliya), and his father, also a poet, was apparently one of the Fāṭimid *dāʿīs* in Muslim Spain. Eventually, Ibn Hāniʾ was suspected of pro-Fāṭimid activities and had to flee to the Maghrib from the persecution of the Umayyad ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III, who was a Mālikī Sunnī. After spending



1. Bāb al-Futūḥ (Gate of Victories), Cairo, one of the three surviving Fāṭimid gates to the city

some time at the court of the Banū Ḥamdūn at Masīla, in 347/958 the young Ibn Hāniʾ joined the service of the Fāṭimids and became the chief court-poet and panegyrist of al-Muʿizz. Defending the claims of the Fāṭimids against those of the Sunnī Umayyads and ʿAbbāsids, he eulogized the merits of al-Muʿizz and other

Fāṭimid imams, making known their noble aims.[35] He thus rendered a valuable service to the Fāṭimid cause through his poetry, which was widely read from Cordoba to Baghdad. Ibn Hāniʾ was murdered under mysterious circumstances in 362/973, perhaps by Umayyad or ʿAbbāsid agents, whilst on his way from Ifrīqiya to Egypt.

Jawhar remained the governor of Egypt for four years, until the arrival of al-Muʿizz. During this period, he gave a high priority to alleviating the problem of famine, improving Egypt's finances and reforming its existing administration. His preference was to utilize the Kutāma and other Maghribīs who had accompanied him rather than local Egyptians, especially for the more important government positions. Jawhar also endeavoured to extend Fāṭimid rule beyond Egypt, particularly to the areas previously under Ikhshīdid domination. In 359/969–970, Mecca and Medina submitted readily to the Fāṭimid al-Muʿizz, who had earlier given financial aid to the local *amīr*s of the two holy cities. Apart from occasional interruptions, Fāṭimid suzerainty over the Ḥijāz lasted until the fall of the dynasty. It was much more difficult for the Fāṭimids to establish a firm foothold in Syria, hitherto under Ikhshīdid rule, with the Ḥamdānids controlling the northern parts from their seat at Aleppo. The main obstacle to a speedy Fāṭimid victory in Syria was provided by the Qarmaṭīs of Baḥrayn, whose hostility towards the Fāṭimids broke into open warfare following the Fāṭimid conquest of Egypt. The Qarmaṭīs had already cultivated friendly relations with the Ikhshīdids and the Ḥamdānids, besides being ready to collaborate with the ʿAbbāsids and the Būyids against the Fāṭimids.

It may be noted that at the time the Qarmaṭī state was still being ruled jointly by Abū Ṭāhir's brothers. Abū Ṭāhir's eldest son Sābūr (Shāpūr), who aspired to a ruling position and the command of the army, rebelled against his uncles in 358/969, but he was captured and executed in the same year. But the ruling sons of Abū Saʿīd al-Jannābī themselves did not survive much longer. Abū Manṣūr Aḥmad died in 359/970, probably of poisoning, and his eldest brother Abu'l-Qāsim Saʿīd died two years later. By 361/972, there remained of Abū Ṭāhir's brothers only Abū Yaʿqūb Yūsuf, who retained a position of pre-eminence in the Qarmaṭī state. Henceforth, the grandsons of Abū Saʿīd were also admitted to the ruling council. After the death of Abū Yaʿqūb in 366/977, the Qarmaṭī state came to be ruled jointly by six of Abū Saʿīd's grandsons, known collectively as *al-sāda al-ruʾasāʾ*.[36] Meanwhile, al-Ḥasan al-Aʿṣam, son of Abū Manṣūr Aḥmad and a nephew of Abū Ṭāhir, had become the commander of the Qarmaṭī forces. He was usually selected for leading the Qarmaṭīs in military campaigns outside Baḥrayn, including their entanglements with the Fāṭimids.

In 357/968, al-Aʿṣam, at the head of the Qarmaṭī army, had taken Damascus after defeating al-Ḥasan b. ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ṭughj, the Ikhshīdid governor of Syria. The Qarmaṭīs had then plundered Ramla and received a substantial tribute

from its inhabitants before returning to Baḥrayn. Three months after the Fāṭimid conquest of Egypt, a Qarmaṭī force, under al-Aʿṣam's cousins, again attacked and defeated the Ikhshīdid al-Ḥasan. The latter, however, managed to get the Qarmaṭīs to sign a peace treaty, according to which he was to pay them an annual tribute. Subsequently, the Qarmaṭīs, who never remained in their conquered lands, as they were mainly concerned with augmenting the resources of their treasury, returned to Baḥrayn, leaving behind a small detachment. Soon afterwards, at the beginning of 359/970, a large Fāṭimid army commanded by Jaʿfar b. Falāḥ, sent to conquer Syria, defeated a joint Qarmaṭī and Ikhshīdid force near Ramla, and the Ikhshīdid al-Ḥasan was taken prisoner.

The Fāṭimid conquest of Syria meant the loss of the tribute paid previously by the Ikhshīdids to the Qarmaṭīs of Baḥrayn, and this is cited as the main reason for the Qarmaṭī invasion of Syria in the following year. In 360/971, al-Aʿṣam, aided by the Būyid ʿIzz al-Dawla Bakhtiyār and the Ḥamdānid Abū Taghlib of Mawṣil, seized Damascus and Ramla, having defeated the Fāṭimids and killed Jaʿfar b. Falāḥ in battle. Al-Aʿṣam, who had meanwhile also allied himself with the ʿAbbāsids, now proclaimed the suzerainty of the ʿAbbāsid caliph in these domains and had the Fāṭimid al-Muʿizz cursed in the mosques. Being encouraged by his victories, al-Aʿṣam marched towards Fāṭimid Egypt and advanced to the gates of Cairo, but due to the defection of some of his allies, Jawhar's resistance, and internal problems in Baḥrayn, he was obliged to retreat to al-Aḥsāʾ in Rabīʿ I 361/December 971, with Damascus still remaining in Qarmaṭī hands.

Meanwhile, al-Muʿizz had finished preparations for transferring the seat of the Fāṭimid state from Ifrīqiya to Egypt. Before embarking on his historic journey in Shawwāl 361/August 972, al-Muʿizz appointed Buluggīn b. Zīrī as his governor of Ifrīqiya, giving him the honorific title Abu'l-Futūḥ Yūsuf. This was a well-deserved reward for the *amīr* of the Ṣanhāja, who, following the precedent set by his father, had faithfully defended the Fāṭimids against numerous enemies in North Africa. Buluggīn was in effect vested with the governorship of all the Fāṭimid dominions in the west, except for Kalbid Sicily, and Tripoli, which was placed under the care of the Kutāma Berbers. Buluggīn moved from Ashīr to Qayrawān, where he was to found the Zīrid dynasty (361–543/972–1148). Al-Muʿizz entered Cairo in Ramaḍān 362/June 973, accompanied by his four sons and relatives, most of the Ismāʿīlī notables and *dāʿīs*, including al-Qāḍī al-Nuʿmān (who died in the following year), and many Kutāma tribesmen. He also brought along his treasure and the coffins of his predecessors. This migration marked the termination of the North African phase of the Fāṭimid dynasty.

Akhū Muḥsin, writing shortly after 372/982, preserved the text of a threatening letter sent by al-Muʿizz after his arrival in Cairo to al-Ḥasan al-Aʿṣam,

reproaching him for having deviated from the creed of his forefathers.[37] As Madelung has explained,[38] al-Muʿizz evidently tried cleverly, but in vain, to convince al-Aʿṣam that Abū Saʿīd and Abū Ṭāhir had been loyal supporters of the Fāṭimids. Al-Aʿṣam made this letter public, denounced the Fāṭimids and invaded Egypt in 363/974 for the second time. He besieged Cairo, but he was betrayed by his ally Ḥassān b. Jarrāḥ, who was commanding the Jarrāḥids of Palestine, was defeated by the Fāṭimids and retreated to Baḥrayn. Subsequently, the Fāṭimids occupied Damascus and al-Muʿizz concluded a peace treaty with the Qarmaṭīs, who successfully demanded receipt of the tribute formerly paid to them by the Ikhshīdids.[39] However, soon afterwards, in 364/975, Damascus was seized by the Turk Alftakīn (Alptekin), a former Būyid officer in Baghdad. Death prevented al-Muʿizz from expelling Alftakīn from Damascus, where the ambitious rebel had proclaimed the sovereignty of the ʿAbbāsids.

The rule of al-Muʿizz in Egypt lasted just over two years. He dismissed Jawhar shortly after arriving in Cairo and entrusted the shrewd Ibn Killis with the task of reorganizing Egypt's financial system. The caliph himself was mainly preoccupied in Egypt with repelling the menace of the Qarmaṭīs. Having considerably enhanced the power and fortune of his dynasty, and the territorial extent of the Fāṭimid state, al-Muʿizz li-Dīn Allāh died in Rabīʿ II 365/December 975, at the young age of forty-four and after an imamate and caliphate of twenty-two years. He was buried in the same mausoleum near the Fāṭimid palace in which his predecessors and successors as well as other members of the Fāṭimid family were also buried.

The religious policy of al-Muʿizz

The subjects of the Fāṭimid state in North Africa were mostly Mālikī Sunnīs and Khārijīs. This reality made it rather difficult for the early Fāṭimids to propagate Ismāʿīlī doctrines throughout Ifrīqiya, though for a while they attempted to exclude the Mālikī jurists from positions of influence in government administration.[40] Furthermore, while preoccupied with establishing and consolidating their rule, the first three Fāṭimid caliphs could not concern themselves in any meaningful sense with Ismāʿīlī *daʿwa* activities beyond their dominions. Al-Muʿizz was, in fact, the first member of the dynasty to have adopted specific *daʿwa* objectives. In particular, he seriously endeavoured to intensify *daʿwa* activities outside Fāṭimid dominions, partly for the purpose of winning the support of the dissident Qarmaṭīs and re-establishing the ideological unity of the Ismāʿīlī movement. He was apparently motivated not only by a desire to utilize the dissident Qarmaṭīs in the service of his eastward drive to conquer the ʿAbbāsid lands,

but also because he was apprehensive about the dangerous influence of Qarmaṭī ideas on his own followers in the east, the loyal Ismāʿīlīs who lived outside the dominions of the Fāṭimid empire. In contrast to his predecessors, who were almost completely preoccupied with consolidating Fāṭimid rule, al-Muʿizz also concerned himself with doctrinal issues. As we have noted, he received emissaries from Sind and other remote Fāṭimid Ismāʿīlī communities, and discussed matters of doctrinal importance with them, being particularly alert to rectify their theological misgivings and errors. It has now become evident, through access to Ismāʿīlī sources, that al-Muʿizz in fact revised the Ismāʿīlī teachings and accommodated some of the beliefs of the dissident Ismāʿīlīs. The reform of al-Muʿizz involved a partial return to the doctrine of the imamate held by the majority of the early Ismāʿīlīs.[41] This reform found expression in the works of al-Qāḍī al-Nuʿmān and Jaʿfar b. Manṣūr al-Yaman, the foremost Ismāʿīlī scholars of the time, and in certain writings attributed to the Fāṭimid caliph-imam himself.

As noted, ʿAbd Allāh al-Mahdī had denied the Mahdīship of Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl by openly claiming the imamate of the Ismāʿīliyya for himself and his ancestors. The continuity in the imamate thus propounded by ʿAbd Allāh was subsequently corroborated by al-Qāḍī al-Nuʿmān, who explicitly allowed for more than one heptad of imams in the sixth era of hierohistory, the era of the Prophet Muḥammad.[42] But later, in a treatise written perhaps not too long before his death, al-Nuʿmān came to present a different picture of the Fāṭimid doctrine, one which now incorporated the doctrinal reform of al-Muʿizz who apparently read al-Nuʿmān's writings with much scrutiny. This treatise seems to have been composed in response to questions put to the learned Qāḍī by an envoy, sent probably by one of the eastern Ismāʿīlī communities. The questions and al-Nuʿmān's replies are chiefly concerned with the Qāʾim and his manifestation. In this work, after reviewing the various Shīʿī ideas hitherto expressed about the Qāʾim,[43] al-Nuʿmān explains that the Qāʾim essentially has three degrees (*ḥudūd*): the degree in the corporeal world, the degree of resurrection in the spiritual world, and finally, the degree of reckoning (the last judgement). More specifically, he mentions two corporeal degrees for the Qāʾim, namely, the degree of speaker-prophet (*nāṭiq*) and that of the rightly-guided deputies or lieutenants (*al-khulafāʾ al-rāshidūn*).

According to al-Nuʾmān, the Qāʾim first appeared at the end of the sixth era of history, as the seventh imam of the era of Islam. He had thus attained his first corporeal degree in the person of Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl, as the seventh *nāṭiq* who had not announced a new *sharīʿa*. However, since the Qāʾim had appeared at the time of complete concealment (*satr*), his revelation, too, which consisted of the interpretation of the inner meaning of the religious laws, had remained concealed.[44] This is why the Qāʾim appointed deputies (*khulafāʾ*) for himself,

in whom he attained his second corporeal degree. It is through these deputies that the Qāʾim would reveal the inner meaning of the laws and carry out the deeds prophesied for him, because Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl himself will not return. Initially, the deputies too were hidden, but starting with ʿAbd Allāh al-Mahdī, they became manifest during the era of unveiling (*dawr al-kashf*), and they will continue to rule until the end of the corporeal world, the last of them being the *ḥujja* of the Qāʾim. Thereafter, the Qāʾim will attain a new degree, appearing in the era of the spiritual world of stars (*dawr al-jirm*) and passing judgement on mankind, before finally ascending to unite with the universal soul.[45] However, this system suffered from an internal anomaly. On the one hand, al-Nuʿmān is extremely careful to emphasize that none of the religious duties specified by the Qurʾān and the *sharīʿa* will be dispensed with prior to the Day of Judgement, which meant that the era of the Prophet Muḥammad and Islam would continue until that time. Yet, according to him, the seventh *dawr*, the eschatological era of the Qāʾim–Mahdī, had already begun, since the Qāʾim had appeared in the person of Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl and then in his *khulafāʾ*, the Fāṭimids. The latter were to disclose his mission by elucidating the hidden meaning of all the previous laws, including the sacred law of Islam.

Similar ideas are found in the writings attributed to al-Muʿizz himself, in *al-Munājāt* ascribed to him by Syrian Ismāʿīlīs,[46] in his *Seven-day Prayers*,[47] and elsewhere.[48] Al-Muʿizz, too, speaks of the seven eras of the speaker-prophets and mentions the Qāʾim, often referred to as *al-qāʾim biʾl-ḥaqq al-nāṭiq biʾl-ṣidq*, as the seventh *nāṭiq* and the seventh imam of the era of Muḥammad. He does not mention Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl by name, but he refers to Ismāʿīl b. Jaʿfar as the sixth imam of the era of Muḥammad while counting the Qāʾim as the seventh imam and the eighth successor after ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib. Clearly then, by the Qāʾim he intends to refer to Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl. The Qāʾim, according to al-Muʿizz and al-Nuʿmān, does not announce a new *sharīʿa*, but merely reveals the inner meaning of the previous laws. Al-Muʿizz also speaks of the *khulafāʾ* who act righteously and represent the doctrine and the deeds of the Qāʾim. He further adds that there is no Qāʾim and Lord of the Time (*ṣāḥib al-zamān*) besides the imam of the time, who interprets the inner meaning of the laws.[49] In other words, al-Muʿizz denies the corporeal return of Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl as the Qāʾim because the Fāṭimids, as his deputies, had already fully assumed his functions.

The teachings of al-Muʿizz are also reflected in the latest works of Jaʿfar b. Manṣūr al-Yaman. In his *al-Shawāhid waʾl-bayān* and his *Taʾwīl al-zakāt*, completed in the final years of al-Muʿizz (both of which are still in manuscript form),[50] Jaʿfar discusses the eras of the seven *nāṭiq*s, the seventh one being that of the Qāʾim Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl and of his *khulafāʾ*. It is interesting to note that Jaʿfar gives

great importance to the Qāʾim, the revealer of all laws, and his lieutenants, in contradistinction to the ordinary *nāṭiq*s. Very little is known about the life of Jaʿfar, the son of the famous Yamanī *dāʿī* Ibn Ḥawshab Manṣūr al-Yaman. After the death of Ibn Ḥawshab, when ʿAbd Allāh al-Mahdī appointed ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbbās al-Shāwirī as head of the Ismāʿīlī *daʿwa* in Yaman, Jaʿfar alone amongst his brothers remained loyal to the Fāṭimids. His elder brother Ḥasan (or Abu'l-Ḥasan), who had expected to succeed his father, defected from the *daʿwa* and had the *dāʿī* al-Shāwirī murdered. It was under these circumstances that Jaʿfar, as a partisan of the Fāṭimids, migrated to North Africa and joined the court of the second Fāṭimid caliph al-Qāʾim at Mahdiyya. In 335/947, under al-Manṣūr, he fought against Abū Yazīd. In fact, Jaʿfar celebrated the various Fāṭimid victories over the Khārijī rebels in several poems.[51] Subsequently, he rose to literary prominence and became one of the leading exponents of Ismāʿīlī *taʾwīl* under al-Muʿizz, who held Jaʿfar in high esteem and is also reported to have helped him financially.[52] In Ifrīqiya, Jaʿfar evidently did not hold any public office and devoted his time entirely to writing, but Idrīs relates that he rose to a high rank in the *daʿwa*, even superior to that of his contemporary al-Qāḍī al-Nuʿmān, under al-Muʿizz. Jaʿfar b. Manṣūr al-Yaman died at an unknown date, not too long after 346/957.[53]

In sum, through his reform, al-Muʿizz reaffirmed the imamates of Ismāʿīl b. Jaʿfar and his son Muḥammad, to whom he traced back his genealogy, instead of the imamate of ʿAbd Allāh b. Jaʿfar, named by ʿAbd Allāh al-Mahdī, in his letter, as the progenitor of the Fāṭimids. He again attributed to Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl, as the seventh imam of the era of Islam, the rank of the Qāʾim and the *nāṭiq* of the final era, but with a different interpretation compared to that held by the pre-Fāṭimid Ismāʿīlīs. Since the Qāʾim Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl had appeared in the time of complete concealment, his functions were to be undertaken by his deputies or *khulafāʾ*, the Fāṭimid Ismāʿīlī imams, who were his descendants. Al-Muʿizz also permitted the incorporation of Neoplatonism, more specifically a Neoplatonized Ismāʿīlī cosmology, into Fāṭimid Ismāʿīlī thought. As a result, certain works of the early representatives of this cosmology who ranked amongst the dissident Ismāʿīlīs came to be studied by the Fāṭimid *dāʿī*s and authors.

The efforts of al-Muʿizz to gain the allegiance of the eastern Qarmaṭīs were partially successful. He won over the *dāʿī* al-Sijistānī, who endorsed the imamate of the Fāṭimids in the works he wrote after the accession of al-Muʿizz. Consequently, the dissident Ismāʿīlīs of Khurāsān, as well as of Sīstān and Makrān, to a great extent came to support the Fāṭimid cause. Al-Muʿizz also succeeded in establishing a Fāṭimid foothold in Sind, in northern India. As noted previously, around the year 347/958, a Fāṭimid vassal state was founded in Sind, with its seat at Multān, serving as the *dār al-hijra* for the Ismāʿīlīs of that state, through

the efforts of a Fāṭimid *dāʿī* who had converted the local ruler. But the *dāʿī* in question evidently also manifested some dissident Qarmaṭī tendencies, and while al-Muʿizz was contemplating his removal, he was killed in a riding incident. He was succeeded around 354/965 by the *dāʿī* Ḥalam (or Jalam) b. Shaybān, who was completely loyal to the Fāṭimids. The sovereignty of al-Muʿizz was now openly proclaimed in Multān, where the *khuṭba* was read in the name of the Fāṭimid caliphs, instead of their ʿAbbāsid rivals. This Ismāʿīlī state survived until 396/1005–1006, when Sultan Maḥmūd of Ghazna invaded Multān and made its last Ismāʿīlī ruler, Abu'l-Futūḥ Dā'ūd b. Naṣr, a tributary. A few years later, in 401/1010–1011, Multān was actually annexed to the Ghaznawid dominions, Abu'l-Futūḥ was taken prisoner and the Ismāʿīlīs of Multān and its surrounding areas were ruthlessly massacred.[54] Another local ruler in Sind, belonging to the Ḥabbārid dynasty centred at Manṣūra, was later converted to Fāṭimid Ismāʿīlism around 401 AH and he apparently made Ismāʿīlism the official religion of his state. Soon afterwards, this Ismāʿīlī ruler too, perhaps called Khafīf, was overthrown by Maḥmūd, who invaded Manṣūra in 416/1025.[55] Despite these setbacks and the continued hostilities of the Sunnī Ghaznawids, Fāṭimid Ismāʿīlism survived in Sind and later became the creed of the Sūmras, who revolted against the Ghaznawids in 443/1051 and established their independent dynasty, ruling from Thatta for almost three centuries.[56] However, Qarmaṭism persisted in some parts of Persia, notably in Daylam and Ādharbayjān, as well as in southern ʿIrāq, whilst the Fāṭimids had endeavoured to restore the name of ʿAbdān and permitted the study of his works. But above all, al-Muʿizz failed in the case of the Qarmaṭīs of eastern Arabia, with whose cooperation he might well have realized his objective of conquering Baghdad and supplanting the ʿAbbāsids.

al-Qāḍī al-Nuʿmān and Ismāʿīlī jurisprudence

In the aftermath of the foundation of the Fāṭimid state, the Sunnī polemicists intensified their anti-Ismāʿīlī campaign, claiming the Ismāʿīlīs did not observe the *sharīʿa* because they had found access to its hidden, real meaning. The fact remains, however, that the Fāṭimids from early on concerned themselves with legalistic matters. Indeed, the Ismāʿīlī literature of the Fāṭimid period repeatedly emphasizes the inseparability of the *ẓāhir* and the *bāṭin*, the commandments and prohibitions of the law and their inner spiritual significance. At any rate, the early Fāṭimids confronted a fundamental practical problem in that there did not exist a distinctive Ismāʿīlī school of jurisprudence (*madhhab*). Earlier, the Ismāʿīlīs, who normally practised *taqiyya* and belonged to a revolutionary movement, observed the law of the land wherever they lived. The process of codifying Ismāʿīlī law had

started already in ʿAbd Allāh al-Mahdī's reign when the precepts of Shīʿī law were put into practice. It is, for instance, reported that Aflaḥ b. Hārūn al-Malūsī, the first chief judge (*qāḍī al-quḍāt*) of the Fāṭimid state, composed a few treatises on *fiqh* or jurisprudence. It may be added here that from early on under the Fāṭimids, the chief judge was also often placed in charge of the affairs of the Ismāʿīlī *daʿwa* as the chief *dāʿī* (*dāʿī al-duʿāt*). Thus, responsibilities for explaining and enforcing the letter of the law and interpreting its inner meaning were united in the same person under the overall guidance of the Ismāʿīlī imam of the time.

The promulgation of Ismāʿīlī law resulted mainly from the efforts of al-Qāḍī Abū Ḥanīfa al-Nuʿmān b. Muḥammad b. Manṣūr b. Aḥmad b. Ḥayyūn al-Tamīmī al-Maghribī, commonly referred to as al-Qāḍī al-Nuʿmān.[57] Destined to become the greatest Ismāʿīlī jurist of all time, al-Nuʿmān came from a learned family of Mālikī Sunnīs in Qayrawān. There is much controversy surrounding the religious background of al-Nuʿmān, but it seems certain that his father had already embraced Ismāʿīlism before the year 311/923 and that al-Nuʿmān himself was converted early in life, following his initial training as a Mālikī *faqīh*. Some Imāmī Shīʿī authorities have maintained throughout the centuries that al-Nuʿmān was one of their co-religionists, although the early Imāmī bio-bibliographers like al-Kashshī, al-Najāshī and al-Ṭūsī do not refer to him at all. Ibn Shahrāshūb (d. 588/1192) is evidently the earliest Twelver Shīʿī authority to mention al-Nuʿmān and some of his works, whilst explicitly asserting that he was not an Imāmī.[58] This assertion implies that some Imāmī (Twelver) circles did already then consider al-Nuʿmān as one of their own. Nūr Allāh al-Shūshtarī, the renowned Persian Twelver jurist who migrated to India and was executed there in 1019/1610 on the order of the Mughal emperor Jahāngīr, was probably the first Imāmī scholar who, quoting Ibn Khallikān, stated that al-Nuʿmān was originally a Mālikī Sunnī, and then, an Imāmī.[59] In his view, al-Shūshtarī was followed by other Imāmī theologians like al-Ḥurr al-ʿĀmilī (d. 1104/1693), al-Majlisī (d. 1110/1699), Baḥr al-ʿUlūm, better known as Sayyid al-Ṭāʾifa (d. 1212/1797), and Mīrzā Ḥusayn al-Nūrī (d. 1320/1902).[60] Āghā Buzurg al-Ṭihrānī (d. 1389/1970), a Twelver scholar who produced a valuable encyclopaedia of Shīʿī works, also maintained that al-Nuʿmān was an Imāmī.[61] All these authorities evidently rely solely on Ibn Khallikān who may have used the term Imāmī in reference to both the Ithnāʿashariyya and the Ismāʿīliyya. There have also been those Imāmī scholars like al-Khwānsārī (d. 1313/1895) who, in line with Ibn Shahrāshūb, have denied that al-Nuʿmān was ever an Ithnāʿasharī Shīʿī.[62] For the Ismāʿīlī authorities, such as the *dāʿī* Idrīs, the question of the original *madhhab* of a prominent Ismāʿīlī figure so closely associated with several Ismāʿīlī imams, is an irrelevant one, they simply do not discuss the matter. Having been a contemporary of some of the most renowned early Imāmī authorities, like al-Kulaynī and Ibn Bābawayh,

al-Nuʿmān was indeed amongst the earliest Shīʿī contributors to *ḥadīth* and *fiqh*, and this may explain his high esteem with the Twelver Shīʿīs of different generations.

Born around 290/903, al-Nuʿmān entered the service of ʿAbd Allāh al-Mahdī in 313/925. He served the first four Fāṭimid caliphs in various capacities, such as the keeper of the palace library and the *qāḍī* of Tripoli and Manṣūriyya. In 337/948, al-Manṣūr appointed him to the highest judicial office of the Fāṭimid state, and in 343/954 al-Muʿizz confirmed al-Nuʿmān's status as chief judge. He accompanied al-Muʿizz to Egypt and died in Cairo in Jumādā II 363/March 974, having faithfully served the Fāṭimid dynasty for almost fifty years. Al-Nuʿmān's funeral prayer was personally led by al-Muʿizz. Al-Nuʿmān was a prolific writer, with more than forty treatises to his credit. He appears to have devoted the greater part of his life to the composition of his numerous works on law as well as on many other subjects, including history, *taʾwīl* and *ḥaqāʾiq*. He evidently consulted his contemporary caliph-imams on whatever he wrote, and it is primarily due to this Ismāʿīlī tradition, related by Idrīs, that al-Nuʿmān has been accorded such a high position of respect and authority amongst the Ismāʿīlīs.

Al-Nuʿmān was officially commissioned by al-Muʿizz to prepare legal compendia. The learned judge codified Ismāʿīlī law by systematically collecting the firmly established legal *ḥadīth*s transmitted from the *ahl al-bayt*, drawing on earlier collections. The results of his initial endeavours appeared in a massive compendium entitled *Kitāb al-īḍāḥ*, which has not survived except for a fragment. Subsequently, al-Nuʿmān produced several abridgements of this work, treated as semi-official compendia by the Fāṭimids. Al-Nuʿmān's efforts culminated in the compilation of the *Daʿāʾim al-Islām (The Pillars of Islam)*, which was read carefully by al-Muʿizz and was endorsed by the imam as the official code of the Fāṭimid state. Like the Sunnīs and other Shīʿī communities, the Ismāʿīlīs, too, had now come to possess a system of law and jurisprudence, which also delineated an Ismāʿīlī paradigm of governance. The *Daʿāʾim*, which is the main source for the study of Fāṭimid Ismāʿīlī law, became the official Fāṭimid *corpus juris* from the time of al-Muʿizz, and it still remains the chief legal text for the Ṭayyibī Ismāʿīlīs, including the Ismāʿīlī Bohras of India. The *Daʿāʾim* is divided into two volumes, the first one dealing with *ʿibādāt*, acts of devotion and religious duties, consisting of the seven pillars of Islam according to the Ismāʿīlīs, namely *walāya* (devotion to imams), *ṭahāra* (ritual purity), *ṣalāt* (prayer) including *janāʾiz* (funeral rites), *zakāt* (alms), *ṣawm* (fasting), *ḥajj* (pilgrimage to Mecca), and *jihād* (holy war). The Fāṭimid Ismāʿīlīs, as Shīʿīs, had thus added *walāya* and *ṭahāra* to the five pillars recognized by the Sunnīs. The second volume of the *Daʿāʾim* deals with *muʿāmalāt*, or worldly affairs, such as food, drinking, clothing, wills, inheritance, marriage and divorce.

Fāṭimid Ismāʿīlī law, which in general agrees with Imāmī law, represents a blending of Shīʿī beliefs, especially as embodied in the doctrine of the imamate, with the legal concepts of the Muslims. The Ismāʿīlīs, like all other Muslims, did accept the Qurʾān and the *sunna* of the Prophet as the principal sources of law. However, in line with the Imāmīs, the Fāṭimid Ismāʿīlīs departed from the norms of the Sunnī schools in acknowledging only those Prophetic traditions which were reported by their imams from the *ahl al-bayt*. In addition, they also accepted traditions from the imams recognized by them. The traditions related by al-Qāḍī al-Nuʿmān are from the Prophet, ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib and the latter's five successor imams, with the majority from the Imams al-Bāqir and al-Ṣādiq. It is interesting to note that al-Nuʿmān does not normally quote any *ḥadīth*s from the Ismāʿīlī imams after Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq, the fountainhead of Ismāʿīlī *fiqh*. In the case of the Prophetic traditions, the *isnād*s or chains of transmission, aside from those related by an Ismāʿīlī imam, are dropped in all Fāṭimid legal literature, implying that when an imam relates a *ḥadīth* from the Prophet, no further authority is necessary. Al-Nuʿmān totally ignores the *ḥadīth*s of the Twelver Shīʿī imams after al-Ṣādiq, beginning with Mūsā al-Kāẓim, who are not recognized by the Ismāʿīliyya. Those Imāmī scholars who regard al-Nuʿmān as a co-religionist attribute this to his observance of *taqiyya* in fear of the Fāṭimids. At any event, this is one of the main differences between the *ḥadīth*s used by al-Nuʿmān and those included in the four major Imāmī compendia of traditions, compiled by al-Kulaynī, Ibn Bābawayh and Shaykh al-Ṭāʾifa al-Ṭūsī. On the other hand, al-Nuʿmān quotes opinions of the ʿAlids not recognized as imams by the Ismāʿīlīs or the Imāmīs, relying on Zaydī transmission. In sum, strong Imāmī Twelver and Zaydī Shīʿī influences are present in the legal system elaborated in the *Daʿāʾim al-Islām*, which also tended to reconcile certain differences between the doctrines of the Ismāʿīlīs and those upheld by the Mālikī Sunnī school of jurisprudence prevailing in Ifrīqiya. In a sense, al-Nuʿmān, guided closely by al-Muʿizz, recognized the minority status of the Ismāʿīlīs in North Africa and attempted a legalistic rapprochement with Sunnī Islam.

The fundamental difference between the Shīʿī, Ismāʿīlī or otherwise, and the Sunnī systems of *fiqh*, however, centres around the doctrine of the imamate. For the Shīʿīs, the imam is the final authority for interpreting the ordinances of God, and, after the Prophet, the sole repository of the rules of human conduct and worship. For the Ismāʿīlīs in particular, he also interprets the all-important inner meaning of the Qurʾān and the *sharīʿa*. As developed by al-Nuʿmān, Ismāʿīlī law accorded special importance to the Shīʿī doctrine of the imamate, which found expression in the *Daʿāʾim*'s opening chapter on *walāya*. This also provided Islamic legitimation for an ʿAlid state ruled by the *ahl al-bayt*. Therefore, for the Fāṭimid Ismāʿīlīs, the authority of the divinely-guided and infallible ʿAlid imam and his

teachings became the third and most decisive principal source of Ismāʿīlī law, after the Qurʾān and the *sunna* of the Prophet. They did not accept *ijmāʿ* or consensus of opinion, and *qiyās* or analogical deduction, which are the third and fourth sources of Islamic law accepted by the Sunnīs. The Fāṭimid Ismāʿīlīs also rejected all other supplementary roots of law which are substitutes for *qiyās*, such as *istiḥsān*, *istiṣlāḥ* and *istidlāl*.

The Imāmīs, too, rejected *qiyās* and its substitutes, while they later subscribed to a type of *ijmāʿ*, and *ʿaql*, reason or systematic reasoning in law.[63] For the Imāmīs, or rather for the adherents of the predominant Uṣūlī school of Twelver Shīʿī law, the *fuqahāʾ*, who are qualified to form legal judgements and who are present at all times as the agents of their hidden twelfth imam, are the recognized interpreters of the law. These powerful religious lawyers are known as *mujtahid*s, practising *ijtihād* in their legal reasoning and judgement. Every ordinary Imāmī (Twelver) believer is expected to follow a *mujtahid* of his choice, thus becoming a *muqallid*, or imitator, practising *taqlīd*. It may be noted, however, that in the Fāṭimid age and earlier, the Imāmīs had not yet accepted *ijtihād*, which in later times continued to be rejected by the Akhbārī school of Twelver Shīʿī law. The Fāṭimid Ismāʿīlīs, with their imam ruling at the head of the community, never recognized any kind of *ijtihād* and *taqlīd*. In other words, Fāṭimid law rejected adjudication or legal interpretation from sources other than the imams. Al-Nuʿmān, in a work composed after 343/954 on the principles of the law (*uṣūl al-fiqh*), in conjunction with most of the Imāmī scholars of his time, clearly recognizes the Qurʾān, the *sunna* of the Prophet and the dictum or teachings of the imams (*qawl al-aʾimma*) as the only authoritative sources of law.[64] The Shīʿī imams not only enforce the *sharīʿa* like the Sunnī caliphs, but also interpret it. This may be considered the major point of difference between the Shīʿī and Sunnī concepts of law. Regarding the specific application of the law, however, the Fāṭimid Ismāʿīlīs, like other Muslims, had courts presided over by trained *qāḍī*s who dealt in legal judgements and issued specific decisions. There are some minor points of difference between the Fāṭimid Ismāʿīlī and the Imāmī schools of law, especially regarding the questions of inheritance and marriage, while some of the specific legal doctrines of the Ismāʿīlīs represent a compromise between those of the Imāmīs and the Zaydīs. For instance, the Ismāʿīlīs, similar to the Sunnīs and Zaydīs, do not permit *mutʿa*, or temporary marriage for a stipulated duration, which is practised by the Twelver Shīʿīs. In this connection, it is interesting to note that al-Qāḍī al-Nuʿmān based his rejection of *mutʿa* on a Zaydī, rather than any Sunnī, tradition. In religious rituals, too, there are certain differences between the practices of the Ismāʿīlī and the Imāmī Shīʿīs.[65]

Al-Nuʿmān was also the founder of a distinguished family of *qāḍī*s in the Fāṭimid state. His son Abu'l-Ḥusayn ʿAlī (d. 374/984), chief judge under al-ʿAzīz

for nine years, was in fact the first person to bear the official title of *qāḍī al-quḍāt* under the Fāṭimids. ʿAlī was succeeded as chief *qāḍī* by his younger brother Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad (d. 389/999). Subsequently, that highest judicial office came to be held successively by two of al-Nuʿmān's grandsons, Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī (d. 395/1004), and Abu'l-Qāsim ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Muḥammad (d. 401/1011), who also became Jawhar's son-in-law. Al-Nuʿmān's great-grandson, Abū Muḥammad al-Qāsim b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, was the last member of the family to hold the position of chief *qāḍī*. He was finally dismissed, after several terms in office, in 441/1049 and was succeeded by al-Yāzurī, the first to unite in his person the offices of *wazīr* and *qāḍī al-quḍāt*.

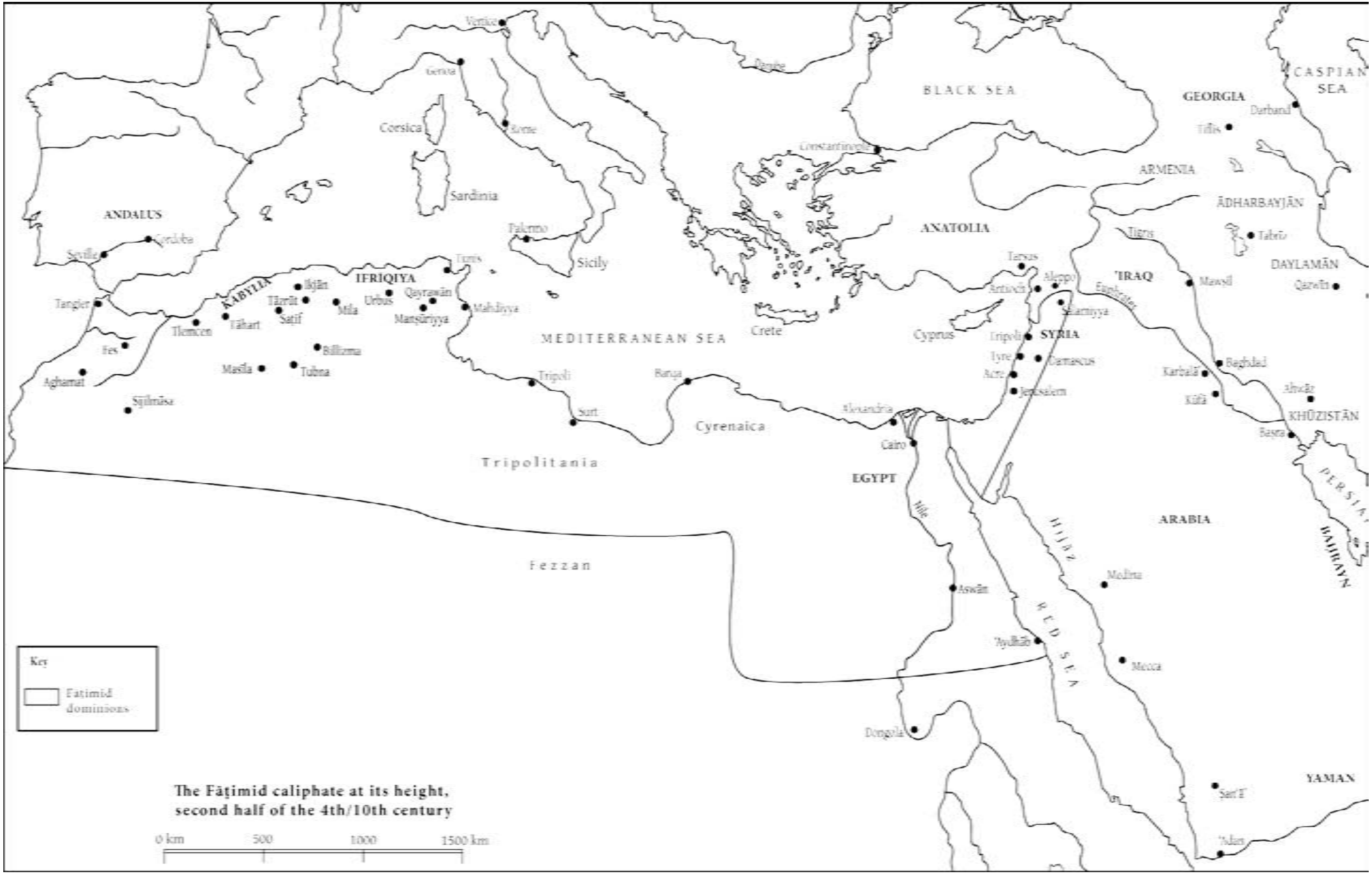
In comparison with the four Sunnī schools of law, namely the Ḥanafī, Mālikī, Shāfiʿī and Ḥanbalī, as well as the Ithnāʿasharī *madhhab*, the legal literature of the Fāṭimid Ismāʿīlīs is extremely meagre. The Ismāʿīlī system of *fiqh* is almost exclusively the work of al-Qāḍī al-Nuʿmān, as few other Ismāʿīlī jurists, during or after the Fāṭimid period, concerned themselves with producing legal compendia. It is therefore not surprising that until recently it was generally unknown outside Ismāʿīlī circles that Ismāʿīlism has had its own separate school of jurisprudence, a distinct Shīʿī *madhhab* developed in the 4th/10th century, after the appearance of the authentic legal literature of the Imāmī (Twelver) Shīʿīs. In modern times, it has been mainly due to the efforts of Asaf A. A. Fyzee, the foremost contemporary authority on Ismāʿīlī law, that students of Islamic law and researchers in Ismāʿīlī studies have become acquainted with this Shīʿī school of *fiqh*. Ismāʿīlī Shīʿī jurisprudence, as it has come down to us, is chiefly propounded in al-Nuʿmān's writings. These works, more of which seem to have been extant at the time of the *dāʿī* Idrīs, have been preserved by the Yamanī and, later, by the Indian Ismāʿīlīs belonging to the Ṭayyibī *daʿwa*, notably the Dāʾūdī Bohras.

al-ʿAzīz and the Fāṭimid campaigns in Syria

Al-Muʿizz was succeeded in 365/975 by his third son Abū Manṣūr Nizār, who adopted the title of al-ʿAzīz bi'llāh and became the first Fāṭimid caliph to begin his rule in Egypt.[66] He had been designated as the heir apparent or *walī al-ʿahd* only about a year earlier, after the death of his elder brother ʿAbd Allāh in 364/975. Al-Muʿizz had originally designated his second son ʿAbd Allāh as his successor, in preference to his eldest son Tamīm, since the latter had been suspected of cooperating with certain members of the Fāṭimid family who were intriguing against al-Muʿizz. Several documents preserved in Jawdhar's *Sīra*, compiled in the time of al-ʿAzīz, in fact reveal the existence of certain hitherto unknown discords within the inner circles of the Fāṭimid family during the reigns of

al-Manṣūr and al-Muʿizz.[67] According to these documents, some of the sons of the first two Fāṭimid caliphs, from amongst al-Manṣūr's uncles and brothers, apparently disagreed strongly with certain policies pursued by al-Manṣūr and his successor, and became involved in activities hostile to their ruling relatives. The *amīr* Tamīm, born in 337/948–949, had close relations with some of these disloyal Fāṭimids, and evidently maintained a secret correspondence with them, a fact which was brought to the attention of his father. It was probably due to these contacts, as well as his reportedly libertine manner of living, that Tamīm was passed over as the first in line for succession, in favour of his younger brother ʿAbd Allāh.[68] Around the year 357 AH, al-Muʿizz designated ʿAbd Allāh as the heir apparent to the Fāṭimid caliphate and successor to the Ismāʿīlī imamate. This nomination, which later surprised many courtiers and members of the Fāṭimid family, was at first divulged by the caliph only to the highly trusted Jawdhar (d. 363/973–974). Jawdhar, in turn, kept this secret for seven months, according to his master's instructions and reminiscent of an earlier precedent set by the caliph al-Qāʾim.[69] After ʿAbd Allāh's death, al-Muʿizz designated his third son, Nizār, as his successor. Thus Tamīm was passed over a second time, now in favour of a brother seven years his junior. Tamīm had meanwhile shunned political activity, and, unlike ʿAbd Allāh and Nizār, had not participated in any expeditions against the Qarmaṭīs. Instead, he had devoted himself to literary activities and had acquired a reputation as a poet. Tamīm b. al-Muʿizz died at an early age in Cairo, in 374 or 5/984–986.[70] Al-ʿAzīz (Nizār) personally performed the prayer over his body, which was in due course entombed in the Fāṭimid mausoleum, decorated with ornamental stuccos and wall-hangings.[71]

The consolidation and extension of Fāṭimid power in Syria, at the expense of the ʿAbbāsids and the Byzantines, became the primary objective of al-ʿAzīz in the field of territorial expansion and foreign policy. In 365/976, immediately after his accession, al-ʿAzīz despatched a Fāṭimid army to Syria under the veteran Jawhar, to retake Damascus from the Turk Alftakīn, who had allied himself with the Qarmaṭīs. But upon the arrival of new Qarmaṭī forces led by al-Aʿṣam, Jawhar was obliged to retreat to Ramla and then to ʿAsqalān, where he was besieged for nearly seventeen months. During this period, al-Aʿṣam died at Ramla in 366/977, and his cousin Jaʿfar succeeded him as the commander of the Qarmaṭīs. Jawhar was eventually permitted in 367 AH, under humiliating conditions, to return to Egypt, where he led a quiet life until his death in 381/992. Meanwhile, al-ʿAzīz himself had taken the field and defeated Alftakīn and the Qarmaṭīs near Ramla in 368/978. Alftakīn was taken captive, and the Qarmaṭīs agreed to a peace, again on the condition of receiving a sizeable tribute. Henceforth, the Qarmaṭīs of Baḥrayn were rapidly reduced to a local power. Al-ʿAzīz treated Alftakīn generously, taking him and his Turks into his service, but Alftakīn soon



1. The Fāṭimid caliphate at its height, second half of 4th/10th century

became a victim of the jealousy and hatred of the all-powerful Ibn Killis and was poisoned at his instigation in 372/982. In spite of the victory of al-ʿAzīz in Syria, Damascus remained only nominally in Fāṭimid hands for some time. Shortly afterwards, it was seized by Qassām, one of Alftakīn's former assistants. A Fāṭimid army under al-Faḍl b. Ṣāliḥ failed to defeat Qassām and withdrew to Palestine. There, a series of negotiations took place between the Fāṭimid general and the Ḥamdānid Abū Taghlib who, having been driven out of Mawṣil by the Būyid ʿAḍud al-Dawla (367–372/978–983) and having subsequently failed to take Damascus, now aspired to obtain the governorship of that city from al-ʿAzīz.[72] Abū Taghlib promised to help al-Faḍl in his renewed attempt to conquer Damascus. But the Fāṭimid general had already allied himself with the Jarrāḥid Mufarrij b. Daghfal, the master of Palestine who now competed with Abū Taghlib for the favour of al-ʿAzīz. The cooperation between Mufarrij, who captured and killed Abū Taghlib in 369/979, and the vacillating Fāṭimid general al-Faḍl, also proved to be short-lived. Soon, Mufarrij joined Qassām, who had continued to resist the Fāṭimids, but the two rebels were finally defeated in 372–373/982–983 by Baltakīn, a Turkish general in the service of the Fāṭimids. Mufarrij fled to Antioch, seeking refuge with the Byzantines, while Qassām was sent to Cairo. It may be noted that al-ʿAzīz was the first Fāṭimid to employ the services of Turks in the Fāṭimid armies, to the strong disapproval of his Berber officers, a practice that later led to serious consequences for the Fāṭimids.

Al-ʿAzīz also aimed to expand into northern Syria and, in the pursuit of this objective, he capitalized on the enmity existing between the Ḥamdānid *amīr* of Aleppo, Saʿd al-Dawla (356–381/967–991), and the latter's rebellious governor of Ḥimṣ, Bakjūr, who encouraged the Fāṭimid caliph in his conquest of Aleppo. In 373/983, Bakjūr besieged Aleppo with the help of al-ʿAzīz, but soon became obliged to lift the siege and flee, on the approach of a Byzantine army sent to aid the Ḥamdānids. Nevertheless, al-ʿAzīz kept his promise and gave Bakjūr the governorship of Damascus. In 376/986, Saʿd al-Dawla, weary of the declining power of the Būyids in the region, nominally acknowledged the sovereignty of the Fāṭimids. In spite of this, al-ʿAzīz did not abandon his plan to possess Aleppo. A few years later, Bakjūr, who had meanwhile been expelled from Damascus in 378/988 owing to the intrigues of Ibn Killis, again easily persuaded the Fāṭimid caliph to entrust him with the command of a new expedition against the Ḥamdānids of northern Syria. Receiving insufficient aid from the local Fāṭimid forces, however, he was defeated and killed in 381/991 by Saʿd al-Dawla, who was assisted effectively by the Byzantines. Following this victory, Saʿd al-Dawla seriously contemplated the invasion of the Fāṭimid possessions in Syria, but he died in 381 AH. From 382/992 until his own death four years later al-ʿAzīz made better organized attempts to conquer Aleppo but without any results, owing

to the vital assistance extended by Byzantium to Saʿd al-Dawla's son and successor Saʿīd al-Dawla (381–392/991–1002). On one occasion in 385/995, when Aleppo had been besieged for several months by Fāṭimid forces under the Turk Mangūtakīn (the then governor of Damascus), the Byzantine emperor Basil II (976–1025) personally rushed to the scene and saved the city from falling into Fāṭimid hands.

The foreign policy of al-ʿAzīz was not very active outside Syria, and even here, although he acquired Damascus, he failed in his conquest of the Ḥamdānid principality of Aleppo, a Byzantine tributary. He did, however, manage to obtain favourable terms in a treaty with the emperor Basil II, who now removed Byzantine commercial restrictions against the Fāṭimids. Al-ʿAzīz avoided direct confrontation with the Sunnī ʿAbbāsids and the Shīʿī Būyids in ʿIrāq, but tried in vain through diplomatic negotiations to have ʿAḍud al-Dawla recognize the sovereignty of the Fāṭimids. In the case of the Qarmaṭīs of Baḥrayn, al-ʿAzīz received their nominal and interrupted allegiance, mainly by paying them large annual tributes. Finally, in North Africa, al-ʿAzīz confirmed Buluggīn in his position, but under the latter's son and successor al-Manṣūr (373–386/984–996), who fought the Kutāma, the Zīrids had already begun to detach themselves from the Fāṭimid caliphate. Nevertheless, it was towards the end of al-ʿAzīz's reign that the Fāṭimid empire attained, at least nominally, its greatest extent, with Fāṭimid sovereignty being recognized from the Atlantic and the western Mediterranean to the Red Sea, the Ḥijāz, Yaman, Syria and Palestine. The *khuṭba* was read in the name of al-ʿAzīz also in Multān, and, for a short while in 382/992, even in Mawṣil, then ruled by the ʿUqaylid Abu'l-Dawādh Muḥammad (382–386/992–996), the *amīr* of the Banū ʿUqayl who had seized the region from the last Ḥamdānids of Mawṣil. At the same time, the Fāṭimid *dāʿī*s had continued to be active in many eastern regions beyond the frontiers of the Fāṭimid state, notably in various parts of Persia.[73]

Most sources name al-ʿAzīz as a very wise ruler. Besides being an excellent administrator, he knew how to utilize the services of capable men, without much regard for their religious beliefs. In regulating the affairs of the state, al-ʿAzīz was greatly helped by Abu'l-Faraj Yaʿqūb b. Yūsuf b. Killis, who had continued to serve him in various financial and administrative capacities after the death of al-Muʿizz.[74] In 367/977, al-ʿAzīz made Ibn Killis his vizier, and in 368/978, the caliph conferred on him the title of *al-wazīr al-ajall* (the illustrious vizier). Ibn Killis thus became the first vizier of the Fāṭimid dynasty and retained that position, except for two temporary dismissals, for over twelve years until his death. He was also highly instrumental in giving Egypt an extended period of economic prosperity. Ibn Killis was against the Fāṭimid invasion of Aleppo. Nevertheless, the Fāṭimid success in Syria owed much to Ibn Killis, through whose policies

the complicated situation in Syria resulting from the conflicting activities of Qassām, the Ḥamdānids and the Jarrāḥids was finally brought under control. Ibn Killis was also noted for his patronage of scholars, jurists and poets, according pensions to such men in his own entourage. He himself was an expert in Ismāʿīlī jurisprudence, which had meanwhile been developed by al-Qāḍī al-Nuʿmān. Ibn Killis composed a legal treatise, known as *al-Risāla al-wazīriyya*, based on the pronouncements of al-Muʿizz and al-ʿAzīz. This was a remarkable achievement for someone who had converted to Islam from Judaism. The credit for utilizing al-Azhar as a university also belongs to Ibn Killis. Al-ʿAzīz found it difficult to replace this outstanding vizier, who died in 380/991, with a suitable successor. Ibn Killis was followed in rapid succession by six viziers in as many years, during the remainder of al-ʿAzīz's caliphate, the last of whom was a Coptic Christian, ʿĪsā b. Nasṭūrus (385–386/995–996).[75] The latter was the first of several Christians to occupy the vizierate under the Fāṭimids. Al-ʿAzīz also appointed a number of Jews to high positions, though never to the vizierate, probably under the influence of Ibn Killis who had maintained friendly relations with the Jewish community after his own conversion. In this respect, mention may be made of Manashshā (Manasseh) b. Ibrāhīm, a close associate of Ibn Killis, who was given important posts in Fāṭimid Syria.

The unusual policy of assigning numerous high administrative posts to Christians and Jews in a Shīʿī Muslim state was basically in line with the religious toleration practised by the Fāṭimids. But al-ʿAzīz went further than his predecessors and set remarkable precedents in this area, probably being also encouraged by his Christian wife, perhaps the mother of his only surviving son and successor. It was in fact through the recommendations of al-ʿAzīz that his two brothers-in-law, Orestes and Arsenius, became respectively the Melkite patriarch of Jerusalem and the metropolitan of Cairo in 375/986. Moreover, the caliph behaved rather favourably, despite Muslim opposition, towards the Coptic patriarch Ephraim, allowing him to rebuild the church of St Mercurius near Fusṭāṭ. The Christians in particular enjoyed a large degree of religious freedom and participation in government under al-ʿAzīz, as attested by the appointment of Ibn Nasṭūrus to the vizierate and the caliph's open disposition to religious disputations between Severus, the bishop of Ashmūnayn, and Ibn al-Nuʿmān, the Fāṭimid chief jurist. The tolerant religious policy of al-ʿAzīz towards the *ahl al-dhimma* led to growing discontent amongst the predominantly Sunnī Egyptian Muslims, who later reacted by plundering several churches and murdering a number of Christians in 386/996, after the death of al-ʿAzīz. Al-ʿAzīz himself was a devout Shīʿī who greatly encouraged the observance of the mourning ceremonies of *ʿĀshūrāʾ*, commemorating the martyrdom of the Imam al-Ḥusayn at Karbalāʾ some three centuries earlier, and the Shīʿī feast of *al-Ghadīr*, celebrating the investiture of ʿAlī b. Abī

Ṭālib at Ghadīr Khumm. Both ceremonies had been introduced to Fāṭimid Egypt under al-Muʿizz.[76] These Shīʿī ceremonies were actually inaugurated at Baghdad in 352–353/963–964, in the time of the Būyid Muʿizz al-Dawla (334–356/945–967), under whose successors Twelver Shīʿī practices started to be systematically developed. The Būyids, who originally upheld Zaydī Shīʿism but later did not evidently adhere to any particular form of Shīʿism, also embellished the ʿAlid shrines of ʿIrāq.

Al-ʿAzīz bi'llāh had personally set out to lead the Fāṭimid armies, in yet another expedition against the joint forces of the Ḥamdānids of Aleppo and the Byzantines, when he suddenly fell ill and died at Bilbays, the first stop on his route to Syria, in Ramaḍān 386/October 996. His reign had lasted nearly twenty-one years.

al-Ḥākim, the Ismāʿīlī *daʿwa* and the Druze movement

Al-ʿAzīz was succeeded in 386/996 by his son Abū ʿAlī al-Manṣūr, bearing the honorific title of al-Ḥākim bi-Amr Allāh, who was only about eleven years of age. He had been designated as *walī al-ʿahd* in 383/993, following the death of his elder and only brother Muḥammad. The most controversial member of his dynasty and the first Fāṭimid caliph-imam to have been born in Egypt, al-Ḥākim received the *bayʿa* as caliph in Bilbays, to where he had accompanied his father, immediately on the latter's death. He made his entry into Cairo on the following day.[77]

Al-Ḥākim faced many problems during his relatively long caliphate. Initially, the struggle between the so-called al-Maghāriba, the western faction of the army consisting of the Berbers, and al-Mashāriqa, the eastern faction comprised mainly of Turkish and Daylamī troops, overshadowed other difficulties. It will be recalled that it was al-ʿAzīz who had encouraged the employment of Turks, along with other non-Berber groups, in the Fāṭimid forces. This policy had been adopted in order to facilitate the Fāṭimid conquest of the eastern lands, since the Turks were skilful fighters in addition to having had the valuable experience of serving in the ʿAbbāsid armies. Furthermore, al-ʿAzīz may also have aimed at undermining the monopolistic military position of the Berbers, comprised mainly of the Kutāma tribesmen, in the Fāṭimid state. To the discontent of the Berbers, the Turks had rapidly come to occupy the most important posts in the Fāṭimid armies, giving rise to serious rivalry and animosity between the two main factions of the Fāṭimid armies. This rivalry reached the point of open warfare during the early years of al-Ḥākim's rule.

The death of al-ʿAzīz provided a suitable opportunity for the Berbers to reassert themselves. The Kutāma demanded that the leadership of the government be entrusted to their chief, al-Ḥasan b. ʿAmmār. The youthful caliph capitulated

and appointed Ibn ʿAmmār as his *wāsiṭa*, the highest administrator acting as the intermediary between the caliph and his officials and subjects, a ministerial position but without the specific office or title of *wazīr*. This position, known as *wasāṭa*, henceforth became rather common under the Fāṭimids. Ibn ʿAmmār thus replaced Ibn Nasṭūrus, who was executed soon afterwards. As expected, Ibn ʿAmmār began to improve the relative position of the Berbers in the army, at the expense of al-Mashāriqa. His policies soon alarmed Barjawān, the tutor and guardian of al-Ḥākim since before the latter's accession. Being a highly ambitious person, Barjawān envisaged becoming the caliph's chief official. To this end, he sought the support of al-Mashāriqa, and, in particular, made an alliance with Mangūtakīn, the governor of Damascus, who was induced to march towards Egypt at the head of his forces. However, Mangūtakīn, abandoned along the way by his ever unreliable Jarrāḥid ally, Mufarrij, was defeated near ʿAsqalān by Ibn ʿAmmār's forces, which were commanded by Sulaymān b. Jaʿfar b. Falāḥ. The Berber Sulaymān now became the new governor of Damascus, but soon committed the serious error of dismissing Jaysh b. Ṣamṣām, a powerful Kutāma chief, from the governorship of Tripoli, replacing him with his own brother ʿAlī. Shortly afterwards, Barjawān allied himself with the dissatisfied Jaysh, who had the support of a number of other Berber chiefs, and challenged Ibn ʿAmmār's authority. This time, Ibn ʿAmmār, failing to check the street riots in Cairo which culminated in open revolt, was defeated and forced into hiding. Barjawān seized power as *wāsiṭa*, in Ramaḍān 387/October 997, and became the effective ruler of the Fāṭimid state for four years.[78] He dealt leniently with the defeated Berbers and even pardoned Ibn ʿAmmār who was, however, executed later. But the loss of position of the Berbers in the army proved to be irreversible.

Barjawān, a eunuch slave of uncertain origins, governed competently with the help of his able secretary, the Christian Fahd b. Ibrāhīm. He also attempted to reconcile the differences between al-Maghāriba and al-Mashāriqa. But he dealt harshly with the disorders in Syria, where he had sent Jaysh b. Ṣamṣām as his governor. At Tyre, Jaysh repressed the rebellion of a certain Arab adventurer, ʿAllāqa, who was supported by a Byzantine fleet. Jaysh also subdued Mufarrij, and then restored order to Damascus and defeated the Byzantines at Afāmiya in northern Syria. Following these victories, peace negotiations commenced between the Fāṭimids and the Byzantines, at the initiative of the emperor Basil II, resulting in a ten-year truce beginning in 391/1001. However, Barjawān was not so successful with his policies in the Maghrib. He did repress the disturbances at Barqa, but acted unwisely in engaging the Fāṭimid troops in battle for the first time against the Ṣanhāja Berbers serving the third Zīrid, Bādīs b. al-Manṣūr (386–406/996–1016), over the control of Tripoli. This conflict undermined the position of the Fāṭimids in the Maghrib, further weakening the loyalty of the

Zīrids towards them. It was under Bādīs that the control of the western parts of the Zīrid dominions, in the central Maghrib, was given to Ḥammād b. Buluggīn b. Zīrī (405–419/1015–1028), the progenitor of the Banū Ḥammād branch of the Zīrid family. The latter, in effect, became the founder of the Ḥammādid dynasty of the Maghrib, ruling from their newly constructed capital at Qalʿat Banī Ḥammād, northeast of Masīla, while the Zīrids continued to rule over Ifrīqiya proper from Qayrawān. Both dynasties were extinguished in the third quarter of the 6th/12th century, their territories passing to the Almohads (al-Muwaḥḥidūn).

In the meantime, al-Ḥākim had developed a deep resentment toward Barjawān, who had been severe and disciplinarian with the youthful caliph, restricting him to the palace. Al-Ḥākim had Barjawān executed in 390/1000, with the encouragement and collaboration of another eunuch slave Raydān. Henceforth, al-Ḥākim became the real ruler of the Fāṭimid state. Starting with al-Ḥusayn b. Jawhar, who succeeded Barjawān, al-Ḥākim limited both the spheres of authority and the terms of office of his *wazīr*s and *wāsiṭa*s, of whom there were more than fifteen during the last twenty years of his caliphate. Al-Ḥākim issued an endless series of decrees, which were often abolished or reversed at later dates. His changing moods and eccentricities have given rise to many different interpretations of his character. In general, modern scholarship has shown that the image of this ruler was largely distorted by al-Anṭākī (d. 458/1066), a Melkite Christian historian, and several subsequent hostile Sunnī historians. The anti-Fāṭimid tradition, in fact, attempted to make a person of monstrous and unbalanced character out of the Fāṭimid caliph. As a result of modern revaluation, al-Ḥākim is emerging as a leader who was generally popular with his subjects, attempting to please or appease various religious groups at various times. Al-Ḥākim also maintained a keen interest in the *daʿwa* organization and activities, paying special attention to the education of the Ismāʿīlī *dāʿī*s.

One of the distinguishing features of al-Ḥākim's reign was the adoption of persecutory measures against Christians and Jews. His anti-*dhimmī* policy, which took definite shape by 395/1004, was doubtless partially motivated by the caliph's desire to enhance his popularity amongst the Muslims of Egypt, who had become increasingly antagonistic towards the *dhimmī*s under al-ʿAzīz. Furthermore, by directing his anti-Christian measures mainly against the Melkites, he may have wished to win the support of the Copts, who comprised the Christian majority in Egypt. In any event, al-Ḥākim imposed numerous restrictions on Christians and Jews, who were also obliged to observe the precepts of Islamic law. Numerous churches and monasteries were demolished, and others were converted to mosques. In 400/1009, al-Ḥākim apparently even ordered the destruction of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem,[79] an act which greatly anguished Christians throughout the world and brought to an end the Fāṭimid–Byzantine

truce. In 406/1015–1016, the emperor Basil II issued an edict forbidding commercial relations between Byzantium and the Fāṭimid caliphate, initiating a declining trend in Fāṭimid trade with Europe. On the other hand, in 404/1013, al-Ḥākim allowed those Christians and Jews who had been obliged to embrace Islam to revert to their original faiths or to emigrate to Byzantine territories. Still later, he restored some of the churches and adopted a more conciliatory attitude towards Christians and their religious practices. In the meantime, al-Ḥākim had maintained his anti-Sunnī measures, although at times he intensified them and then had them temporarily revoked. For instance, his order for the denouncement of Abū Bakr, his two successors and others amongst the *ṣaḥāba*, issued in 395 AH and according to which the relevant maledictions were inscribed on the walls of the mosques, was repealed after two years, only to be reintroduced in 403/1013.

One of al-Ḥākim's most important acts was the foundation of the Dār al-ʿIlm (House of Knowledge), sometimes also called Dār al-Ḥikma (House of Wisdom), which was set up in 395/1005 in a section of the Fāṭimid palace in Cairo.[80] A variety of religious and other subjects, ranging from the Qurʾān, *ḥadīth* and jurisprudence (*fiqh*) to logic, grammar, astronomy and mathematics, were taught at this institution of learning, which was equipped also with a major library. Functioning as a true academy, the Dār al-ʿIlm was used by scholars of different religious persuasions. Many Ismāʿīlī *dāʿī*s received at least part of their training at this institution, which also variously served the Fāṭimid Ismāʿīlī *daʿwa*. Later, the chief *dāʿī* al-Muʾayyad fi'l-Dīn al-Shīrāzī resided in the Dār al-ʿIlm and conducted the affairs of the *daʿwa* from there. In later Fāṭimid times, the Dār al-ʿIlm was moved to a new location and it more closely served the needs of the *daʿwa*. Al-Ḥākim often attended the lectures at the Dār al-ʿIlm, some of which were reserved only for Ismāʿīlīs. In 400 AH, al-Ḥākim apparently founded a separate Sunnī institution of learning at Fusṭāṭ, under two Mālikī scholars,[81] but it was closed down three years later. Al-Ḥākim also concerned himself with the moral standards of his subjects and issued many edicts of an ethico-social nature.

He was also prepared to mete out severe punishments. A long list of *wazīr*s, *wāsiṭa*s, commanders and other dignitaries, starting with Barjawān, lost their lives at his order, including Fahd b. Ibrāhīm, ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn al-Maghribī, Ṣāliḥ b. ʿAlī, Manṣūr b. ʿAbdūn, al-Faḍl b. Ṣāliḥ, al-Ḥusayn b. Jawhar, al-Ḥusayn b. Ẓāhir al-Wazzān, and al-Faḍl b. Jaʿfar b. al-Furāt. Of the five persons who held the post of chief *dāʿī* under al-Ḥākim, al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī b. al-Nuʿmān, and his cousin ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Muḥammad b. al-Nuʿmān as well as Mālik b. Saʿīd, all three prominent personalities who simultaneously held the prestigious office of *qāḍī al-quḍāt*, were executed.

There occurred several disturbances and open revolts during al-Ḥākim's caliphate. The most serious of these revolts, lasting about two years, was that of Abū Rakwa Walīd b. Hishām, who claimed to be related to the Umayyads of Spain. He started his revolt in 395/1004 in the region of Barqa (Cyrenaica), receiving support from the Zanāta Berbers and the Arab tribe of the Banū Qurra. Abū Rakwa defeated the Fāṭimid forces sent against him and seized Barqa at the end of 395/1005. About a year after this victory, Abū Rakwa left Barqa on the verge of famine and plague and besieged Alexandria for several months. Subsequently, he proceeded as far as Fayyūm, where the rebels were eventually defeated by Fāṭimid troops under the command of al-Faḍl b. Ṣāliḥ. Abū Rakwa, who had sought refuge in Nubia, was delivered to the Fāṭimids and was executed in Cairo in 397/1007. It was during this revolt that al-Ḥākim decided to adopt more liberal policies, also revising his anti-Sunnī measures.

The Jarrāḥids of Palestine led another important rebellion against al-Ḥākim. The ambitious Mufarrij b. Daghfal, who had helped the Fāṭimids against Abū Rakwa, but was always ready to change sides and desired a semi-independent state of his own, rose in revolt in 402/1011–1012. He ambushed and killed the new Fāṭimid governor of Damascus, the Turk Yārūkh, and then occupied Ramla, the main city of southern Palestine. In 403/1012, Mufarrij, assisted by his three sons, took the further significant step of proclaiming an anti-caliph in the person of the *sharīf* of Mecca, the ʿAlid al-Ḥasan b. Jaʿfar, known as Abu'l-Futūḥ. The latter was acknowledged as such in the Ḥijāz and Palestine, where the *khuṭba* came to be read in his name. However, the victory of the Jarrāḥids lasted just over two years, during which time Mufarrij attempted to win the favour of the Byzantine emperor and the Christians of Jerusalem by the partial restoration of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. Al-Ḥākim succeeded in persuading the Jarrāḥids to abandon the anti-caliph, whom they had set up at Ramla. Abu'l-Futūḥ now chose to return to Mecca, where he was pardoned and reappointed as the *sharīf* of Mecca by the Fāṭimid caliph.[82] But the Jarrāḥids retained their mastery of Palestine, where they menaced the inhabitants and raided the pilgrim caravans going from Egypt to the Ḥijāz. In 404/1013, al-Ḥākim decided to deal with the Jarrāḥids more effectively and sent a large army against them. Soon after, Mufarrij died suddenly, perhaps having been poisoned. Thereupon, two of Mufarrij's sons, ʿAlī and Maḥmūd, surrendered, while the third, Ḥassān, later succeeded in obtaining al-Ḥākim's pardon. Ḥassān b. Mufarrij, who was permitted to regain his father's lands in Palestine and who now became the dominant figure of the Jarrāḥid family, remained loyal to the Fāṭimids throughout the rest of al-Ḥākim's reign.[83]

In North Africa, al-Ḥākim did not lose any important territory. However, during the last years of his caliphate, the Ismāʿīlīs began to be severely persecuted in Ifrīqiya. Ismāʿīlism had never deeply penetrated the masses there, including

the region's Berber tribesmen, and only small urban groups, in addition to the Kutāma and the Ṣanhāja Berbers, had been won over by the Ismāʿīlī *daʿwa*. With the transfer of the seat of the Fāṭimid state to Cairo, large numbers of the Kutāma tribesmen and leading *dāʿī*s had migrated to Egypt, leaving behind in Ifrīqiya the superficially converted Ṣanhāja to defend Ismāʿīlism in an overwhelmingly Sunnī area. This area was ruled over by the Zīrids, who were rapidly losing their own allegiance towards the Fāṭimids. Consequently, conditions soon become opportune for the anti-Shīʿī sentiments of the Sunnī inhabitants of Ifrīqiya. In 407/1016–1017, following the accession of the Zīrid al-Muʿizz b. Bādīs (406–454/1016–1062), the Ismāʿīlīs of Qayrawān, Mahdiyya, Tunis, Tripoli and other towns were massacred by the Sunnīs of Ifrīqiya, under the leadership of their Mālikī jurists and scholars, and with the connivance of the Zīrids. These persecutions and popular riots against the Ismāʿīlīs continued, and their communities in Ifrīqiya were practically extinguished by the time the Zīrid al-Muʿizz transferred his allegiance to the ʿAbbāsids a few decades later.[84]

On the other hand, al-Ḥākim was successful in Syria and finally managed to extend Fāṭimid authority to the principality of Aleppo, which had begun to decline after the assassination in 392/1002 of the Ḥamdānid Saʿīd al-Dawla on the order of his minister Luʾluʾ. After this event, Luʾluʾ became the effective ruler in Aleppo, though initially he acted as regent for Saʿīd al-Dawla's two sons, who were later exiled to Cairo in 394/1003–1004. Luʾluʾ died in 399/1008–1009 and was succeeded by his son Manṣūr, who received investiture from al-Ḥākim and in effect became a Fāṭimid vassal. Al-Ḥākim supported Manṣūr against Abu'l-Hayjāʾ, a son of Saʿīd al-Dawla, who unsuccessfully endeavoured, with the help of the Byzantines, to restore Ḥamdānid rule to Aleppo. But in 406/1015–1016 Manṣūr was defeated by the chief of the Banū Kilāb, Ṣāliḥ b. Mirdās, and took refuge with the Byzantines. Soon afterwards, the Fāṭimid troops occupied Aleppo, and the first Fāṭimid governor, Fātik, entered the city in 407/1017. However in 414/1023 Aleppo fell to Ṣāliḥ b. Mirdās, whose descendants, the Mirdāsids, continued to rule (with the exception of brief periods) over northern Syria until 472/1079, when they were overthrown by the ʿUqaylids. With some occasional periods of conflict, the Mirdāsids acknowledged the nominal suzerainty of the Fāṭimids.

By the time of al-Ḥākim, the Fāṭimids had generally come to realize the difficulty of achieving a speedy conquest of the Muslim East. In effect, a stalemate had developed between the Fāṭimid and the Būyid regimes. Nonetheless, whilst more concerned now with a lasting settlement in Egypt, the Fāṭimids still aimed at penetrating the eastern lands of the Muslim world through their *daʿwa* activities. As a result, the Ismāʿīlī *daʿwa* was greatly expanded under al-Ḥākim, who also concerned himself with the training of the *dāʿī*s. The Ismāʿīlī *dāʿī*s, who were

carefully selected and trained at the Dār al-ʿIlm and elsewhere in Cairo, were despatched to various regions in the Muslim world, both inside and outside the Fāṭimid state. Within the Fāṭimid dominions, numerous *dāʿī*s, such as Abu'l-Fawāris (d. ca. 413/1022), who wrote a valuable treatise on the doctrine of the imamate,[85] worked in Syria where they eventually won many converts. In Egypt itself, the *dāʿī*s operated in rural as well as urban areas, and large numbers of Egyptians gathered in different locations to listen to lectures on Shīʿism. More significantly, the *daʿwa* now became particularly active outside the Fāṭimid state, in the eastern provinces of the Muslim world, and above all in ʿIrāq and Persia. A large number of *dāʿī*s were assigned to those territories, where they targeted various social strata. In ʿIrāq, the seat of the ʿAbbāsid caliphate, the *dāʿī*s seem to have particularly concentrated their efforts on local rulers and influential Arab tribal chiefs, with whose support they aimed to bring about the downfall of the ʿAbbāsids.[86]

Foremost amongst the Fāṭimid *dāʿī*s operating in the eastern regions during the reign of al-Ḥākim, was Ḥamīd al-Dīn Aḥmad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Kirmānī, an eminent Ismāʿīlī philosopher, and, arguably, the most learned and talented Ismāʿīlī theologian and author of the entire Fāṭimid period.[87] As in the case of other prominent *dāʿī*s who observed strict secrecy in their affairs, few details are known about al-Kirmānī's life and activities. A prolific writer, he was of Persian origin and was probably born in Kirmān, later maintaining his contacts with the Ismāʿīlī community in that region of Persia. He addressed one of his treatises to a subordinate *dāʿī* in Jīruft, situated in Kirmān. Al-Kirmānī seems to have spent the greater part of his life as a Fāṭimid *dāʿī* in ʿIrāq, being particularly active in Baghdad and Baṣra. The honorific title *ḥujjat al-ʿIrāqayn*, meaning the chief *dāʿī* of both ʿIrāqs (al-ʿIrāq al-ʿArabī and al-ʿIrāq al-ʿAjamī), which is often added to his name and which may be of a late origin, implies that he was also active in the northwestern and west-central parts of Persia known as the ʿIrāq al-ʿAjam. In the early years of the 5th/11th century, he was summoned to Cairo and intervened in the controversy that had developed amongst the Fāṭimid *dāʿī*s there, concerning the nature of the imamate. Specifically, he argued against those extremist *dāʿī*s who had begun to preach the divinity of al-Ḥākim. Thereafter, he apparently returned to ʿIrāq, where he completed his last and principal work, *Rāḥat al-ʿaql* (*Repose of the Intellect*), in 411/1020–1021 and where he died soon afterwards. In this work, which is an original attempt at interfacing Ismāʿīlī theology with a number of philosophical traditions, al-Kirmānī, who was well acquainted with the Judaeo-Christian sacred scriptures and Hebrew and Syriac languages,[88] presents many new ideas, including a new cosmological system.

The activities of al-Kirmānī and other Ismāʿīlī *dāʿī*s soon bore fruit, especially in Baghdad and elsewhere in ʿIrāq where the Shīʿīs, being pressured by the ʿAbbāsids

who were now acquiring a greater degree of independence from their Būyid overlords, were more readily attracted to Fāṭimid Ismāʿīlism. In 401/1010–1011, Qirwāsh b. al-Muqallad (391–442/1001–1050), the ʿUqaylid ruler of Mawṣil, Kūfa, Madāʾin and some other towns, whose family adhered to Shīʿism and whose uncle Muḥammad had earlier rallied to the side of al-ʿAzīz, acknowledged the suzerainty of the Fāṭimids and had the *khuṭba* read in the name of al-Ḥākim. In the same year, ʿAlī al-Asadī, chief of the Banū Asad, declared his loyalty to al-Ḥākim in Ḥilla and other districts under his control. Being alarmed by the success of the Ismāʿīlī *daʿwa* within his territories, and indeed at the very doorstep of Baghdad, the ʿAbbāsid caliph al-Qādir (381–422/991–1031) decided to take retaliatory measures. Still in 401 AH, he obliged Qirwāsh, by threatening to use military force against him, to transfer his allegiance back to the ʿAbbāsids. And in 402/1011, he launched his own carefully planned anti-Fāṭimid propaganda campaign. It was in that year that al-Qādir sponsored the already-noted Baghdad manifesto to discredit the Fāṭimids. He assembled a number of Sunnī and Shīʿī scholars at his court in Baghdad, amongst them some prominent ʿAlids such as the celebrated Imāmī theologians al-Sharīf al-Raḍī (d. 406/1015) and his brother al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā (d. 436/1044–1045), who also acted as intermediaries between the ʿAbbāsids and the Būyids. He commanded them to declare in a written statement that al-Ḥākim and his predecessors were imposters with no genuine Fāṭimid ʿAlid ancestry. This manifesto was read in mosques throughout the ʿAbbāsid caliphate, to the deep annoyance of al-Ḥākim. In addition, al-Qādir commissioned several theologians, including the Muʿtazilī ʿAlī b. Saʿīd al-Iṣṭakhrī (d. 404/1013–1014), to write treatises condemning the Fāṭimids and their doctrines.

The Fāṭimid Ismāʿīlī *daʿwa* continued in the east, however, and it is reported that al-Ḥākim even attempted in 403/1012–1013, though without results, to obtain the allegiance of Maḥmūd of Ghazna who had two years earlier massacred the Ismāʿīlīs of Multān.[89] Most of the Qarmaṭī communities outside Baḥrayn, too, soon either embraced Fāṭimid Ismāʿīlism or disintegrated. Meanwhile, the power of the Qarmaṭīs of Baḥrayn had been rapidly declining. In 375/985, the Būyids inflicted two heavy defeats on the Qarmaṭīs, who had endeavoured to re-establish their hold over southern ʿIrāq by occupying Kūfa. And in 378/988, they suffered another humiliating defeat at the hands of al-Aṣfar, chief of the Banu'l-Muntafiq, who then besieged al-Aḥsāʾ and pillaged Qaṭīf. Henceforth, the Qarmaṭīs lost the privilege of taxing the pilgrim caravans to al-Aṣfar and other tribal chiefs of the region. Subsequently in 382/992, the Qarmaṭīs of Baḥrayn renewed their nominal political allegiance to the Fāṭimid al-ʿAzīz, probably in exchange for the resumption of the Fāṭimid annual tribute which had been discontinued after al-Aṣfar's victory in 378 AH. However, they continued to adhere to their own

dissident form of Qarmaṭī Ismāʿīlism and avoided any doctrinal rapprochement with the Fāṭimid Ismāʿīlīs. In al-Ḥākim's time, relations between the Qarmaṭīs of Baḥrayn and the Fāṭimids were evidently hostile, though no specific details are available. By this time, the Qarmaṭīs of Baḥrayn had indeed become a local power and not much is known about their subsequent history.

In the meantime, al-Ḥākim had developed a strong inclination towards asceticism. In 403/1012–1013, he forbade his subjects from prostrating before him and also dressed simply and rode on a donkey. In 404/1013, he made yet another unprecedented decision in appointing ʿAbd al-Raḥīm b. Ilyās b. Aḥmad, a great-grandson of ʿAbd Allāh al-Mahdī, as his *walī al-ʿahd*, to the exclusion of his own son ʿAlī.[90] Thereupon, al-Ḥākim delegated all the affairs of state, at least for some time, to his heir apparent, who attended the official ceremonies and later also became the governor of Damascus. In the final years of al-Ḥākim's reign, there occurred an open division amongst the *dāʿīs* in Egypt, which led to the genesis of what was to become known as the Druze religion. This religion, though originally derived from Fāṭimid Ismāʿīlism, came to represent so many doctrinal innovations as to be considered as falling beyond the confines of Ismāʿīlism or even Shīʿī Islam. We shall, therefore, consider only the highlights of the origins of the Druzes (Arabic, Durūz or Drūz; singular, Durzī).[91]

Al-Ḥākim's imamate witnessed the formation and circulation of certain extremist ideas amongst some *dāʿīs* who had come to Cairo from Persia and Central Asia regarding the powers and attributes of this Fāṭimid caliph-imam. These ideas found their roots in the eschatological expectations of the Ismāʿīlīs and, more importantly, in the speculations of the Shīʿī *ghulāt* of earlier times, especially the Khaṭṭābiyya. The earliest expressions of extremist ideas regarding al-Ḥākim and the identity of their proponents are shrouded in obscurity. It seems however that a certain al-Ḥasan b. Ḥaydara al-Akhram may have been the first *dāʿī* who began to organize early in 408/1017 (the opening year of the Druze era) a movement for the purpose of proclaiming the divinity of al-Ḥākim. The Fāṭimid Ismāʿīlī *daʿwa*, in line with the basic tenets of the doctrine of the imamate, recognized al-Ḥākim as the divinely appointed, sinless and infallible leader of mankind as well as the true guardian of Islam and the authoritative interpreter of the Islamic revelation. But on the basis of their beliefs, the Fāṭimid Ismāʿīlīs could not acknowledge him or any other Fāṭimid caliph-imam as a divine being. Consequently, the official *daʿwa* organization was categorically opposed to this new movement that was gaining a growing number of adherents amongst the Egyptian Ismāʿīlīs. Soon afterwards, al-Akhram, who had been attempting to win over prominent officials by sending them letters, was assassinated in Ramaḍān 408/January–February 1018, while riding in the retinue of al-Ḥākim.

With al-Akhram's death, the propaganda of the new movement was suspended until Muḥarram 410/May 1019, when it was resumed under the leadership of Ḥamza b. ʿAlī b. Aḥmad, a former associate of al-Akhram and of Persian origin. Ḥamza established his headquarters at the mosque of Raydān, outside the walls of Cairo, where he began to preach the new doctrine. Soon, Ḥamza came to confront a prominent rival in the person of the *dāʿī* Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl al-Darazī (or al-Darzī), also known as Nashtakīn, a Turk from Bukhārā. Although he may initially have been one of Ḥamza's disciples, he now acted independently, competing with Ḥamza for winning the movement's leadership. Al-Darazī (Persian, 'the tailor'), after whom the movement later became designated as al-Daraziyya and al-Durziyya (in addition to being called al-Ḥākimiyya), attracted many of Ḥamza's followers and was in fact the first to declare publicly al-Ḥākim's divinity. This occasioned several riots in protest at the new preaching, and the ensuing unrest was aggravated when, in 410/1019, Ḥamza sent a delegation to the Fāṭimid *qāḍī al-quḍāt* demanding his conversion. Now the Turkish troops of al-Ḥākim turned against the movement, killing a number of al-Darazī's followers, while the latter managed to take refuge at the Fāṭimid palace. It was under these circumstances that al-Darazī vanished mysteriously in 410 AH, probably killed whilst in the palace. Subsequently, the Fāṭimid troops besieged Ḥamza and a number of his disciples in the Raydān mosque. But Ḥamza succeeded in going into hiding, and by Rabīʿ II 410/August 1019 he had regained al-Ḥākim's favour. Ḥamza now gave the Ḥākim cult its definitive theological form and developed a strong *daʿwa* organization for the propagation of the new doctrine, under his own overall leadership. He was assisted by a number of *dāʿī*s and disciples, notably Abū Ibrāhīm Ismāʿīl b. Muḥammad al-Tamīmī, Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. al-Wahb al-Qurashī, Abu'l-Khayr Salāma b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb al-Sāmurrī, and Abu'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Aḥmad al-Ṭāʾī, also known as Bahāʾ al-Dīn al-Muqtanā. The Druze movement was indeed the cause of much of the unrest that occurred during the closing years of al-Ḥākim's caliphate.

Contrary to the claims of some later Sunnī authors, there is no evidence suggesting that al-Ḥākim himself had in any way encouraged or supported the extremist ideas upheld by the founders of the Druze movement. For instance, al-Ḥākim never laid claims to divinity in any of his numerous edicts, and the leadership of the *daʿwa* organization in Cairo was categorically opposed to this movement. It was under such circumstances that the leaders of the *daʿwa* in Cairo launched a campaign of their own against the new doctrine. They declared that al-Ḥākim had never supported the extremist ideas propagated by the dissident *dāʿī*s, circulating special decrees and documents to this effect. As part of the official Fāṭimid attack on the Ḥākim cult, al-Kirmānī, the most distinguished *dāʿī* of the time, who had already elaborated (around 404/1013) the stances of

the Ismāʿīlī *daʿwa* on the doctrine of the imamate in a special treatise,[92] was summoned to Cairo to refute the new doctrine from a theological perspective. In Egypt, he produced several works to that end. In 405–406/1014–1015, al-Kirmānī wrote a *Risāla* on imamate in general and on al-Ḥākim's imamate in particular, upholding that al-Ḥākim was the sole legitimate imam of the time who, like his predecessors, was divinely appointed though not divine himself.[93] In another *Risāla* known as *al-Wāʿiẓa*,[94] composed in 408/1017 as a reply to a pamphlet by al-Akhram, al-Kirmānī rejects the claim of al-Ḥākim's divinity (*ulūhiyya*) and accuses the dissenters of *ghuluww* and *kufr*. Recognizing that the Druze 'heresy' was essentially rooted in the hopes for the advent of the Qāʾim with its eschatological implications raised by earlier Ismāʿīlī teaching, al-Kirmānī repudiated the ideas that the resurrection (*qiyāma*) had occurred with the appearance of al-Ḥākim and that the era of Islam had ended. The era of Islam and the validity of its *sharīʿa* would, he argued, continue under al-Ḥākim's numerous prospective successors as imams. He also discussed other issues concerning God, the imam, etc., raised by al-Akhram, who, according to al-Kirmānī, had propagated his false ideas against the wishes of al-Ḥākim. Another of al-Kirmānī's works, produced after 407 AH and discussing the subject of divine unity (*al-tawḥīd*),[95] also had a direct bearing on the controversy.

Al-Kirmānī's writings, which were widely circulated, were to some extent successful in checking the spread of extremism in the inner circles of the *daʿwa* organization, and influencing many dissident *dāʿī*s to return to the fold of Fāṭimid Ismāʿīlism. Nevertheless, the new doctrine expounded by al-Akhram, al-Darazī and Ḥamza continued to spread. When al-Ḥākim disappeared in 411/1021, Ḥamza and several of his chief assistants went into hiding, while the adherents of the Ḥākim cult became subject to severe persecutions in Egypt during the first years under al-Ḥākim's successor. In this period, when all activities on behalf of the new doctrine had been suspended, the leadership of the Druze movement was entrusted to al-Muqtanā who was apparently in contact with Ḥamza. It is not known when or how Ḥamza died, but his return was still expected in 430/1038 by al-Muqtanā, who had resumed the open activities of the movement in 418/1027. Meanwhile, the Druze movement had been fading in Egypt, from where al-Muqtanā had sent letters to various regions. The movement acquired its greatest success in Syria, where a number of Druze *dāʿī*s had been active. In fact, the new doctrine seems to have provided the ideology for a wave of peasant revolts in Syria, which became the permanent home of the Druzes.

By 425/1034, al-Muqtanā had won many new converts in the eastern Ismāʿīlī communities and as far as Multān,[96] where the Ismāʿīlīs had survived the persecutions of the Ghaznawids. Soon, al-Muqtanā's leadership was challenged by several of his subordinates, notably a certain Ibn al-Kurdī, and Sukayn, who

was the leading Druze *dāʿī* in Syria. Thus, the movement lost much of its earlier vigour and proselytizing success. Al-Muqtanā withdrew from his adherents after 429/1037, though he continued to send out letters until 435/1043, when the active call of the movement also ended. Henceforth, the Druzes became a closed community, permitting neither conversion nor apostasy. The extant letters of al-Muqtanā, together with those written by Ḥamza and Ismāʿīl b. Muḥammad al-Tamīmī, were collected into a canon which today serves as the sacred scripture of the Druzes. This canon, arranged in six books, is designated as the *Rasāʾil al-ḥikma* (*The Books of Wisdom*), also called *al-Ḥikma al-sharīfa*. The Druzes, who are still awaiting the reappearance of al-Ḥākim and Ḥamza, guard their sacred literature and doctrines most secretly. Today, there are some 300,000 Druzes in the Middle East, mainly in Syria, especially in the Ḥawrān mountainous region, as well as in Lebanon and Israel. Smaller Druze communities are settled in the Americas, Australia and West Africa.

The doctrines of the Druzes, who call themselves the Muwaḥḥidūn, 'Unitarians', signifying their emphasis on God's unity (*al-tawḥīd*), were based on the eschatological expectations of the Ismāʿīlīs and the special type of Neoplatonism which had earlier come to be adopted into the cosmological doctrine of the Fāṭimid Ismāʿīlīs. The founders of the Druze religion were, moreover, greatly influenced by certain beliefs, notably the incarnation or *ḥulūl* of the divine essence in human bodies, held by the early Shīʿī *ghulāt*, especially the Khaṭṭābiyya, who believed in the divinity of the imams. Under such influences, Ḥamza and his chief associates believed in the periodical manifestations of the divine spirit in human form. They taught that in their time, the ultimate One, the Godhead, who had created the universal intellect or intelligence (*al-ʿaql al-kullī*), the first cosmic emanation or principle who was himself beyond name or rank, was embodied in the person of al-Ḥākim. In other words, al-Ḥākim was the last *maqām*, or locus, of the Creator, and it was only by recognising al-Ḥākim that men could purify themselves. On the other hand, Ḥamza himself had now become the imam, the human guide of the believers and the embodiment of the *ʿaql al-kullī*. However, the imam's function no longer included *taʾwīl*, since the time had arrived for the removal of the distinction between the exoteric and esoteric dimensions of religion. Henceforth, the imam was to help the believers to realize themselves by recognizing the unity of God through al-Ḥākim. Ḥamza also expected al-Ḥākim to initiate the final era of the sacred history, abrogating all the previous religious laws, including the *sharīʿa* of Islam and its Ismāʿīlī interpretation. In effect, Ḥamza's teaching represented a new religion superseding all the previous religions, and falling outside Ismāʿīlism. This religion laid a special emphasis on the here-and-now presence of the One at the expense of the subordinate emanations in the universe that were ultimately caused by the One. What mattered

above all else was the worshipping of the One, revealed clearly in al-Ḥākim. This is why the Druzes refer to their religion as the *dīn al-tawḥīd*.

On the basis of the Druze emanational doctrine of cosmology, Ḥamza assigned cosmic ranks, derived from corresponding cosmic emanations, to prominent members of his *daʿwa* organization. There were five such ranks, called the *ḥudūd*. Besides the universal intellect (*al-ʿaql al-kullī*) embodied in Ḥamza himself, there were the universal soul (*al-nafs al-kulliyya*), the word (*al-kalima*), the right wing (*al-janāḥ al-ayman*) also called the preceder (*al-sābiq*), and the left wing (*al-janāḥ al-aysar*) also called the follower (*al-tālī*). The last four ranks were held, respectively, by Ismāʿīl b. Muḥammad al-Tamīmī, Muḥammad b. al-Wahb al-Qurashī, Salāma b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb al-Sāmurrī, and Bahāʾ al-Dīn al-Muqtanā. In Druze terminology, these *ḥudūd* are the five highest ministers, or disciples, of al-Ḥākim, embodying the five highest cosmic emanations or principles. Below them, there were three other ranks, viz., *dāʿī, maʾdhūn*, and *mukāsir* (or *naqīb*), in charge of the various aspects of propagating the new faith, corresponding to the cosmic principles *jadd*, *fatḥ* and *khayāl*. Subordinated to all these ranks were the common believers. From the time of al-Muqtanā's withdrawal, Ḥamza's hierarchical propaganda organization, including its *dāʿī*s and lower dignitaries, gradually fell into disuse, and the Druze canon came to serve in place of the absent *ḥudūd*. Since then, while the Druzes have been expecting the return of al-Ḥākim and Ḥamza, a much simpler religious organization has taken shape amongst the Druzes of the Middle East. The members of the Druze community have been divided into the *ʿuqqāl* (singular, *ʿāqil*), 'sages', who are initiated into the truths of the faith, and the *juhhāl* (singular, *jāhil*), 'ignorant persons', the majority of the uninitiated members, who are not permitted to read the more secret Druze writings. Any adult Druze may be initiated after considerable preparation and trial. Subsequently, he is obliged to live a strictly religious life. The more learned amongst the *ʿuqqāl* are given special authority in the community as *shaykh*s. They spend much time copying the epistles contained in the Druze canon, offering spiritual guidance to the *juhhāl* and presiding over various communal ceremonies and functions. The Druzes, who possess elaborate doctrines of cosmology and eschatology, believe in metempsychosis or *tanāsukh*. According to them, there are a fixed number of souls in existence and all souls are reincarnated immediately after death in other human bodies. Ḥamza attacked the Nuṣayrī doctrine that the soul of a sinful person may enter the body of lower animals. In the end, when al-Ḥākim and Ḥamza reappear to establish justice in the world, the best amongst the Druzes will be nearest to al-Ḥākim.

Al-Ḥākim's asceticism increased in the closing years of his reign, when he took to nocturnal walks in the streets of Cairo and Fusṭāṭ as well as long solitary excursions in the countryside, especially on the Muqaṭṭam hills outside Cairo.

Al-Ḥākim's end was as enigmatic as his life. On 27 Shawwāl 411/13 February 1021, he left for one of his usual outings to the Muqaṭṭam hills and never returned. A futile search was conducted for the thirty-six-year-old caliph and a few days later his riding donkey and his clothes, pierced by dagger cuts, were found. His body was never recovered, and subsequently several stories came into circulation regarding the incident. According to one version, al-Ḥākim was assassinated, perhaps on the order of his half-sister, Sitt al-Mulk, whose own life had been threatened by the caliph. According to another version, he was killed and his body was carefully hidden at the instigation of Ḥamza, so as to enable the Druze leaders to capitalize on the caliph's mysterious disappearance for their own religious purposes. In fact, the Druzes interpret al-Ḥākim's disappearance as a voluntary retreat initiating his *ghayba* or occultation. His caliphate and imamate had lasted just over twenty-four years.

al-Ẓāhir and Sitt al-Mulk

In the immediate aftermath of al-Ḥākim's disappearance, his half-sister Sitt al-Mulk, or Sayyidat al-Mulk, played a key role in ensuring the smooth succession to the Fāṭimid throne of al-Ḥākim's sole son Abu'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī, with the caliphal title of Ẓāhir li-Iʿzāz Dīn Allāh.[97] The daughter of the Fāṭimid caliph-imam al-ʿAzīz, Sitt al-Mulk was born in 359/970 at Manṣūriyya and, like many other daughters of Fāṭimid caliphs, she never married, for dynastic reasons. On al-ʿAzīz's death, she had evidently attempted in vain to get a cousin, a son of ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Muʿizz, to succeed to the Fāṭimid caliphate rather than her own much younger half-brother al-Ḥākim. Subsequently, this influential and shrewd Fāṭimid princess with a large retinue and impressive land properties seems to have exercised some influence on al-Ḥākim. However, during the final years of al-Ḥākim's rule relations had deteriorated between the caliph and his sister, who gave protection in her palace to al-Ḥākim's son ʿAlī and his mother. As already noted, in 404/1013–1014, al-Ḥākim had bypassed his sole son and had instead designated a cousin, ʿAbd al-Raḥīm b. Ilyās, as heir apparent. For the remainder of al-Ḥākim's reign, the youthful ʿAlī, the future caliph al-Ẓāhir, was brought up and educated in Sitt al-Mulk's palace under her close tutelage.

On al-Ḥākim's disappearance, Sitt al-Mulk used all her power and influence to eliminate ʿAbd al-Raḥīm b. Ilyās, who was then serving as the governor of Damascus. He was lured to Cairo where he was imprisoned and later met his death under obscure circumstances. At the same time, she publicly denounced the Kutāma chief Ibn Dawwās, who had been implicated in al-Ḥākim's death, and had him executed. At any rate, about forty days after al-Ḥākim's disappearance,

Sitt al-Mulk had her sixteen-year-old nephew, Abu'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī, proclaimed as caliph and imam, while she retained the reins of government in her own hands as regent.[98] For the next two years, until her death in 413/1023, Sitt al-Mulk, who is given various names in the sources, such as *al-sayyida al-ʿamma* (the princess-aunt), ruled efficiently to restore order to the affairs of the Fāṭimid state, also addressing certain earlier religious and social policies which had caused various grievances. It may be noted here that from the time of al-Ẓāhir, the Fāṭimid throne always fell to children or minors, while regents, viziers or military commanders held the actual reins of power for extended periods.

After Sitt al-Mulk, who had also re-opened negotiations with Byzantium, real political authority came to be vested in al-Ẓāhir's *wāsiṭa*, and later *wazīr*, ʿAlī b. Aḥmad al-Jarjarāʾī, whose hands had been cut off on al-Ḥākim's orders. Al-Jarjarāʾī ruled with the help of other notables of the state and without the participation of the young caliph. In 415/1024, Egypt suffered a severe famine, which lasted for several years and led to an economic crisis and riots in Cairo and elsewhere. In 416/1025, the Fāṭimid regime began once again to persecute the Sunnīs, culminating in the expulsion of all the Mālikī *faqīh*s from Egypt. In 423/1032, partial agreement was reached between the Fāṭimid and the Byzantine empires, permitting the Byzantine emperor to reconstruct the ruined Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem. Meanwhile, the *daʿwa* continued to be active in many regions. In particular, the Ismāʿīlī *dāʿī*s won many converts in ʿIrāq, having taken advantage of the disturbances caused by the Turkish soldiery during the reign of the Būyid Jalāl al-Dawla (416–435/1025–1044).

Fāṭimid control of Syria was seriously threatened during the caliphate of al-Ẓāhir by the alliance between the Jarrāḥids of Palestine, the Kalbīs of central Syria and the Kilābīs of northern Syria. In 415/1024–1025, the Jarrāḥid Ḥassān b. Mufarrij renewed a pact of cooperation with the Kalbid Sinān b. Sulaymān and the Kilābid Ṣāliḥ b. Mirdās, who had already seized Aleppo from the lieutenant of the Fāṭimids in the previous year. According to this pact, Damascus was allotted to Sinān, Aleppo to Ṣāliḥ and Palestine to the ambitious Ḥassān. These allies defeated the Fāṭimid forces at ʿAsqalān. After Sinān's death, however, the Kalbīs rallied to the side of the Fāṭimids, enabling the Fāṭimid general Anūshtigin al-Duzbarī to defeat the joint forces of Ḥassān and Ṣāliḥ at Uqḥuwāna in Palestine in 420/1029, and to reoccupy Damascus. Ṣāliḥ b. Mirdās was killed in battle, and Ḥassān, together with his Ṭayy tribesmen, took refuge in Byzantine territory. Due to the efforts of Anūshtigin, who seized Aleppo from the Mirdāsids in 429/1038, Fāṭimid domination was re-established in Syria and then extended to the neighbouring areas as far as Ḥarrān, Sarūj and Raqqa. The seventh Fāṭimid caliph al-Ẓāhir died of plague in his early thirties in Shaʿbān 427/June 1036, after an imamate and caliphate of fifteen years.

al-Mustanṣir's long reign

Al-Ẓāhir was succeeded by his seven-year-old son, Abū Tamīm Maʿadd, who adopted the *laqab* of al-Mustanṣir bi'llāh. He had been designated as *walī al-ʿahd* at the age of eight months, in 421/1030.[99] Al-Mustanṣir's caliphate, lasting almost sixty lunar years (427–487/1036–1094), was the longest of his dynasty. His reign also marked the closing phase of the classical Fāṭimid period. While it witnessed numerous vicissitudes, the overall fortunes of the Fāṭimid caliphate now clearly began their irreversible decline.

During the first nine years of al-Mustanṣir's reign, real political authority remained in the hands of al-Jarjarāʾī, who had retained the vizierate, while al-Mustanṣir's mother Raṣad, a Sūdānī, had started her regency and continually intrigued behind the scenes.[100] On al-Jarjarāʾī's death in 436/1044, all power was seized and maintained for a long period by the queen mother who had maintained close relations with Abū Saʿd al-Tustarī, a Jewish merchant who had originally brought her to Egypt. Under the influence of Abū Saʿd, she now appointed a renegade Jew, Ṣadaqa b. Yūsuf, to the vizierate. Meanwhile, the racial rivalries in the Fāṭimid army had started to provide a major cause of unrest in Egypt, often leading to open rioting and factional fighting. Berbers, Turks, Daylamīs and Arabs, all undisciplined and hateful to one another, usually joined forces however in their common opposition to the black regiments. The latter consisted of large numbers of Sūdānī slaves purchased for the army with the active encouragement of the queen mother. The persistent intrigues of the Fāṭimid court added their own share of trouble to this chaotic milieu. Both Abū Saʿd, who had held the reins of power with the queen mother, and the vizier Ṣadaqa fell victim to the rivalries within the inner circles of the court. In 439/1047, Ṣadaqa, in conspiracy with the Turkish guards, had Abū Saʿd murdered, but the queen mother retaliated by arranging Ṣadaqa's own assassination in the following year. It was against this background that inept viziers replaced one another, while the overall situation of Egypt deteriorated. In 442/1050, as an exception to the rule, the vizierate was entrusted to a capable person, the *qāḍī* Abū Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Yāzurī, who held that office for eight years and restored some order to the state. With the execution of al-Yāzurī in 450/1058, factional fights and internal disorders erupted in an intensified manner. Al-Yāzurī was followed, in rapid succession, by numerous ineffective viziers, while the Fāṭimid state underwent a period of decline, accompanied by the breakdown of the civil administration, chaos in the army and the exhaustion of the public treasury.

Matters came to a head in 454/1062, when open warfare broke out near Cairo, between the Turks, aided by the Berbers, and the black troops. The Sūdānīs were finally defeated in 459/1067, after which they were driven to the region of the

Ṣaʿīd. The victorious commander of the Turks, Nāṣir al-Dawla, a descendant of the Ḥamdānids and a former governor of Damascus, now became the effective authority in Egypt. He easily wrested all power from al-Mustanṣir, and even rebelled against the helpless Fāṭimid caliph. In 462/1070, Nāṣir al-Dawla had the *khuṭba* pronounced in the name of the ʿAbbāsid caliph al-Qāʾim (422–467/1031–1075) in Alexandria and elsewhere in lower Egypt. In the meantime, Egypt was going through a serious economic crisis, marked by a shortage of food and even famine, which were caused by the low level of the Nile for seven consecutive years, from 457/1065 to 464/1072, as well as by the constant plundering and ravaging of the land by Turkish troops, all resulting in the total disruption of the country's agriculture. During these years, Egypt had become prey to the utmost misery.[101] People were reduced to eating dogs and cats, and provoked to all sorts of atrocities and crimes. Al-Mustanṣir was forced to sell his treasure in order to meet the insatiable demands of Nāṣir al-Dawla and his Turks. The Fāṭimid palaces, too, were looted by the Turkish guards, who also caused the most regrettable destruction of the Fāṭimid libraries at Cairo in 461/1068–1069.[102] Fusṭāṭ was twice pillaged and burned on Nāṣir al-Dawla's orders. During these desperate years, disturbances and rioting, caused by famine, disease and the tyranny of Nāṣir al-Dawla, became widespread and eventually led to the complete breakdown of law and order. A growing portion of the population, including the caliph's own family, were now obliged to seek refuge outside Egypt, mainly in Syria and ʿIrāq, and various stories are related of the extreme destitution to which al-Mustanṣir himself was reduced, in his royal quarters in Cairo.

It was under such circumstances that fighting broke out even amongst the Turks themselves, leading to the assassination of Nāṣir al-Dawla by the commander of a rival Turkish faction in 465/1073. In the same year, the seven-year famine was greatly alleviated by a good harvest. Al-Mustanṣir now decided to deal effectively with the deteriorating situation, and secretly appealed for help from an Armenian general in Syria, Badr al-Jamālī, the governor of ʿAkkā (Acre). Badr was initially a slave of the Syrian *amīr* Jamāl al-Dawla, whence his name al-Jamālī, but he rapidly rose in rank and twice became the Fāṭimid governor of Damascus, in 455/1063 and in 458/1066.[103] Badr al-Jamālī accepted the caliph's summons on the condition of taking his Armenian troops with him. He arrived in Cairo in Jumādā I 466/January 1074, and, through intrigue, immediately succeeded in killing all the rebellious Turkish leaders, who had not suspected the general's mission. Having thus saved al-Mustanṣir and the Fāṭimid caliphate from definite downfall, Badr speedily restored order in various parts of Egypt. Badr al-Jamālī acquired the highest positions of the Fāṭimid state, becoming also the first person to be designated as the 'Vizier of the Pen and of the Sword' (*wazīr al-sayf wa'l-qalam*), with full delegated powers. He became not only the commander of the

armies, *amīr al-juyūsh*, his best-known title, but also the head of the civil, judicial and even religious administrations. His titles, besides *wazīr*, thus included those of *qāḍī al-quḍāt* and *dāʿī al-duʿāt*. Indeed, it was primarily due to his efforts that Egypt came to enjoy peace and relative prosperity during the remaining twenty years of al-Mustanṣir's caliphate.

Territorially, the overall extent of the Fāṭimid empire began to decline during al-Mustanṣir's reign. With Anūshtigin's seizure of Aleppo in 429/1038, the Fāṭimids had reached the zenith of their power in Syria. Thereafter, their domination of Syria and Palestine was quickly brought to an end. In 433/1041, Palestine was once more in revolt under the Jarrāḥid Ḥassān, and in the same year Aleppo fell again to a Mirdāsid, Thimāl b. Mirdās. The Fāṭimids attempted in vain to regain Aleppo during 440–441/1048–1049, and although Thimāl submitted temporarily to al-Mustanṣir in 449/1057, northern Syria was irrevocably lost to the Fāṭimids in 452/1060. The Mirdāsids, who had often accorded only nominal allegiance to the Fāṭimids, transferred their allegiance to the ʿAbbāsids and their new Saljūq overlords in 462/1070, in spite of the disapproval of their subjects, who for the most part had adhered to Shīʿism. The Mirdāsids, like many other Muslim dynasties, now faced the growing menace of the Saljūq Turks, who were rapidly advancing from the east and laying the foundations of a powerful new empire.

The Saljūqs and al-Basāsīrī

The Saljūqs, as a family of chieftains, had led the Oghuz (Arabic, Ghuzz) Turks, during the early decades of the 5th/11th century, westwards from Khwārazm and Transoxania. The Saljūq leader Ṭughril, who had defeated the Ghaznawids and proclaimed himself sultan at Nīshāpūr in 429/1038, soon conquered the greater part of Persia, and then crossed into ʿIrāq. The Saljūqs regarded themselves as the champions of Sunnī Islam, which gave them a suitable pretext for wanting to free the ʿAbbāsids from the tutelage of the Shīʿī Būyids, and to rid the Muslim world of the Shīʿī Fāṭimids. Thus, Ṭughril entered Baghdad in Ramaḍān 447/December 1055, and soon after extinguished the rule of the Būyids of ʿIrāq by deposing and imprisoning the last member of the dynasty, al-Malik al-Raḥīm Khusraw Fīrūz (440–447/1048–1055). The ʿAbbāsid caliph al-Qāʾim now confirmed Ṭughril's title of *sulṭān*, and Ṭughril announced his intention of sending expeditions against the Fāṭimids in Syria and Egypt. However, dissent within the Saljūq camp and the pro-Fāṭimid activities of al-Basāsīrī in ʿIrāq prevented the founder of the Saljūq sultanate from carrying out his design against the Fāṭimids, whose cause achieved an unprecedented though brief success in ʿIrāq.

Abu'l-Ḥārith Arslān al-Basāsīrī, originally a Turkish slave, had become a chief military figure in ʿIrāq during the final decade of Būyid rule there. Al-Malik al-Raḥīm's seven-year reign in Baghdad was marked by continuous violence and

rioting due to the lack of discipline of the Turkish troops, the Sunnī–Shīʿī conflict, and the troubles caused by various Būyid and ʿUqaylid pretenders as well as local Arab tribesmen. In this turbulent situation, Baṣra and other towns were temporarily seized by the rebellious Turkish general al-Basāsīrī, who had a powerful adversary at Baghdad in the person of the ʿAbbāsid vizier Ibn al-Muslima. The latter, who had secretly established an alliance with Ṭughril and who, like the ʿAbbāsid caliph, had accepted the Saljūqs' arrival in Baghdad, accused al-Basāsīrī of being in league with the Fāṭimids. Al-Basāsīrī, who had Shīʿī leanings, now appealed to al-Mustanṣir for assistance to conquer Baghdad in his name. In the meantime, riots had broken out in the ʿAbbāsid capital, in protest at the ravages of Ṭughril's troops. Modern scholarship has revealed that the celebrated Fāṭimid *dāʿī* al-Muʾayyad al-Shīrāzī had a major part in creating anti-Saljūq disorders and in directing al-Basāsīrī's moves. In 448/1056–1057, Fāṭimid propaganda, accompanied by military measures under the overall direction of al-Muʾayyad, was intensified. Benefiting also from the excesses of the Turkomans, it met with success in Mawṣil, Wāsiṭ, and Kūfa, where the *khuṭba* was read in al-Mustanṣir's name. After receiving a substantial gift of money and arms from Cairo, delivered to al-Basāsīrī at Raḥba by al-Muʾayyad, and aided by his brother-in-law, the Mazyadid ruler Dubays (408–474/1018–1081), and by numerous Arab tribesmen, al-Basāsīrī inflicted a heavy defeat on the Saljūqs in the region of Sinjār in 448/1057. After this defeat the Fāṭimids were again acknowledged by the ʿUqaylids of Mawṣil. Soon afterwards, Ṭughril took Mawṣil but was prevented from adopting further measures against al-Basāsīrī due to the revolt of his own half-brother, Ibrāhīm Īnāl, who aspired to seize the Saljūq sultanate for himself with the assistance of al-Basāsīrī and the Fāṭimids.

The departure of Ṭughril for western Persia to subdue Īnāl provided a suitable opportunity for al-Basāsīrī to expand his activities. Shortly afterwards, in Dhu'l-Qaʿda 450/December 1058, al-Basāsīrī easily managed to enter Baghdad, accompanied by the ʿUqaylid Quraysh (443–453/1052–1061). Now the Shīʿī form of *adhān* or call to prayer was instituted in Baghdad, where the *khuṭba* was also pronounced in the name of the Fāṭimid al-Mustanṣir. Al-Basāsīrī, drawing popular support from both Sunnīs and Shīʿīs who had been united in their hatred of the Saljūq soldiery, then attacked the ʿAbbāsid palace. He agreed, however, to leave al-Qāʾim in the protection of the ʿUqaylid Quraysh, to the great disappointment of al-Mustanṣir, who had expected to receive the ʿAbbāsid as a captive in Cairo. But al-Basāsīrī did send the ʿAbbāsid caliphal insignia to the Fāṭimid capital.[104] Subsequently, al-Basāsīrī took possession of Wāsiṭ and Baṣra, while failing to gain Khūzistān for the Fāṭimids. However, al-Basāsīrī was abandoned by Cairo when he was at the height of his power, so his success was thus bound to be short-lived. The Fāṭimid vizier Ibn al-Maghribī, who had succeeded

al-Yāzurī, refused to extend any further help to al-Basāsīrī. Meanwhile, Ṭughril had repressed Īnāl's revolt and was preparing to return to Baghdad. He proposed to leave al-Basāsīrī in Baghdad, provided he would renounce his Fāṭimid allegiance and restore al-Qāʾim to the throne. Al-Basāsīrī rejected this offer and left Baghdad in Dhu'l-Qaʿda 451/December 1059. A few days later, Ṭughril entered Baghdad and was met by the freed ʿAbbāsid caliph. Al-Basāsīrī was pursued and killed shortly afterwards near Kūfa by the Saljūqs, who also carried out an intensive persecution of the ʿIrāqī Shīʿīs. Thus ended the Fāṭimid ambitions in ʿIrāq and the episode of al-Basāsīrī, who for a year had gained the acknowledgement of Fāṭimid suzerainty at the ʿAbbāsid capital.[105]

The Saljūq empire was consolidated in the reigns of Ṭughril's nephew and successor Alp Arslān (455–465/1063–1073) and the latter's son Malikshāh (465–485/1073–1092), who both depended greatly on the organizational talent of their illustrious Persian vizier, Niẓām al-Mulk. At the same time, the Saljūqs had continued to expand their territories, never abandoning their dream of marching on to Egypt and overthrowing the Shīʿī dynasty of the Fāṭimids. Fāṭimid Egypt was now in complete disorder, and the rivalries between the Berber and Turkish troops had brought unrest to Syria as well. As a result, the Fāṭimid governors of Damascus could not exert their authority effectively, nor could they check the Turkoman bands who had appeared in Syria as early as 447/1055. Even Badr al-Jamālī's efforts to enforce Fāṭimid sovereignty in Damascus during the years 455–456/1063–1064 and 458–460/1066–1068 had proved futile. Under these desperate circumstances, the Fāṭimids, according to prevalent custom, hired the services of a Turkoman chieftain, Atsiz b. Uvak, to subdue the rebellious Arab tribes of Palestine. But Atsiz himself revolted against the Fāṭimids and occupied Jerusalem in 463/1071. Later, after Badr's departure for Egypt, Atsiz, who was now carving out a principality for himself in Palestine and Syria, seized Damascus in 468/1076. All subsequent attempts by Badr to regain Damascus proved futile and Syria remained permanently lost to the Fāṭimids. In 469/1077, Atsiz attacked Cairo itself, but was defeated and driven back by Badr. When threatened by a Fāṭimid expedition, Atsiz appealed to Malikshāh, who responded by despatching his brother Tutush to Syria. In 471/1078–1079, Damascus, having been surrendered by Atsiz to Tutush, became the capital of the new Saljūq principality of Syria and Palestine. By the end of al-Mustanṣir's rule, out of the former Fāṭimid possessions in Syria and Palestine, only ʿAsqalān and a few coastal towns, like Acre and Tyre, still remained in Fāṭimid hands. In the meantime, relations had stayed friendly between the Byzantines and Fāṭimids, following the signing in 429/1038 of a thirty-year peace treaty which also permitted the Byzantines to rebuild the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. In particular, the emperor Constantine IX Monomachus (1042–1055) maintained excellent relations with al-Mustanṣir and

supplied Egypt with wheat after the famine of 446/1054. Subsequently, when the Fāṭimids refused to cooperate with Byzantium against the Saljūqs, relations cooled somewhat between the two states, to be later ameliorated by the exchange of several embassies, including one in 461/1069 during the reign of Romanus IV Diogenes (1068–1071).

The success of the Saljūqs also affected the position and influence of the Fāṭimids in certain parts of Arabia. In 462/1069–1070, the *sharīf* of Mecca informed Alp Arslān that henceforth the *khuṭba* in Mecca would be read in the names of the ʿAbbāsid caliph and the Saljūq sultan, and no longer for the Fāṭimids. Thereupon, he abolished the Shīʿī *adhān*. The *sharīf* was rewarded by a generous pension from the Saljūqs. After a brief return to Fāṭimid allegiance during 467–473/1074–1081, the holy cities of the Ḥijāz passed permanently out of Fāṭimid control. On the other hand, the Fāṭimid Ismāʿīlī cause achieved a new success in Yaman during the reign of al-Mustanṣir, through the efforts of the Ismāʿīlī dynasty of the Ṣulayḥids.

The Ṣulayḥids of Yaman

In Yaman, with the death of the *dāʿī* Ibn Ḥawshab Manṣūr al-Yaman, who was a faithful supporter of ʿAbd Allāh al-Mahdī, and with the extinction of the Ismāʿīlī state he had founded there, Ismāʿīlism had come to face a major religio-political setback. Nevertheless, the Ismāʿīlī *daʿwa* had continued to be active in Yaman throughout the 4th/10th century, though in a dormant form, receiving the secret allegiance of several Yamanī tribes, especially some of the Banū Hamdān. For this obscure period of more than one century, lasting until the early years of al-Mustanṣir's caliphate, only the names of the successive Yamanī *dāʿī*s, starting with ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbbās who succeeded Ibn Ḥawshab, have been preserved.[106] At the time, amidst continuous tribal strife, Yaman was ruled by several independent dynasties. These included the Ziyādids (204–412/819–1021), with their capital at Zabīd in the region of Tihāma, the Yaʿfurids (247–387/861–997) who established themselves at Ṣanʿāʾ and Janad, and the Najāḥids, who were originally the Abyssinian slaves of the Ziyādids but eventually succeeded the latter in 412/1021, ruling intermittently over Zabīd until 554/1159, while the Zaydī imams held Ṣaʿda in northern Yaman. During the period around 377/987 the Ismāʿīlī *daʿwa* had succeeded in gaining the allegiance of only one Yamanī ruler, ʿAbd Allāh b. Qaḥṭān, the last Yaʿfurid *amīr*. By the time of the Fāṭimid al-Ẓāhir, the headship of the Yamanī *daʿwa* had come to be vested in a certain Sulaymān b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Zawāḥī, a very learned *dāʿī* and influential man living in the mountainous region of Ḥarāz. Sulaymān chose as his successor ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Ṣulayḥī, the son of the *qāḍī* of Ḥarāz, who was also an important Hamdānī chieftain.

ʿAlī, who in time came to lead pilgrim caravans to Mecca, had studied Ismāʿīlī doctrines under Sulaymān and eventually became the *dāʿī*'s assistant.

In 439/1047, ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Ṣulayḥī, who had already made contact with the *daʿwa* headquarters in Cairo, established himself in Masār, a locality in Ḥarāz, where he constructed fortifications. This marked the foundation of the Ṣulayḥid dynasty, which ruled over Yaman as vassals of the Fāṭimids for almost one century, until 532/1138.[107] Receiving much support from the Hamdānī, Ḥimyarī, and other Yamanī tribes, ʿAlī started on a career of conquest, everywhere instituting the Fāṭimid *khuṭba*. In 452/1060, he seized Zabīd, killing its ruler al-Najāḥ, founder of the Najāḥid dynasty, who had earlier incited the Zaydīs of Ṣaʿda against him. ʿAlī appointed his brother-in-law, Asʿad b. Shihāb, to the governorship of Zabīd and its dependencies in Tihāma, and then proceeded to expel the Zaydīs from Ṣanʿāʾ, which became his own capital. In 454/1062, he conquered ʿAdan, but the Banū Maʿn were permitted to continue for some time as rulers there, though now as tributaries of the Ṣulayḥids. In 476/1083, the Ṣulayḥids conferred ʿAdan's governorship on two Hamdānī brothers, al-ʿAbbās and al-Masʿūd b. al-Karam (or al-Mukarram), who founded the Ismāʿīlī dynasty of the Zurayʿids (476–569/1083–1173). By 455/1063, ʿAlī al-Ṣulayḥī had subjugated all of Yaman, while his influence extended from Mecca to Ḥaḍramawt. ʿAlī, who desired to meet al-Mustanṣir, in 454/1062 sent Lamak b. Mālik al-Ḥammādī, the chief *qāḍī* of Yaman, to Cairo to discuss his prospective visit.[108] Lamak remained in Cairo for five years and eventually had an audience with al-Mustanṣir. During those years, Lamak stayed at the Dār al-ʿIlm with the chief *dāʿī* al-Muʾayyad, who furthered his religious knowledge and also acquainted him with the intricacies of Fāṭimid Ismāʿīlī teachings. The Egyptian mission of the *dāʿī* Lamak, who upon returning to Yaman became one of the main Ismāʿīlī leaders and the executive head of the *daʿwa* there, and his friendly relationship with al-Muʾayyad, served to bring Yaman yet closer to the central headquarters of the Ismāʿīlī *daʿwa*. The exceptionally close ties between the Ṣulayḥids and the Fāṭimids are well attested to by numerous letters sent by the Fāṭimid chancery to the Ṣulayḥid ʿAlī and his successors, being mostly issued on the orders of al-Mustanṣir.[109]

ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Ṣulayḥī, who never succeeded in visiting Egypt, had set out on a pilgrimage to Mecca when he and a number of his relatives were murdered in 459/1067, in a surprise attack by the sons of al-Najāḥ in revenge for their father. ʿAlī was succeeded by his son al-Mukarram Aḥmad (d. 477/1084) and then by other Ṣulayḥids. However, from the latter part of al-Mukarram's rule, during which time much of northern Yaman was lost to the Zaydī Qāsimī *amīr*s, effective authority in the Ṣulayḥid state through which Fāṭimid sovereignty came to be extended to other parts of Arabia like ʿUmān and Baḥrayn, was exercised

by al-Mukarram's consort, al-Sayyida Arwā bint Aḥmad al-Ṣulayḥī. Known also as al-Malika al-Sayyida and al-Sayyida al-Ḥurra, she was a capable queen and a most remarkable personality.[110] One of her first acts was to transfer the seat of the Ṣulayḥid state from Ṣanʿāʾ to Dhū Jibla, where she built a new palace and transformed the old one into a mosque. She maintained close relations with al-Mustanṣir and his next two successors in the Fāṭimid dynasty during her long rule. Upon her death in 532/1138, marking the effective end of the Ṣulayḥid dynasty, Yaman became subject to the authority of local dynasties, including the Zurayʿids of ʿAdan and the Hamdānids of Ṣanʿāʾ, who adhered to Ḥāfiẓī Ismāʿīlism and were overthrown in 569/1173 by the Sunnī Ayyūbids, the new masters of Egypt, Syria and Yaman.

The Ṣulayḥids played a crucial part in the renewed efforts of the Fāṭimids to spread the Ismāʿīlī *daʿwa* on the Indian subcontinent. As noted, Maḥmūd of Ghazna persecuted the Ismāʿīlīs of Sind and destroyed their state in Multān. However, Ismāʿīlism managed to survive, in a greatly reduced and inactive form, in the Indus valley. Soon afterwards, the Druze leaders acquired followers from amongst the surviving Ismāʿīlīs of Sind who no longer had any direct contacts with the *daʿwa* headquarters in Fāṭimid Egypt. And the Ghaznawids, fearing the revival of Ismāʿīlī activity in Sind and other eastern territories under their control, in 423/1032 tried and executed Ḥasanak, Maḥmūd's last vizier, who had earlier accepted a robe of honour from the Fāṭimid al-Ẓāhir, on charges of being a Qarmaṭī (Ismāʿīlī).[111] But now, in the reign of al-Mustanṣir, a new Ismāʿīlī community was founded in Gujarāt, in western India, by the *dāʿī*s sent from Yaman. According to the traditional accounts of the origins of this community,[112] it was in 460/1067–1068 that a *dāʿī* named ʿAbd Allāh arrived in Khāmbāyat (Khambhāt), modern Cambay, in Gujarāt, where he started the *daʿwa* and soon won many converts, including the local rulers. ʿAbd Allāh had been sent from Yaman by Lamak b. Mālik, who had then recently returned to Yaman from his long visit to Egypt, most probably on the instructions of the chief *dāʿī* al-Muʾayyad. The Ṣulayḥids evidently supervised the selection and despatch of *dāʿī*s to western India, with the knowledge and approval of al-Mustanṣir himself. There are extant Fāṭimid documents indicating that the Ṣulayḥid al-Mukarram, for instance, sent a certain *dāʿī* Marzubān b. Isḥāq to India in 476/1083, while in 481/1088, the latter's eldest son Aḥmad was selected to head the *daʿwa* in India after his father's death and upon the recommendation of the Ṣulayḥid queen Arwā, who was officially put in charge of the affairs of the Indian *daʿwa*.[113] It is a testimony to Arwā's capabilities that al-Mustanṣir eventually appointed her as the *ḥujja* of Yaman shortly after the death of her husband in 477/1084. This represented the first application of the rank of *ḥujja*, or indeed any high rank in the Ismāʿīlī *daʿwa* hierarchy, to a woman.

The *daʿwa* in western India maintained its close ties with Yaman, and the Ismāʿīlī community founded in the second half of the 5th/11th century in Gujarāt in fact evolved into the modern Ṭayyibī Bohra community. It should be added that the revitalization of the Ismāʿīlī *daʿwa* in Yaman and India may have been directly related to the Fāṭimids' new interests in trading with India, and in diverting the Near Eastern trade with Asia away from the Persian Gulf route, favourable to the ʿAbbāsids, to the Red Sea. As a result, the Fāṭimids had become concerned with developing and channelling any existing and prospective mercantile trade through an old route passing through the port of ʿAydhāb, on the African coast of the Red Sea, to Yaman and ʿAdan, from where merchant ships sailed to various harbours on the west coast of India. In medieval times, Cambay was one of the most important of these Indian ports, having also close commercial ties with Yaman. It is, therefore, quite likely that the extension of the *daʿwa* in Yaman and Gujarāt, in al-Mustanṣir's time, occurred in connection with the development of the new Fāṭimid commercial interests and policies, which necessitated the utilization of Yaman as a safe base along the Red Sea trade route to India.[114]

Fāṭimid dominions in North Africa

In North Africa, the Fāṭimid dominions were by now practically reduced to only Egypt itself. About the year 440/1048, the fourth Zīrid ruler al-Muʿizz b. Bādīs, who had already persecuted the Shīʿīs of Ifrīqiya, formally renounced the suzerainty of the Fāṭimids and placed himself under that of the ʿAbbāsids. As a result of this complete rupture with Cairo, the *khuṭba* came to be read in the name of the ʿAbbāsid caliph in Zīrid territories. The Mālikī *ʿulamāʾ* of Qayrawān, in order to satisfy the predominantly Sunnī public opinion of Ifrīqiya, thus succeeded in replacing Shīʿism with Sunnism as the official creed of the Zīrid state. Though al-Muʿizz later in 446/1054–1055 returned briefly to the allegiance of the Fāṭimids, as did his successor Tamīm b. al-Muʿizz (454–501/1062–1108) during the early years of his own reign, the Fāṭimids had now permanently lost Ifrīqiya, their oldest dominion in North Africa. Soon, various independent principalities sprang up in other parts of the Maghrib, in territories dependent on Ifrīqiya. According to traditional accounts of these developments, the Fāṭimid vizier al-Yāzurī had convinced al-Mustanṣir, who lacked sufficient military power, that he should punish the disloyal Zīrid al-Muʿizz by encouraging a number of Arab bedouin tribes, based close to the Nile valley, to migrate towards Ifrīqiya. By this measure, the Fāṭimid caliph would rid himself of these troublesome Arab tribesmen, while at the same time taking vengeance on the Zīrids. The bedouins, led by the Banū Hilāl and Banū Sulaym, captured Barqa and then penetrated Ifrīqiya proper. Defeating the Zīrids decisively in 443/1051–1052, they plundered the countryside and towns ruthlessly. These bedouins, supplemented by new

arrivals, gradually spread through North Africa in what became known as the Hilālī invasion.[115]

By 449/1057, the Zīrid al-Muʿizz was obliged to abandon his capital, Qayrawān, and to seek refuge in Mahdiyya, then governed by his son Tamīm, while the Zīrid domains were breaking up into different principalities. When al-Muʿizz repudiated al-Mustanṣir, his cousin al-Qāʾid b. Ḥammād (419–446/1028–1054), the second Ḥammādid ruler, also temporarily cast off Fāṭimid suzerainty. Soon afterwards, the Ḥammādids, who were equally hard pressed by the westward migrating Arab bedouins, returned to Fāṭimid allegiance. But the last Ḥammādid, Yaḥyā b. al-ʿAzīz, before surrendering in 547/1152 to the Almohads or al-Muwaḥḥidūn, had already renounced his allegiance to the Fāṭimids in 543/1148. A few years later, the Zīrid territories, limited to the coastline of Ifrīqiya, also passed into the hands of the Almohads. The later Zīrids are mainly known for their maritime activity and corsair raids, though they failed to take command of the Mediterranean from the Normans of Sicily. The last Zīrid, al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī, was driven out of Mahdiyya in 543/1148 by Roger II, king of Sicily. Al-Ḥasan had tried in vain to pay homage to the Fāṭimid caliph so that the latter would intervene on his behalf with the Normans. He was reinstated in Mahdiyya by ʿAbd al-Muʾmin (524–558/1130–1163), the founder of the Almohad dynasty, but who then some eight years later exiled him permanently. Sicily, in the meantime, whose Kalbid *amīr*s had recognized the nominal suzerainty of the Fāṭimids, had been conquered by the Normans. The Fāṭimids had long since lost their interest in Sicily and did not find it difficult to cultivate friendly relations with Norman Sicily.[116] With the Norman conquest of Sicily in 463/1070–1071, Barqa had become the western limit of the Fāṭimid state under al-Mustanṣir.

The daʿwa *activities and religious policy*

The Fāṭimid *daʿwa* activities reached their peak in al-Mustanṣir's time. The *daʿwa* organization, which had acquired a definite shape under al-Ḥākim, was expanded during al-Mustanṣir's long imamate. Many *dāʿī*s now operated not only inside Egypt and other Fāṭimid dominions but also outside the Fāṭimid state. The *daʿwa* was particularly active in ʿIrāq and in various parts of Persia, notably Fārs, Iṣfahān, Rayy, where Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ the future leader of the Nizārī Ismāʿīlīs was converted, and Khurāsān. The Ismāʿīlī *daʿwa* continued to exist in a subdued form also in Transoxania, where Ismāʿīlism maintained secret followers in the last years of the Sāmānids and in the subsequent decades. Amongst its adherents, there ranked the father and brother of Ibn Sīnā (Latin, Avicenna), the celebrated philosopher-physician who was born near Bukhārā in 370/980 and died in Hamadān in 428/1037. Ibn Sīnā himself became acquainted with the tenets of Ismāʿīlism at an early age through the scholarly discussions held at the

house of his father, ʿAbd Allāh, a Sāmānid official, and he perused the *Epistles* of the Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ, though he himself did not adhere to the Ismāʿīlī faith, into which he was born.[117] After the Sāmānids, the *daʿwa* seems to have met with greater success in Central Asia. In 436/1044–1045, a large number of Ismāʿīlīs, who had been converted by Fāṭimid *dāʿīs* and who recognized the imamate of al-Mustanṣir, were massacred in Bukhārā and elsewhere in Transoxania on the orders of the local Qarakhānid ruler Bughrā Khān. But Ismāʿīlism survived in that region, and later in 488/1095, Aḥmad b. Khiḍr, another Qarakhānid who ruled over Bukhārā, Samarqand and western Farghāna, was accused by the local Sunnī *ʿulamāʾ* of having embraced Ismāʿīlism, and was executed.[118] Later, more will be said about the Fāṭimid *daʿwa* of this time in Persia. It is a fact, however, that during al-Mustanṣir's reign, the Fāṭimid *dāʿīs*, under the central direction of Cairo, succeeded in spreading Fāṭimid Ismāʿīlism in many regions of the Islamic world, and in gaining the recognition of their numerous converts for al-Mustanṣir as the rightful imam of the time. It was also due to the efforts of the *daʿwa* that the suzerainty of the Fāṭimids came to be established in Ṣulayḥid Yaman, and that Ismāʿīlism was introduced to an important area like western India.

The most prominent Fāṭimid *dāʿī* of al-Mustanṣir's time was al-Muʾayyad fi'l-Dīn Abū Naṣr Hibat Allāh b. Abī ʿImrān Mūsā b. Dāʾūd al-Shīrāzī, who was also a prolific writer, a poet, as well as a political organizer and a military strategist.[119] He was born around 390/1000 in Shīrāz, where his father, coming from a Daylamī Ismāʿīlī family, was himself a *dāʿī* with some influence in the Būyid circles of Fārs. Al-Muʾayyad probably succeeded his father as the chief *dāʿī* of Fārs, and in 429/1037–1038 entered the service of the Būyid Abū Kālījār Marzubān (415–440/1024–1048), who ruled over various provinces from his capital at Shīrāz. The subsequent decades in al-Muʾayyad's life are well documented in his autobiography, *Sīra*, which covers the period 429–451 AH. He soon succeeded in converting Abū Kālījār and many of his Daylamī troops to Fāṭimid Ismāʿīlism and also held disputations with Sunnī theologians and Zaydī ʿAlids at Abū Kālījār's request. The *dāʿī*'s growing influence with the Būyid *amīr* and the people of Fārs, however, resulted in court intrigues and Sunnī reactions against him. In particular, the ʿAbbāsids insisted on his exile from Persia. Eventually, al-Muʾayyad was obliged to leave Shīrāz in early 438/1046. After an eventful journey that took him through Jannāba, Ahwāz, Kūfa and Mawṣil, he arrived in Cairo early in 439/1047 and immediately proceeded to visit the chief *dāʿī* al-Qāsim b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Muḥammad b. al-Nuʿmān, a great-grandson of al-Qāḍī al-Nuʿmān. After some initial difficulties, al-Muʾayyad gained access to the Fāṭimid caliph-imam and participated actively in the affairs of the Fāṭimid state. He established close relations with the vizier al-Yāzurī who, in 440/1048, entrusted the Persian *dāʿī* with a section of the Fāṭimid *dār al-inshāʾ*.

Subsequently, al-Muʾayyad played a leading role as an intermediary between the Fāṭimids and al-Basāsīrī in the latter's activities against the Saljūqs. In 447/1055, he was sent by al-Mustanṣir and al-Yāzurī to Syria and ʿIrāq. For more than a year, he was involved in extensive negotiations with and exchanged numerous letters with al-Basāsīrī, as well as with the Mirdāsid Thimāl, the Mazyadid Dubays and the ʿUqaylid Quraysh, amongst other local *amīr*s who for the most part adhered to Shīʿism, for the purpose of winning over or maintaining their allegiance to the Fāṭimid cause. It was also in pursuit of this general policy that al-Muʾayyad attacked Ibn al-Muslima for having destroyed in 443/1051 the tomb of Mūsā al-Kāẓim, the seventh imam of the Twelver Shīʿīs.[120] These important dealings, which included the planning of most of al-Basāsīrī's moves and alliances, are fully described in al-Muʾayyad's autobiography, which has revealed to modern researchers the *dāʿī*'s hitherto unknown but crucial part in the al-Basāsīrī affair. Al-Muʾayyad returned to Cairo in 449/1058, shortly before al-Basāsīrī finally seized Baghdad, and had the *khuṭba* read there in the name of al-Mustanṣir.

In 450/1058, al-Muʾayyad was appointed *dāʿī al-duʿāt*, and with the exception of a brief period in 453/1061, when he was exiled to Syria by the vizier Ibn Mudabbir, he held that post until about two months before his death, at which time he was succeeded by Badr al-Jamālī. From 454/1062, al-Muʾayyad was also the head of the Dār al-ʿIlm, which became his residence. It was from here that al-Muʾayyad directed the affairs of the Ismāʿīlī *daʿwa*, being in constant contact with the *dāʿī*s in many lands and paying special attention to Yaman and India. As noted, the Yamanī *dāʿī* Lamak stayed several years with al-Muʾayyad, who is considered the spiritual father of the Yamanī *daʿwa*. He also regularly delivered lectures at the Dār al-ʿIlm. The *Majālis* of al-Muʾayyad, arranged in eight volumes of one hundred assemblies or lectures each, deal with various theological and philosophical questions and represent the high watermark of Fāṭimid Ismāʿīlī thought.[121] They also contain al-Muʾayyad's correspondence with the blind Syrian poet-philosopher and ascetic Abu'l-ʿAlāʾ al-Maʿarrī (d. 449/1057) on the subject of vegetarianism,[122] and his refutation of Ibn al-Rāwandī's Muʿtazilī ideas as expressed in the latter's *Kitāb al-zumurrudh*.[123] The *Majālis al-Muʾayyadiyya* were delivered as lectures in the *majālis al-ḥikma* ('sessions of wisdom'), for the benefit of the Ismāʿīlīs – a distinctive tradition of learning under the Fāṭimids. Al-Muʾayyad died in 470/1078 in Cairo and was buried in the Dār al-ʿIlm, where he had lived and worked. Al-Mustanṣir himself led the funeral rites for this distinguished *dāʿī* who for almost two decades had directed the Ismāʿīlī *daʿwa*, and with whose foresight the Fāṭimids had come to realize, even though briefly, their perennial objective of having the Fāṭimid *khuṭba* pronounced in the ʿAbbāsid capital.

Another prominent Ismāʿīlī personality of al-Mustanṣir's time was Abū Muʿīn Nāṣir b. Khusraw b. Ḥārith al-Qubādiyānī, better known as Nāṣir-i Khusraw. He was a *dāʿī*, a philosopher, a traveller, and also ranks amongst the greatest of the Persian poets. Much has been written by orientalists and scholars of Persian literature about this multi-faceted personality, even though major portions of his life still remain shrouded in mystery. Numerous legends surround Nāṣir-i Khusraw, in addition to a spurious autobiography attributed to him, which has been circulating for several centuries amongst Ismāʿīlīs and non-Ismāʿīlīs.[124] However, Nāṣir's extant works, all of which are written in Persian, especially his *Safar-nāma* and *Dīwān* of poems, in which he eulogizes the Imam al-Mustanṣir, al-Qāḍī al-Nuʿmān and the *dāʿī* al-Muʾayyad, do provide valuable details on his life and ideas.[125] And yet, most of these writings were evidently subject to censorship at the hands of hostile Sunnī scribes so as to delete their Ismāʿīlī features.[126] The available facts concerning Nāṣir's life can be summed up as follows.[127] According to his own statement,[128] Nāṣir-i Khusraw was born in 394/1004 in Qubādiyān, a district of Balkh, which at the time as part of the province of Marw was attached to Khurāsān. He belonged to a family of government officials and landowners, and apparently he entered government service as a scribe early in life, and later became a financial administrator in Marw. During his youth, about which few details are known, Nāṣir evidently led a life of pleasure, having access to the Ghaznawid court at Balkh, before Khurāsān became a Saljūq dominion in 431/1040.

When he was about forty-one years old, Nāṣir experienced a drastic spiritual upheaval which completely changed the future course of his life. As a result of this experience, which he describes symbolically in terms of a dream[129] and in a confession versified in a lengthy *qaṣīda* addressed to the *dāʿī* al-Muʾayyad,[130] Nāṣir renounced all bodily pleasures, and tendered his resignation from his administrative post at Marw. At the time, Marw was ruled by the Saljūq Chaghrī Beg, Ṭughril's brother, in the service of whose vizier a brother of Nāṣir-i Khusraw, Abu'l-Fatḥ, held a prominent position for a long time. Nāṣir decided in Jumādā II 437/December 1045 to set off on a long journey with the apparent purpose of making the pilgrimage to Mecca. Soon afterwards in Shaʿbān 437/March 1046, accompanied by one of his two brothers Abū Saʿīd, and an Indian servant, he began his journey, which was to last for almost seven years. Travelling through Persia, where he spent a few days at the fortress of Shamīrān, Asia Minor, as well as through Syria and Palestine, he made the first of several pilgrimages to Mecca before entering Cairo in Ṣafar 439/August 1047, the same year in which al-Muʾayyad al-Shīrāzī arrived there. Nāṣir stayed in Cairo for about three years, until Dhu'l-Ḥijja 441/May 1050, during which time he saw al-Mustanṣir, and most probably also established a close relationship with al-Muʾayyad. It was in Cairo that, after receiving proper instructions, Nāṣir was given a high rank in the

daʿwa organization. Despite the opinion of earlier scholars, it is almost certain, as Ivanow and Corbin have argued, that Nāṣir-i Khusraw had already been converted to Ismāʿīlism, probably from Twelver Shīʿism, prior to his departure for Egypt. It seems that his journey was primarily motivated by his connection with Ismāʿīlism (as Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ was to be sent to Fāṭimid Egypt a few decades later), rather than by making the pilgrimage to Mecca, which it seems was a pretext, allowing Nāṣir to receive the required training as a *dāʿī* at the headquarters of the Ismāʿīlī *daʿwa*. In his *Safar-nāma*, Nāṣir describes in vivid detail the splendour of the Ismāʿīlī capital, with its royal palaces, gates, gardens and shops, as well as the wealth of Egypt, even though the country was then undergoing difficult times.[131]

Returning through the Ḥijāz, Yamāma, Baḥrayn, southern ʿIrāq, and Persia, Nāṣir-i Khusraw was back in Balkh (near today's Mazār-i Sharīf in northern Afghanistan) in Jumādā II 444/October 1052, a date marking the beginning of the most obscure phase of his life. He immediately began to propagate Ismāʿīlism as a *dāʿī*, or, according to himself,[132] as the *ḥujja* of Khurāsān. Nāṣir established his headquarters at Balkh, from where he extended his *daʿwa* activities to Nīshāpūr and other cities of Khurāsān. However, his success soon aroused the enmity of the Sunnī *ʿulamāʾ* who enjoyed the support of the region's Saljūq rulers. It was also during this period, not too long after returning from Cairo, that Nāṣir went to Ṭabaristān (Māzandarān), to preach the cause of the Fāṭimids in the Caspian provinces, a region already penetrated by Shīʿism. According to the testimony of his contemporary Abu'l-Maʿālī, who completed his well-known work on religions in 485/1092 and who is the earliest authority referring to our *dāʿī*, Nāṣir succeeded in winning many converts in Ṭabaristān, and possibly in other Caspian regions.[133] Subsequently, Nāṣir returned to Balkh, where he became subjected to yet more severe Sunnī persecutions. He was accused of being irreligious (Persian, *bad-dīn*), a heretic (*mulḥid*), a Qarmaṭī and a Rāfiḍī.[134] His house was plundered and destroyed, and there was even an attempt on his life, forcing Nāṣir to flee from his home.[135] Under obscure circumstances, he took refuge in the valley of Yumgān, a mountainous district in the upper Oxus, irrigated by the Kokcha, a tributary of the Āmū Daryā. Yumgān was then one of the territories of an autonomous *amīr* of Badakhshan, Abu'l-Maʿālī ʿAlī b. al-Asad, an Ismāʿīlī who had close relations with Nāṣir. Doubtless, Nāṣir's flight to Yumgān, in the Pamir mountains, where he was to spend the rest of his life, took place before 453/1061, the year in which he completed his philosophical treatise *Zād al-musāfirīn* whilst in exile.[136]

It was in Yumgān, his permanent place of exile for more than fifteen years,[137] that Nāṣir-i Khusraw produced most of his poetry and prose, including the *Kitāb jāmiʿ al-ḥikmatayn* (*Book Joining the Two Wisdoms*), his last known work, which

was completed in 462/1070 at the request of his Ismāʿīlī friend and protector, ʿAlī b. al-Asad.[138] There he also continued to propagate the Ismāʿīlī *daʿwa*, while maintaining correspondence with the *dāʿī al-duʿāt* al-Muʾayyad and the headquarters of the *daʿwa* in Cairo. According to the local tradition of the present-day Ismāʿīlīs of Badakhshan (divided in modern times by the Āmū Daryā river between Afghanistan and Tajikistan), who refer to the Persian *dāʿī* as Pīr or Shāh Sayyid Nāṣir, and who still revere him and preserve some of his genuine and attributed works, it was Nāṣir-i Khusraw who introduced Ismāʿīlism into Badakhshan, a region that subsequently became a stronghold of the Nizārī Ismāʿīlīs and a repository of their literature. Indeed, the Ismāʿīlīs of Badakhshan and their offshoot communities in the Hindu Kush region, now situated in Hunza and other northern areas of Pakistan, regard Nāṣir as the founder of their communities. In contrast, the present-day Ṭayyibī Ismāʿīlīs of India do not preserve Nāṣir's works in their collections of manuscripts, perhaps because he wrote entirely in the Persian language. In many of his odes, Nāṣir-i Khusraw laments his exile and solitude at Yumgān, often calling it his prison, making frequent references to the fanatics who drove him from his home and family, and reminiscing about his earlier happy days in Khurāsān.[139] Nāṣir lived to be at least seventy,[140] dying in Yumgān at an unknown date after 465/1072–1073, the latest year mentioned in most sources being 481/1088–1089. Nāṣir's tomb is still to be found in Yumgān, situated on a hillock in the present-day village of Ḥaḍrat-i Sayyid (or Ḥaḍrat-i Saʿīd) and not too far from Fayḍābād, the capital of Afghan Badakhshan.[141] An epigraph attests to the renovation of the modest mausoleum in 1109/1697. The local inhabitants, who guard the mausoleum as a shrine and claim to be *sayyid*s and descendants of Nāṣir-i Khusraw, are, strangely enough, devout Sunnīs who strictly discourage visits of the Ismāʿīlīs of Badakhshan and elsewhere to the site. They also maintain that their ancestor Nāṣir was a Sufi *pīr*, and a Sunnī like themselves, with no connections whatsoever with Ismāʿīlism.

The Fāṭimid doctrine of the imamate during al-Mustanṣir's time was essentially that developed earlier under al-Muʿizz.[142] In the meantime, as noted, a group of extremist *dāʿī*s had proclaimed the divinity of al-Ḥākim, a view that had been officially repudiated, above all by the *dāʿī* al-Kirmānī who had argued for the continuity of the imamate.[143] Al-Kirmānī had, in fact, propounded that the imamate would continue in the era of Muḥammad until the Day of Judgement, while essentially endorsing the doctrine propounded by al-Muʿizz, Jaʿfar b. Manṣūr al-Yaman and other earlier Fāṭimid Ismāʿīlī authorities. By the time of al-Mustanṣir, the Fāṭimid Ismāʿīlīs had come to allow for further heptads of imams after Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl. Al-Muʾayyad speaks of the imams in the progeny of ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib throughout his lectures, but without specifying their number. He also refers to the seven eras of history, the seventh one being that of

the *Qāʾim al-qiyāma* on whose future appearance the era of the imams ends and mankind is judged.[144] Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Ṣūrī, a Fāṭimid *dāʿī* in Syria who died around 487/1094, enumerates the imams of the era of Islam in a long poem.[145] According to him,[146] the seventh heptad of imams in the era of Muḥammad is the most eminent one, because it precedes the coming of the Qāʾim. Making a distinction between the functions of the Mahdī and the Qāʾim, he further states that the former had appeared in the person of Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl, who became spiritual after having been corporeal. In sum, al-Ṣūrī held that the Mahdī had already appeared while the Qāʾim, who would be a descendant of al-Mustanṣir, was still the awaited one. Meanwhile, the imams and their gates (*bāb*s) would continue to exist in the intervening period, summoning the people to obey the two eschatological personalities.

Al-Ṣūrī's account clearly reveals the adjustment of the earlier doctrine to the realities faced by the Fāṭimid Ismāʿīlīs after the termination of the second heptad of imams, similar to the adjustments made in the time of al-Muʿizz, the fourteenth imam. However, the belief in the advent of the Qāʾim had persisted in the Fāṭimid Ismāʿīlī community. It was due to this basic orientation that authors like al-Ṣūrī could not resist the temptation of making more concrete predictions. Such tendencies are also distinctly embodied in *al-Majālis al-Mustanṣiriyya*, a collection of lectures by al-Malījī, one of the chief *qāḍī*s in al-Mustanṣir's time.[147] According to this source, the heptads of imams will succeed one another until the arrival of the Qāʾim of the resurrection, whose *ḥujja* will be the seventh imam contiguous to his era, and the Qāʾim himself will be the eighth amongst the imams of that era and the seventh of the *nāṭiq*s.[148] Al-Malījī does not, however, fail to add that the imam of his own time, al-Mustanṣir, was in fact the eighth imam and the eighth of the *khulafāʾ*, implying that he might be the one to fulfil the functions of the Qāʾim, if the time for the latter's arrival came.[149] Yet, through a special esoteric interpretation of the resurrection, this Fāṭimid author attempts to explain that his ideas on the Qāʾim, who may appear imminently, do not represent any denial of the Day of Judgement in the remote future.[150]

Similar views, reflecting the influences of Jaʿfar b. Manṣūr al-Yaman and other earlier Ismāʿīlī authors, are contained in Nāṣir-i Khusraw's *Wajh-i dīn*, a masterpiece of the *bāṭinī taʾwīl* and still one of the most important religious books of the Ismāʿīlīs of Central Asia. Nāṣir, too, speaks of the continuity in the imamate,[151] while constantly referring to the concept of the seven imams,[152] or the seven imams after the Prophet Muḥammad,[153] without further explanation. He does, however, specify that the seventh imam will be the Qāʾim (or the *Qāʾim-i qiyāmat*), possessing the rank (*martabat*) of resurrection (*qiyāmat*).[154] According to him, the Prophet Muḥammad, who was the sixth *nāṭiq* after Ādam, Nūḥ, Ibrāhīm, Mūsā and ʿĪsā,[155] will be followed by six imams whose completion lies

in the appearance of the Qāʾim, the seventh imam in the series and the seventh *nāṭiq* who, instead of promulgating a new *sharīʿa*, will pass final judgement over humanity under divine guidance. Moreover, Nāṣir distinguishes between a grand cycle (*dawr-i mihīn*), referring to the period of the seven *nāṭiq*s, and a small cycle (*dawr-i kihīn*), coinciding with the latter part of the grand cycle and referring to the era of Muḥammad and thereafter.[156] According to him,[157] the era in which we find ourselves is itself comprised of two parts, namely, that of the imams and that of the *khalqān* (literally, created beings),[158] which is the period of resurrection. Both parts go back to spiritual principles. Doubtless, Nāṣir-i Khusraw conformed to what may be regarded as the official Fāṭimid doctrine of his time, thinking of the advent of the Qāʾim, the seventh imam and the master of the final era, as a future event.[159] But he does not venture to make any more specific predictions regarding the Qāʾim's arrival, nor does he seem to attach any particular significance to the actual number of imams or their heptads. Indeed, as W. Madelung has remarked,[160] Nāṣir's exposition, with its rich symbolism, though lacking in references to historical events and to the names of the imams, was not meant to apply to the temporal reality as he might have perceived that reality. The account in the *Wajh-i dīn* should, in other words, be taken symbolically. Nāṣir simply and masterfully applies his esoteric exegesis to the system of ideas, concepts, doctrines and methods of interpretation propounded in the Ismāʿīlī works of an earlier period, works that the exile in Yumgān took as a representation of the ideally valid and sacred truth.

The success of the Ismāʿīlī *daʿwa* in the eastern Islamic lands, especially ʿIrāq and Persia, brought about the hostile reaction of the Sunnī ʿAbbāsids and Saljūqs, as well as that of various local rulers as far as Transoxania. Several instances of such reactions have already been noted, and in 444/1052, yet another anti-Fāṭimid document was sponsored by the ʿAbbāsid caliph al-Qāʾim at Baghdad. This document, to which a number of jurists and ʿAlids subscribed, again aimed at discrediting the claim of the Fāṭimids to an ʿAlid descent.[161] Later, when Ismāʿīlism was spreading rapidly in Persia, the Ismāʿīlīs found a stout enemy in the person of Niẓām al-Mulk, the virtual ruler of the Saljūq dominions for more than two decades until his assassination in 485/1092. As noted, Niẓām al-Mulk devoted a long section in his *Siyāsat-nāma* to the denunciation of the Ismāʿīlīs, reflecting his anxiety over their growing importance in Persia. Meanwhile, the ʿAbbāsids had continued to encourage the production of polemical works against the Ismāʿīliyya. The most famous of such works was written by Abū Muḥammad al-Ghazālī (d. 505/1111), the celebrated Sunnī theologian, jurist, philosopher and mystic. This work, which became simply known as *al-Mustaẓhirī*, was written shortly before 488/1095.[162] Subsequently, al-Ghazālī wrote several shorter works against the Ismāʿīlīs.[163] The Nizārī Ismāʿīlīs did not respond to al-Ghazālī, but

a detailed refutation, entitled *Dāmigh al-bāṭil*, of his *al-Mustaẓhirī* was later produced in Yaman by the fifth Ṭayyibī *dāʿī*, who died in 612/1215.[164]

In the meantime, the Qarmaṭī state of Baḥrayn had been collapsing rapidly after Nāṣir-i Khusraw's visit to al-Aḥsāʾ in 443/1051. It may be recalled that Nāṣir had found the state still ruled by a council of six descendants of Abū Saʿīd, assisted by six viziers, from the progeny of Ibn Sanbar. He also noted that the Friday prayers and other Muslim rites such as fasting were not observed at al-Aḥsāʾ, where all mosques had been closed, though one had been built there by a Persian merchant.[165] All this, in a sense, reflected perhaps a second attempt, after the failure of the episode of the Persian Mahdī, to set up a new order in Baḥrayn, though the Qarmaṭīs there by the time of Nāṣir-i Khusraw evidently still believed themselves to be in the era of the Prophet Muḥammad. The troubles that initiated the downfall of the Qarmaṭī state started in the large island of Uwāl (now called Baḥrayn), which had hitherto provided an important source of revenue for the state, on account of the customs charges levied on all the ships passing through the Persian Gulf. Around 450/1058, a certain Abu'l-Bahlūl al-ʿAwwām of the tribe of ʿAbd al-Qays, aided by his brother Abu'l-Walīd Muslim, both Sunnīs, revolted against the Qarmaṭī governor of Uwāl and required that the *khuṭba* be read in the name of the ʿAbbāsid al-Qāʾim throughout the island. Uwāl was permanently lost to the Qarmaṭīs when, around 459/1066–1067, the rebels defeated a Qarmaṭī fleet sent after them. Soon afterwards, Qaṭīf was taken from the Qarmaṭīs by another local rebel, Yaḥyā b. ʿAbbās, who had taken advantage of the insurrection in Uwāl to assert his own claims and who later seized that island from Abu'l-Bahlūl.

More importantly, the Qarmaṭīs were now threatened by ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAlī al-ʿUyūnī, a powerful local chief of the Banū Murra b. ʿĀmir of ʿAbd al-Qays residing in the province of al-Aḥsāʾ, who rose against them in 462/1069–1070. He defeated the Qarmaṭīs and then besieged the town of al-Aḥsāʾ for seven years. Meanwhile, ʿAbd Allāh had successfully negotiated with Baghdad for receiving military help from the ʿAbbāsids and the Saljūqs. Assisted by a force of Turkoman horsemen sent from ʿIrāq, he managed to take al-Aḥsāʾ in 469/1076. ʿAbd Allāh al-ʿUyūnī decisively defeated the Qarmaṭīs and their tribal allies, especially the Banū ʿĀmir b. Rabīʿa of ʿUqal, in 470/1077, putting a definite end to the Qarmaṭī state of Baḥrayn and founding the new local dynasty of the ʿUyūnids in eastern Arabia.[166] ʿAbd Allāh, who had difficulties of his own with the Saljūqs, had earlier acknowledged the suzerainty of the Fāṭimid al-Mustanṣir. The latter had evidently placed the ʿUyānid ruler under the protection of the Ṣulayḥids in Rabīʿ II 469/November 1076.[167] By that time, the remaining Qarmaṭī communities elsewhere, who had continued to expect the return of Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl, had been by and large won over to the side of the Fāṭimid Ismāʿīlī *daʿwa*.

Returning to the domestic scene in Fāṭimid Egypt, it may be recalled that Badr al-Jamālī had managed to restore order to the country's administration and finances, after having crushed various rebellious factions, during his long vizierate of some twenty years. The Fāṭimid caliphate was in effect saved by Badr who became the real master of the state during the final two decades of al-Mustanṣir's reign. The *amīr al-juyūsh* Badr al-Jamālī, also known as Badr al-Mustanṣirī, died at an advanced age in Rabīʿ I 487/March–April 1094, after he had already arranged for his son al-Afḍal to succeed him in office. The military saw to it that Badr's wishes were carried out in due course. A few months later in Dhu'l-Ḥijja 487/December 1094, Abū Tamīm Maʿadd al-Mustanṣir bi'llāh, the eighth Fāṭimid caliph and the eighteenth imam of the Fāṭimid Ismāʿīlīs, died in Cairo, after a reign of some sixty years during which the Fāṭimid caliphate had well embarked on its decline. As we shall see later, the dispute over al-Mustanṣir's succession, which was the greatest internal crisis of the Fāṭimid dynasty and revolved around the claims of al-Mustanṣir's sons Nizār and al-Mustaʿlī, caused a major split in the Ismāʿīlī *daʿwa* and community. This schism proved to have a drastic and lasting consequence for the future course of the Ismāʿīlī movement.

Organization of the Fāṭimid *dawla* and the Ismāʿīlī *daʿwa*

In the Fāṭimid caliphate, particularly until al-Mustanṣir, every caliph who was also the imam of the Ismāʿīlīs was normally selected through the *naṣṣ* of his predecessor. This designation could be made public or could be divulged to only a few trusted persons for as long as deemed necessary. The succession of the Fāṭimid caliph-imams was, furthermore, often but not always governed by the rule of the primogeniture. Starting with al-Ḥākim, however, the Fāṭimid sovereign was usually a minor at the time of his accession to the throne, and, therefore, often a regent or a vizier held the real reins of power in the state. From 466/1074, when Badr al-Jamālī arrived in Egypt and became the all-powerful vizier, the political authority of the caliph was reduced drastically and the Fāṭimid rulers became in effect mere figureheads in the hands of their viziers, henceforth the real masters of the Fāṭimid *dawla*.

Indeed, the institution of the vizierate had gradually acquired an increasing importance throughout the history of the Fāṭimid dynasty.[168] During their early North African phase, the Fāṭimid caliph-imams also acted as the supreme heads of the government administration and commanders of the armed forces. As such, they personally regulated the affairs of the state and made the major decisions like other Muslim rulers of medieval times. The early Fāṭimids did however consult with certain trusted individuals, and, at least from the reign of al-Qāʾim, a few

dignitaries in the Fāṭimid state, like Jawdhar, gradually came to discharge some of the functions of a chief minister. But the actual title of *wazīr* was not given to any high official whilst the Fāṭimids still ruled from Ifrīqiya. Ibn Killis, the organizer of the public administration and finances of the first two Fāṭimids in Egypt, was the first to have received that title under al-ʿAzīz. Until Badr al-Jamālī, the Fāṭimid viziers, whether they carried various forms of the title *wazīr* or were less pretentiously called by the title of *wāsiṭa*, were simply regarded as high agents for the execution of the sovereign's orders. With certain exceptions, they were intermediaries without any effective authority of their own, corresponding to what the Sunnī jurist and theoretician al-Māwardī (d. 450/1058) designated as *wazīr al-tanfīdh*, or vizier with executive powers only. These viziers were generally selected from amongst civilians, or the so-called 'men of the pen' (*arbāb al-aqlām*), and consequently they were known as 'Viziers of the Pen'. From Badr al-Jamālī onwards, the Fāṭimid vizier obtained full powers from his sovereign and became what in al-Māwardī's terminology is called *wazīr al-tafwīḍ*, or vizier with delegated powers.[169] As this latter type of vizier, acting independently, was normally of military status, he was called 'Vizier of the Pen and of the Sword', or simply 'Vizier of the Sword' (*wazīr al-sayf*). He was not only the commander of the armies (*amīr al-juyūsh*) and the effective head of the civil bureaucracy, but often also the head of the religious hierarchy. A distinguishing feature of the Fāṭimid vizierate, whose occupants were changed frequently, is that several viziers were Christians, serving sovereigns who regarded themselves as the rightful leaders of Muslims throughout the world. In later Fāṭimid times, too, this position came to be held by yet other Christians, notably the Armenian general Bahrām (d. 535/1140), who was 'Vizier of the Sword' during 529–531/1135–1137 and also bore the title of Sayf al-Islām.[170]

The organization of the Fāṭimid state remained simple during its early North African phase, although al-Mahdī and his next three successors developed their own ceremonials and institutions. During that period, when the caliph himself assumed all the major responsibilities, the highly centralized administration known as *al-khidma*, normally situated at the caliphal palace (*dār al-mulk*) in Fāṭimid capitals in Ifrīqiya, required only a few offices for the discharge of different administrative, financial and military tasks. But from the very beginning of the Fāṭimid state's Egyptian phase, the organizational structure of administration and finance introduced by Jawhar and Ibn Killis, with the assistance of ʿUslūj b. al-Ḥasan, provided the basis for a complex system of institutions.[171] These institutions, most of which were derived from those adopted or developed by the ʿAbbāsids, became progressively more elaborate and modified. The Fāṭimid system of administration in Egypt continued to remain strongly centralized, with the caliph and his vizier at its head, while the provincial organs

of the government were subject to the strict control of the central authorities in Cairo. The central administration of the Fāṭimids, as in the case of the ʿAbbāsids, was carried on through the *dīwān* system, and the various *dīwān*s (ministries, departments or offices) were at times situated at the residence of the caliph or his vizier. Apparently the first central organ in Fāṭimid Egypt, in which the entire government machinery seems to have been concentrated and which at some unknown date split into a number of departments, was the *dīwān al-majālis*. Al-Qalqashandī and al-Maqrīzī discuss three main *dīwān*s through which the Fāṭimid central administration in Egypt operated. These *dīwān*s, each of which was in turn divided into a number of offices, also called *dīwān*s, were: the *dīwān al-inshāʾ* or *al-rasāʾil*, the chancery of state, entrusted with issuing and handling the various types of official documents including the caliphal decrees and letters; the *dīwān al-jaysh wa'l-rawātib*, the department of the army and salaries; and finally, the *dīwān al-amwāl*, the department of finance. The officials of the Fāṭimid state, both civil (*arbāb al-aqlām*) and military (*arbāb al-suyūf*), in all the administrative, financial, military, judicial and religious organs, were organized in terms of strict hierarchies, marked by differences in rank, insignia, remuneration and places occupied in official ceremonies.

The *daʿwa* activities of the Fāṭimids, in contradistinction to that of the ʿAbbāsids, were retained after their victory and became even more organized and extensive, especially following the transference of the Fāṭimid capital to Cairo. This was presumably because the Fāṭimids never abandoned hope of establishing their rule over the entire Muslim world. Consequently, the Ismāʿīlī *daʿwa* persistently aimed at convincing Muslims everywhere that the Fāṭimid Ismāʿīlī imam, divinely inspired and in possession of special *ʿilm* and the *taʾwīl* interpretation of the religious prescriptions, was the sole rightful leader of mankind, and that all other dynasties had been usurpers. This also explains why the Fāṭimid Ismāʿīlīs continued to refer to their missionary activities as *al-daʿwa al-hādiya*, or the rightly guiding summons to mankind to follow the Fāṭimid imam. In any event, Fāṭimid Ismāʿīlism had now become the adopted religion of a state, in which its doctrines were propagated freely. At the same time, the *daʿwa* had been maintained in clandestine form in regions outside the Fāṭimid dominions, as the direct continuation of the Ismāʿīlī *daʿwa* of the second half of the 3rd/9th century. By the time of al-Mustanṣir, the Fāṭimids had progressively come to command the religious loyalty of numerous local Ismāʿīlī communities in many parts beyond the borders of their state, although Ismāʿīlism had never become the majoritarian religion even within the Fāṭimid dominions.

The organization and evolution of the Fāṭimid Ismāʿīlī *daʿwa*, as well as the scope of the functions of various actual or potential ranks (*ḥudūd*) within the organization, are amongst the most obscure aspects of Fāṭimid Ismāʿīlism.[172]

Information is particularly meagre concerning the nature of the *daʿwa* organization outside the Fāṭimid *dawla* where, fearing persecution, the *dāʿī*s were continuously obliged to observe secrecy in their activities. Understandably, the Ismāʿīlī literature of the period also maintains silence on the subject. In regions ruled by the Fāṭimids, Ismāʿīlism, enjoying the protection of the state, became the official *madhhab* and its legal doctrines were applied freely by the judiciary. Consequently, the chief *qāḍī*, who headed the judiciary, was normally selected from amongst the Ismāʿīlīs. It is interesting to note that the Fāṭimid chief *qāḍī*, or *qāḍī al-quḍāt*, often also acted as the administrative head of the *daʿwa* and was thus simultaneously the *dāʿī al-duʿāt*. In Egypt, at least, doctrinal propaganda aiming at increasing the number of Ismāʿīlī adepts was conducted openly and was accompanied by education and instruction in various Ismāʿīlī sciences.

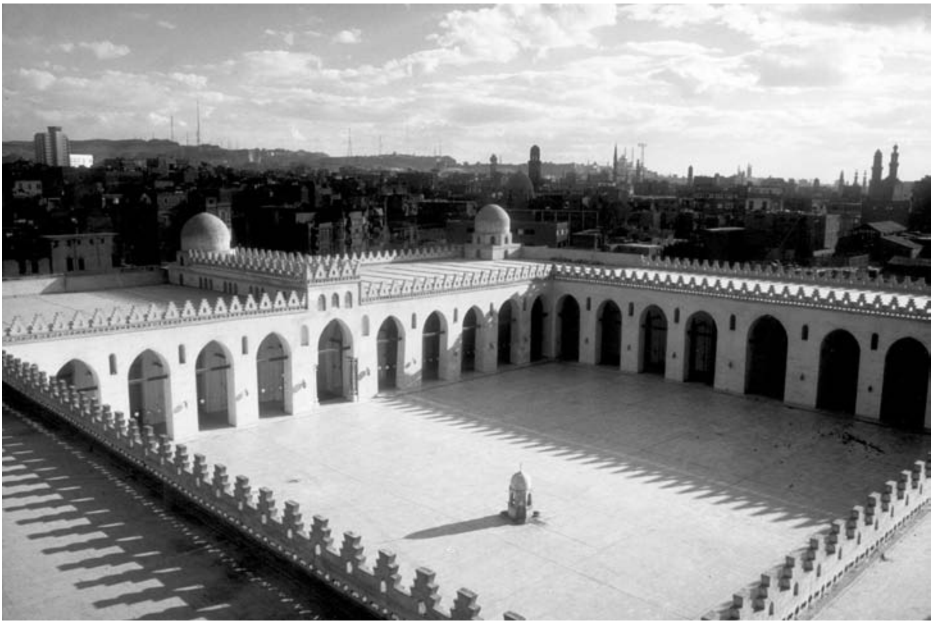
The high esteem of the Ismāʿīlīs for learning resulted in distinctive traditions and institutions of learning under the Fāṭimids. The Fāṭimid Ismāʿīlī *daʿwa* was particularly concerned with educating converts and teaching them the *ḥikma* or 'wisdom', as Ismāʿīlī esoteric doctrine was known. Consequently, a variety of lectures or 'teaching sessions' generally designated as *majālis* (singular, *majlis*) were organized under the auspices of the Fāṭimid state. These sessions, with increasing formalization and specialization, served different pedagogical purposes and addressed different audiences, especially in the Fāṭimid capital. There were, however, basically two types of teaching sessions, namely, public lectures for large audiences on Ismāʿīlī law and other exoteric subjects, and private lectures on Ismāʿīlī esoteric doctrines reserved exclusively for the Ismāʿīlī initiates.[173]

The Fāṭimid *majālis* were initiated early in North Africa in the time of the *dāʿī* Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Shīʿī, who lectured to the Kutāma Berbers on the virtues of the *ahl al-bayt* and the legitimate ʿAlid imams. He also organized exclusive Ismāʿīlī sessions for teaching the *ḥikma* to the initiated Berbers, including their women.[174] Ismāʿīlism had been adopted as the official *madhhab* of the Fāṭimid state, and its legal doctrines were applied by the judiciary. The *sharīʿa*, as interpreted by Ismāʿīlī jurisprudence, thus provided the legal basis for the daily life of the Muslim subjects of the Fāṭimid state. However, the Ismāʿīlī legal code was new and its precepts had to be explained to Ismāʿīlīs as well as other Muslims. This was essentially accomplished in regular public sessions, initiated by al-Qāḍī al-Nuʿmān himself on Fridays, after the midday prayers when large numbers would gather for the occasion. For these public sessions on law, al-Nuʿmān used his own legal works, especially the *Daʿāʾim al-Islām*. This tradition continued after al-Nuʿmān, with the public sessions held at al-Azhar and other great mosques of Cairo, such as ʿAmr and al-Ḥākim. In 365/975, ʿAlī b. al-Nuʿmān lectured at al-Azhar to vast audiences, from a legal text composed by his father al-Qāḍī al-Nuʿmān.[175] The vizier Ibn Killis delivered weekly lectures in his

residence on Ismāʿīlī jurisprudence, using also a text written by himself. In 385/995, Muḥammad b. al-Nuʿmān, ʿAlī's brother, lectured to large numbers on the sciences of the *ahl al-bayt*, in accordance with the custom set by his father in the Maghrib and maintained by him and his elder brother in Egypt. In 394/1004, ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Muḥammad b. al-Nuʿmān, after becoming the chief *qāḍī*, delivered lectures in the palace and also at al-Azhar, drawing especially on one of his grandfather's treatises.[176] Besides these public sessions related mainly to law, there were other types of sessions in Cairo, the so-called *daʿwa* sessions, which had come to be more elaborately organized and specifically designed for *daʿwa* purposes and for the exclusive benefit of Ismāʿīlīs.

The teaching sessions related to the *bāṭin*, known as the 'sessions of wisdom' (*majālis al-ḥikma*) were, on the other hand, reserved only for Ismāʿīlī initiates. To control the privacy of these sessions, they were held at the Fāṭimid palace, in a special hall, also called *majlis*. Al-Qāḍī al-Nuʿmān held the *majālis al-ḥikma* following the public Friday sessions on law. The lectures delivered by al-Nuʿmān, and later by his successors as chief *dāʿī*s, were approved by the imam beforehand. Only the imam was the source of the *ḥikma*. The *dāʿī* was merely the imam's mouthpiece through whom the initiates received their instructions in esoteric Ismāʿīlī doctrines. Some of al-Nuʿmān's lectures prepared for the *majālis al-ḥikma* were collected in his *Taʾwīl al-daʿāʾim*, which is the *bāṭinī* companion to his *ẓāhirī* legal compendium, *Daʿāʾim al-Islām*. The convening of public and private teaching sessions was maintained after the Fāṭimids settled in Cairo. In fact, the *majālis* gradually developed into an elaborate programme of instruction for a variety of audiences.

By the time of al-Ḥākim, different types of teaching sessions were organized for different categories of participants, including initiates (*awliyāʾ Allāh*, 'the friends of God', or simply the *awliyāʾ*), courtiers (*khāṣṣa*), high officials and staff of Fāṭimid palace. A separate session was held for women at al-Azhar, while the royal and noble women received their instruction at the palace. Ismāʿīlī *dāʿī*s working within the confines of the Fāṭimid state, and at least some of the major *dāʿī*s active in non-Fāṭimid regions, evidently held similar sessions for the exclusive education of Ismāʿīlī initiates. In Cairo, the *majālis al-ḥikma* were also used for collecting various types of dues, including especially the *najwā* paid by the Ismāʿīlīs for receiving confidential instruction. Many of the lectures on Ismāʿīlī doctrine prepared by, or for, various chief *dāʿī*s were, in due course, collected and committed to writing. This all-important Fāṭimid tradition of learning culminated in the *Majālis al-Muʾayyadiyya*, a collection of 800 lectures of the chief *dāʿī* al-Muʾayyad fi'l-Dīn al-Shīrāzī. After al-Nuʿmān, his sons and grandsons succeeded to the office of chief *qāḍī*, at the same time being in charge of the *daʿwa*, since they held the 'sessions of wisdom' in the Fāṭimid palace in



2. The Mosque of al-Ḥākim, Cairo

Cairo. From the time of al-Ḥākim, however, responsibility for the headship of the judiciary and the *daʿwa* were vested in different individuals, with chief *qāḍī* taking precedence in status and ceremonials over the chief *dāʿī*.

The *daʿwa* was under the overall guidance of the Ismāʿīlī imam of the time, who authorized its policies and teachings. The chief *dāʿī* (*dāʿī al-duʿāt*) acted as the administrative head of the *daʿwa* organization. He was closely supervised by the imam, and assisted by a number of subordinate *dāʿī*s. The chief *dāʿī* was evidently responsible for appointing the provincial *dāʿī*s within the Fāṭimid empire. These *dāʿī*s, acting as lieutenants of the chief *dāʿī* and representatives of *al-daʿwa al-hādiya*, were stationed in several cities of Egypt as well as in the main towns of the Fāṭimid provinces, such as Damascus, Tyre, Acre, Ramla, and Ascalon.[177] The Ismāʿīlī *dāʿī*s were also active in some rural districts of Syria, notably in the Jabal al-Summāq, southwest of Aleppo. The chief *dāʿī* seems to have played a major part also in selecting the *dāʿī*s of the non-Fāṭimid provinces. Not much more is available on the functions of the chief *dāʿī*, who had his headquarters in Cairo and who in the Fāṭimid ceremonial ranked second after the chief *qāḍī*, when both posts were not held by the same person.[178] Even the title of *dāʿī al-duʿāt*, used frequently in non-Ismāʿīlī sources, rarely appears in Ismāʿīlī texts. In those Fāṭimid Ismāʿīlī sources which refer to different ranks in the *daʿwa*, the term *bāb* (sometimes *bāb al-abwāb*) is reserved for the dignitary immediately after the imam. Thus, in Ismāʿīlī religious terminology, the rank of *bāb* was possibly used as the equivalent

of the official term *dāʿī al-duʿāt*. For instance, al-Muʾayyad al-Shīrāzī is called the *bāb* of al-Mustanṣir by the *dāʿī* Idrīs and many other Ismāʿīlī writers,[179] while he is named as *dāʿī al-duʿāt* by the Sunnī historians.[180] Ḥamīd al-Dīn al-Kirmānī makes various allusions to the position and importance of the *bāb*, and his closeness to the imam.[181] Other Ismāʿīlī sources also emphasize that under the Fāṭimids in Egypt the *bāb* was the first person to receive the imam's teaching and, as such, he was the imam's mouthpiece. Without mentioning particular details, the Ismāʿīlī literature conveys the impression that the *bāb*, who naturally had to be a highly qualified and pious Ismāʿīlī dignitary, was responsible for the overall administration and certain policies of the *daʿwa*.

The Ismāʿīlī authors make differing and occasional allusions to the seemingly elaborate organizational structure of the *daʿwa*, designated as the *ḥudūd al-dīn* or the *marātib al-daʿwa*. No details are available on the *daʿwa* organization during the Fāṭimid period. However, it is certain that it developed over time and attained a definite shape during al-Ḥākim's reign, whilst the *daʿwa* hierarchy became finally fixed by the time of the chief *dāʿī* al-Muʾayyad. At the same time, the *daʿwa* terminology experienced an evolution of its own. During the early Fāṭimid period, differing names were used for the *daʿwa* positions by the Persian and Yamanī Ismāʿīlī authors, such as Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī and Jaʿfar b. Manṣūr al-Yaman. But some of the earlier designations had already fallen into disuse by al-Mustanṣir's time. It is also important to note that the hierarchy traceable in the Fāṭimid texts seems to have had reference to a paradigmatic or utopian situation, when the Ismāʿīlī imam would rule the entire world, and not to any actual *ḥudūd* existing at any given time. In other words, it is certain that the diverse *daʿwa* ranks mentioned in the sources were not actually filled by incumbents at all times, and some of them may never have been filled at all.

The Fāṭimid *daʿwa* was organized hierarchically, in line with the particular importance accorded to hierarchism in Fāṭimid Ismāʿīlī thought. Indeed, there was a close analogy between the terrestrial hierarchy of the Fāṭimid *daʿwa*, with its highest ranks of *nāṭiq*, *waṣī* (*asās*) and imam, and the celestial or cosmological hierarchy developed in Fāṭimid thought. There are diverse partial accounts of the *daʿwa* ranks or *ḥudūd* after the imam and his *bāb*. All Ismāʿīlī authors agree that the world, presumably the non-Fāṭimid part of it, was divided into twelve *jazāʾir* (singular, *jazīra;* literally, island) for *daʿwa* purposes, with each *jazīra* representing a separate and somewhat independent region for the penetration of the *daʿwa*. Research for this book located the list of these twelve *daʿwa* regions, commonly referred to as the 'islands of the earth' (*jazāʾir al-arḍ*), in only one Fāṭimid source, namely, an esoteric work by al-Qāḍī al-Nuʿmān dating to the 4th/10th century. According to this source,[182] the twelve *jazāʾir* in the author's time were: al-ʿArab (Arabs), al-Rūm (Byzantines), al-Ṣaqāliba (Slavs), al-Nūb (Nubians),

al-Khazar (Khazars), al-Hind (India), al-Sind (Sind), al-Zanj (Africans), al-Ḥabash (Abyssinians), al-Ṣīn (Chinese), al-Daylam (Daylam, probably for Persians), and al-Barbar (Berbers). These regions were apparently delineated on the basis of a combination of geographic, ethnographic and linguistic considerations. The same list, with one variation, al-Turk (Turks) for al-Nūb, and obviously derived from al-Nuʿmān or another source belonging to the same period, is enumerated in a work written in the 6th/12th century by the Yamanī Ismāʿīlī author ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn al-Qurashī (d. 554/1159).[183] It is interesting to note that Khurāsān, of which Nāṣir-i Khusraw claimed to be the *ḥujja* in the second half of the 5th/11th century, does not appear as a *jazīra* in al-Nuʿmān's list. However, al-Nuʿmān's well-informed and possibly Ismāʿīlī contemporary, Ibn Ḥawqal, who himself travelled through eastern Persia and Transoxania around 358/969, does mention Khurāsān as a *jazīra* of the Fāṭimid *daʿwa* (*daʿwat ahl al-Maghrib*), further adding that Balūchistān in eastern Persia belonged to that *jazīra*.[184] It is also possible that Khurāsān may have been included in the *jazīra* of Hind. Amongst other regions that evidently served as *jazīra*s in Fāṭimid times, mention may be made of Yaman and ʿIrāq. Each *jazīra* was placed under the charge of a high ranking *dāʿī* called *ḥujja* (proof, guarantor), also called *naqīb*, *lāḥiq* or *yad* (hand) by the Ismāʿīlī authors of the early Fāṭimid period. The *ḥujja* was the chief local *dāʿī* and the highest representative of the *daʿwa* in the region under his jurisdiction. Amongst the twelve *ḥujja*s serving the imam, four occupied special positions, comparable to the positions of the four sacred months amongst the twelve months of the year.[185]

The *bāb* and the twelve *ḥujja*s were followed, in the *daʿwa* hierarchy, by a number of *dāʿī*s of varying ranks operating in every *jazīra*.[186] Sources distinguish three categories of such *dāʿī*s, who in descending order of importance are: *dāʿī al-balāgh, al-dāʿī al-muṭlaq* and *al-dāʿī al-maḥdūd* (or *al-maḥṣūr*). It is not clear what the specific functions of these *dāʿī*s were, although the third was apparently the chief assistant of the *dāʿī al-muṭlaq*, who became the chief functionary of the *daʿwa*, acting with absolute authority in the absence of the region's *ḥujja* and *dāʿī al-balāgh*. The latter seems to have served as the liaison between the central *daʿwa* headquarters in the Fāṭimid capital and the local *daʿwa* headquarters of a *jazīra*. Finally, there was the rank of the assistant to the *dāʿī*, titled *al-maʾdhūn*, the licentiate. At least two categories of this *ḥadd* in the hierarchy have been mentioned, namely, *al-maʾdhūn al-muṭlaq*, sometimes simply called *al-maʾdhūn*, and *al-maʾdhūn al-maḥdūd* (or *al-maḥṣūr*), eventually designated as *al-mukāsir*. The *maʾdhūn al-muṭlaq*, or the chief licentiate, who often became a *dāʿī* himself, was authorized to administer the oath of allegiance (*ʿahd* or *mīthāq*), and to explain the various regulations of the *daʿwa* to the initiates. The *mukāsir* (literally, persuader), who had limited authority, was mainly responsible for attracting

prospective converts. At the bottom of the *daʿwa*, and not as a rank in its hierarchy, there was the ordinary initiate called *al-mustajīb* (literally, respondent). Sometimes two grades of ordinary Ismāʿīlīs were distinguished, namely, *muʾmin al-balāgh* or simply *al-muʾmin*, the initiated major member of the community, and *al-mustajīb*, the neophyte or the candidate for initiation. In any event, the initiated members of the community, now belonging to the *ahl al-daʿwa*, represented the elite, as compared to non-Ismāʿīlī Muslims, *ʿāmmat al-Muslimīn*. These *daʿwa* ranks, numbering to seven, from *bāb* to *mukāsir*, together with their main functions and corresponding celestial *ḥudūd*, are enumerated fully by the *dāʿī* al-Kirmānī, who synthesized the differing ideas of his predecessors.[187] Al-Kirmānī's schema of the *daʿwa* hierarchy, the most elaborate of its kind, endured at least theoretically and provided in particular the basis of the hierarchy which was later espoused by the Ṭayyibī *daʿwa*.

The term *dāʿī*, meaning 'summoner', was used by several Muslim groups to designate their religio-political propagandists. It was utilized by the early Muʿtazila, but soon became particularly identified with certain Shīʿī groups. The designation was adopted by the ʿAbbāsid *daʿwa* in Khurāsān and also by the Zaydiyya and some of the Shīʿī *ghulāt*, notably the Khaṭṭābiyya. The term, however, acquired its greatest application in connection with the Ismāʿīliyya, although the Persian Ismāʿīlī authors of the early Fāṭimid period sometimes used other designations such as *janāḥ* (plural, *ajniḥa*) for *dāʿī*.[188] Notwithstanding this lack of uniformity in nomenclature and the existence of different grades of *dāʿī*s during any particular epoch, the term *dāʿī* came to be applied generically from early on by the Ismāʿīlīs. It was used in reference to any authorized representative of their *daʿwa*, a propagandist responsible for spreading the Ismāʿīlī religion and for winning suitable followers for the Ismāʿīlī imam, or the awaited Mahdī-Qāʾim of the Ismāʿīliyya. During the Fāṭimid period, the *dāʿī* was moreover the unofficial agent of the Fāṭimid state operating secretly in many non-Fāṭimid territories, where the *daʿwa* aimed to establish the rule of the Fāṭimid caliph-imam.

In spite of its unique importance to the Ismāʿīlīs, almost nothing seems to have been written by them on the subject of the *dāʿī* and his functions. Al-Qāḍī al-Nuʿmān, the most prolific Fāṭimid author, devoted only a short chapter in one of his books, belonging to the *adab* genre of literature and covering the etiquette to be observed towards the imam, to explaining the virtues of an ideal *dāʿī*.[189] A more detailed though general discussion of the qualifications and attributes of a Fāṭimid *dāʿī* is contained in what is evidently the only independent Ismāʿīlī treatise on the subject, written towards the end of the 4th/10th century by al-Nuʿmān's younger contemporary Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Nīsābūrī. This treatise has not survived directly, but it is quoted almost completely in some later Ismāʿīlī works.[190] Ismāʿīlism never aimed at mass proselytization, and al-Nuʿmān emphasizes that

the *dāʿī* should personally know the individual initiates. The learned jurist also states that the *dāʿī* must be exemplary in his own behaviour and use sound and timely judgement in disciplining the erring members of his local community. According to al-Nīsābūrī's fuller account, a *dāʿī* could be appointed only by the imam's permission (*idhn*) and, having been despatched to a certain locality, he would then operate largely independently of the central headquarters, receiving general guidance from the imam and the central authorities.

Under such circumstances, only those candidates who possessed the highest necessary educational qualifications combined with the proper moral and intellectual attributes would become *dāʿī*s. In addition to having good organizing abilities, the *dāʿī* was also expected to be sufficiently familiar with the teachings of different religions as well as various Islamic traditions, whilst knowing the local language and customs of the province in which he was to operate. Many of the Fāṭimid Ismāʿīlī *dāʿī*s were highly trained in various specialized institutions of Cairo and elsewhere, such as the Dār al-ʿIlm and al-Azhar, prior to being sent to the field. The high degree of learning attained by the Fāṭimid *dāʿī*s, many of whom were outstanding scholars, is attested by the fact that the bulk of Ismāʿīlī literature surviving from the Fāṭimid period was written by these *dāʿī*s, who were thoroughly versed in theology, jurisprudence, philosophy and other fields of learning. The *dāʿī* was also responsible for the training of his *maʾdhūn*s, and for supervising the education of the *mustajīb*s. Al-Nīsābūrī also reminds us that in the case where a *dāʿī* felt unable to fulfil his duties properly, he was not to hesitate in informing the imam and in resigning from his post. The overall picture that emerges from these sketchy accounts, as well as from the existing evidence on the relationships between the Fāṭimids and their *daʿwa* activities in various regions, notably in Yaman and Sind, is that the provincial *dāʿī*s normally enjoyed a great degree of independence in their activities, once appointed. There was, nevertheless, a good deal of contact and correspondence between the local *daʿwa* in any region and the central administration of the *daʿwa* in the Fāṭimid capital. This was between the *ḥujja* and the lesser provincial *dāʿī*s, on the one hand, and the imam and his *bāb (dāʿī al-duʿāt)*, on the other.

Like so many other aspects of the Ismāʿīlī *daʿwa*, almost nothing is known about the methods used by *dāʿī*s for winning and educating new converts. Doubtless, different procedures were adopted for peoples of different religions and socio-ethnic backgrounds. Addressing themselves to one *mustajīb* at a time, the *dāʿī*s treated each case individually with due consideration to the respondent's particular status. However, many Sunnī sources, deriving their information chiefly from the anti-Ismāʿīlī accounts of Ibn Rizām and Akhū Muḥsin, speak of a system of seven or nine degrees of initiation into Ismāʿīlism.[191] Other anti-Ismāʿīlī

sources discuss yet another type of graded system, giving a different name to each stage in the process of detaching the respondent from his previous religion and leading him towards heresy and unbelief.[192] There is no evidence of such fixed graded systems in Ismāʿīlī literature, though a certain amount of gradualism must surely have been pedagogically unavoidable in the initiation and education of the converts. Al-Nīsābūrī, for instance, relates that the *dāʿī*s were expected to educate the *mustajīb*s in a gradual manner, not revealing too much at a time so as not to confound them. Gradualism, from simpler and exoteric sciences to more complex esoteric ones, was also observed in the organization of lectures (*majālis*) for the ordinary Ismāʿīlīs, and in the training courses for the *dāʿī*s themselves at various institutions in Cairo. The Ismāʿīlī *daʿwa* was propagated openly within the Fāṭimid state. But with the exception of Syria, where a diversity of Shīʿī traditions had existed for centuries, the success of the *daʿwa* in Fāṭimid dominions, stretching at various times from North Africa to Palestine and parts of Syria, was both very limited and transitory. It was in non-Fāṭimid territories, the *jazīra*s, that the Ismāʿīlī *daʿwa* achieved lasting success. That Ismāʿīlism survived the Nizārī–Mustaʿlī schism and the downfall of the Fāṭimid dynasty is indeed testimony to the achievements of the *dāʿī*s operating outside the Fāṭimid state, especially in Yaman and Persia, where Ismāʿīlism survived in its Ṭayyibī Mustaʿlian and Nizārī forms.

The Fāṭimid Ismāʿīlīs maintained the basic doctrinal framework developed by the early Ismāʿīlīs, but they gradually modified certain of its aspects. In particular, they retained the fundamental distinction between the exoteric and the esoteric aspects of religion, and the earlier cyclical prophetic view of history, while introducing drastic changes into the pre-Fāṭimid cosmology. However, in contrast to the early Ismāʿīlīs, who tended to emphasize the significance of the *bāṭin*, they now insisted on the equal importance of the *ẓāhir* and the *bāṭin*. Both were considered as complementary dimensions of religion and, consequently, the Fāṭimid Ismāʿīlī *daʿwa* adopted the position of opposing the antinomian tendencies of the more radical Ismāʿīlī circles. These tendencies, such as those manifested by the *dāʿī*s who organized the Druze movement or those espoused by the Qarmaṭīs or even by the dissident Ismāʿīlīs within the Fāṭimid camp, were generally rooted in excessive enthusiasm for the *bāṭin*. There are numerous references in almost every work of Fāṭimid Ismāʿīlī literature to the need for preserving a careful balance between the *ẓāhir* and the *bāṭin*, emphasizing that one could not meaningfully exist without the other.[193] The *taʾwīl* or esoteric exegesis, required for deriving the truths hidden in the *bāṭin*, thus retained its importance in Fāṭimid Ismāʿīlī thought. The *taʾwīl* was the exclusive prerogative of the Ismāʿīlī imam who could convey such knowledge of the inner meaning behind the religious prescriptions to the lower members of the *daʿwa* hierarchy. In the absence of the Qāʾim, the

ḥaqāʾiq could be conveyed to the elite of mankind, the Ismāʿīlī community or the *ahl al-daʿwa*, only by the Fāṭimid Ismāʿīlī imam and the hierarchy of dignitaries serving him, especially the twelve *ḥujja*s and the lesser *dāʿī*s.

The Fāṭimid Ismāʿīlīs elaborated and expounded their doctrines in what were to become known as the classical works of Ismāʿīlī literature. In line with the basic structure of their religious thought, they paid attention to both the *ʿilm al-ẓāhir* and the *ʿilm al-bāṭin*, exoteric and esoteric knowledge, which found expression in numerous works ranging from the legal treatises of al-Qāḍī al-Nuʿmān to the more complex theological and philosophical writings of other outstanding authors of the period. The works on the *ẓāhir* of religion, propounding the exoteric doctrines, consisted mainly of those on jurisprudence (*fiqh*) and related subjects dealing with the literal aspects of the *sharīʿa* and the ritual prescriptions of Islam. Historical works, as noted, were rather rare amongst the Ismāʿīlīs. Writings on *tafsīr*, the external philological exegeses and commentaries used for explaining the apparent meaning of Qurʾānic passages and so important amongst the Sunnīs and the Twelver Shīʿīs, are also absent from the Ismāʿīlī literature of the Fāṭimid period. For the Fāṭimid Ismāʿīlīs, the living imam was the repository of true knowledge and the sole authoritative interpreter of the literal and hidden meaning of the sacred texts. Therefore, they had no need for a *ẓāhirī* science of *tafsīr* apart from what the imam would explain about the Qurʾān, with or without resorting to *taʾwīl*. This is why the Ismāʿīlīs also referred to their imam as the speaking Qurʾān (*al-Qurʾān al-nāṭiq*), in contrast to the actual text of the 'sacred book' which was regarded as the silent Qurʾān (*al-Qurʾān al-ṣāmit*).[194] For similar reasons, the Ismāʿīlīs produced few works on *ḥadīth*, since in that respect, too, the imam would provide the necessary guidance and criteria for the community.[195] The Fāṭimid Ismāʿīlīs did, however, accept those traditions deriving from the Prophet which had been handed down or sanctioned by their imams, in conjunction with those traditions deriving from their recognized imams, including especially the Imam al-Ṣādiq. Most such traditions were compiled by al-Qāḍī al-Nuʿmān, mainly in his *Daʿāʾim al-Islām* and *Sharḥ al-akhbār*.

In the area of the *bāṭinī* sciences, which account for the bulk of the writings produced during the Fāṭimid period, the Ismāʿīlīs made their greatest contributions to Shīʿī gnosis and Islamic thought. It was in expounding the Ismāʿīlī esoteric doctrines, constituting the essence of the Ismāʿīlī gnosis, that the learned *dāʿī*s elaborated their metaphysical systems and produced their elaborate treatises on the *ḥaqāʾiq*. It was also in connection with developing their theological, philosophical and metaphysical doctrines that the Ismāʿīlī scholars of the classical Fāṭimid period showed their originality of thought, mastery of pre-Islamic religions and Judaeo-Christian scriptures, as well as their profound knowledge of Hellenistic and Islamic philosophy.

Fāṭimid Ismāʿīlism retained the early Ismāʿīlī views of cyclical hierohistory and prophetology, which conceived of seven eras, each inaugurated by a *nāṭiq*. However, owing to the Fāṭimid claims to the imamate, the early Ismāʿīlī doctrine of the imamate now required the institution of modifications. These modifications necessitated adjustments in the earlier views concerning the duration of the sixth era, the era of the Prophet Muḥammad, the number and functions of the imams during that era, and the identity and attributes of the Qāʾim. As Fāṭimid rule continued and the eschatological expectations regarding the Qāʾim were not fulfilled, further heptads of imams were permitted in the era of Islam, whose duration was now continuously extended. This postponed the awaited emergence of the Qāʾim, who was to initiate the final era of history, still further into the future. By the time of al-Mustanṣir, the Fāṭimid Ismāʿīlīs had even come to accept a spiritual interpretation in respect to the Qāʾim's parousia, while previously they had allowed for him to be a person, from the progeny of the Fāṭimids, other than Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl, who was no longer expected to reappear corporeally.

Philosophical Ismāʿīlism of the Iranian *dāʿī*s

By the end of the 3rd/9th century, much of the intellectual heritage of antiquity was accessible to the Muslims. This had resulted from the great translation movement into Arabic of numerous texts of Greek wisdom. The writings of Plato (Aflaṭūn), Aristotle (Arisṭūṭālīs), Galen (Jālīnūs) and many other Greek sages were initially translated into Syriac-Aramaic mainly by Christian scholars of Mesopotamia and Syria, who then translated the same materials into Arabic. After the sporadic efforts of the Umayyad period, this translation movement was officially sponsored by the early ʿAbbāsids, especially by the caliph al-Maʾmūn (198–218/813–833), who established at his palace in Baghdad the Bayt al-Ḥikma (House of Wisdom), a library where translations were undertaken systematically by teams of scholars. As a result, Muslims could now become acquainted not only with different branches of Greek science, such as medicine and mathematics, but also with logic and metaphysics.[196]

In philosophy, along with the works of the great Greek masters, the writings of the authors of the so-called Neoplatonic school were also translated into Arabic with commentaries from the 3rd/9th century onwards. These Arabic Neoplatonic materials were to have seminal influences on the development of Islamic philosophy in general and of Ismāʿīlī thought of the Fāṭimid period in particular. Neoplatonism, a term coined by modern historians of philosophy, was founded by Plotinus (d. 270 AD), known to Muslims as al-Shaykh al-Yūnānī, who re-worked Plato in an original manner. After the contributions of a number of Plotinus's

disciples, notably Porphyry (d. ca. 300 AD) and the latter's student Iamblichus (d. ca. 330 AD), Neoplatonic philosophy received its major systematization at the hands of the Athenian Proclus (d. 485 AD).

Muslims did not generally distinguish among the various schools of Greek philosophy, but they did consider Aristotle as its foremost representative. This explains why they readily attributed numerous pseudo-epigrapha to Aristotle, texts that also acquired early popularity in Muslim intellectual milieus. By the 4th/10th century, there had appeared several Arabic treatises containing Neoplatonic doctrines rooted in the teachings of Plotinus and other Greek philosophers. Although some of these texts had been translated into Arabic under the correct names of their Greek authors, a majority bore false attributions, mainly to Aristotle. Foremost among the Neoplatonic materials in Arabic, which disseminated Neoplatonism among Muslims and also influenced the Ismāʿīlī and Qarmaṭī *dāʿī*s of the Iranian lands, was a paraphrase of portions of Plotinus's principal work, the *Enneads*. Existing in 'longer' and 'shorter' versions, this treatise circulated as Aristotle's *Theology* (Arabic, *Uthūlūjiyā*). The Ismāʿīlī *dāʿī*s and other Muslim scholars also had access to the *Kalām fī maḥḍ al-khayr* (*Discourse on the Pure Good*), another important pseudo-Aristotelian work which was actually a paraphrase of Proclus's *Elements of Theology*. When medieval Europe began in the 6th/12th century to acquire access to texts on Greek sciences and philosophy through translations from the Arabic, the *Kalām* became famous in its Latin version under the title of *Liber de causis* (*Book of Causes*).[197]

These pseudo-Aristotelian writings, and other Arabic translations of Greek philosophical texts, circulated among the educated classes. Their Neoplatonic doctrines proved particularly appealing to a diversity of Muslim thinkers, who adopted and adapted them in the course of the 4th/10th century. This led to the development of a distinctive philosophical tradition in the Muslim world. Initiated by al-Kindī (d. 256/870), the early success of this philosophical tradition found its full application in the works of al-Fārābī (d. 339/950), widely known as the 'second teacher' (*al-muʿallim al-thānī*) of philosophy in the Islamic world after Aristotle, and Ibn Sīnā (d. 428/1037), the Avicenna of medieval Europeans. Both of these great Muslim philosophers from the eastern Iranian provinces synthesized Aristotelian metaphysics with a variety of Neoplatonic doctrines. Neoplatonism was particularly attractive to the intellectual circles of Nīshāpūr and other cities of Khurāsān, an important region for the development of Islamic philosophy, as well as Transoxania.

The pseudo-Aristotelian texts and their Neoplatonic philosophy had also attracted the attention of the Ismāʿīlī and dissident Qarmaṭī *dāʿī*s of the Iranian lands, operating especially in the Jibāl, Khurāsān and Transoxania. It was in the course of the 4th/10th century that these *dāʿī*s set up to harmonize Ismāʿīlī Shīʿī

theology with Neoplatonic philosophy. This interfacing of reason and revelation, or philosophy and theology, led to the development of the unique intellectual tradition of 'philosophical theology' within Ismāʿīlism – a tradition designated as 'philosophical Ismāʿīlism' in modern times. Muḥammad al-Nasafī, the chief *dāʿī* of Khurāsān and Transoxania, was evidently the earliest of the Iranian *dāʿī*s to introduce Neoplatonic philosophy into his theology and system of thought. He may also have been the first of the Iranian *dāʿī*s to have propagated his ideas in writing. Al-Nasafī's main work, *Kitāb al-maḥṣūl* (*Book of the Yield*), written around 300/912 and summarizing this *dāʿī*'s views, has not survived, but it is known that it circulated widely and acquired much popularity among dissident Qarmaṭī circles. Al-Nasafī and other early *dāʿī*s of the Iranian lands, such as Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī and Abū Yaʿqūb al-Sijistānī, wrote for the ruling elite and the educated classes of society, aiming to attract them intellectually and win their support for the *daʿwa*. This may explain why these *dāʿī*s expressed their *kalām* theology, revolving around the central Shīʿī doctrine of the imamate, in terms of the then most modern and intellectually fashionable philosophical terminologies and themes, without compromising the essence of their religious message.

It was under such circumstances that Muḥammad al-Nasafī, Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī, and most importantly Abū Yaʿqūb al-Sijistānī, drawing on a type of 'Neoplatonism' then current among the educated circles of Khurāsān and Central Asia, wrote on various philosophical themes that are generally absent in the writings of al-Qāḍī al-Nuʿmān, Jaʿfar b. Manṣūr al-Yaman and other contemporary Ismāʿīlī authors operating in the Arab lands and North Africa. The Iranian *dāʿī*s elaborated complex metaphysical systems of thought with a distinct Neoplatonized emanational cosmology, representing also the earliest tradition of philosophical theology in Shīʿism.

Sharing a common interest in philosophy, the Iranian *dāʿī*s also became involved in a long-drawn-out theological debate. Al-Nasafī's *al-Maḥṣūl* was criticized by his contemporary *dāʿī* of Rayy, Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī, who devoted an entire work, *Kitāb al-iṣlāḥ* (*Book of the Correction*), to its correction. Abū Ḥātim seems to have been particularly concerned with correcting the antinomian tendencies expressed by al-Nasafī. Abū Ḥātim's *al-Iṣlāḥ*, in turn, called forth a rejoinder from al-Nasafī's successor in Khurāsān, al-Sijistānī, who wrote a book entitled *Kitāb al-nuṣra* (*Book of the Support*) specifically to defend aspects of al-Nasafī's views against the criticisms of Abū Ḥātim. Al-Sijistānī's *al-Nuṣra*, which was composed before this *dāʿī* was won over to the Fāṭimid Ismāʿīlī *daʿwa*, has also been lost, but it is quoted extensively, along with *al-Maḥṣūl* and *al-Iṣlāḥ*, in the *dāʿī* al-Kirmānī's *Kitāb al-riyāḍ* (*Book of the Meadows*). Al-Kirmānī reviewed this debate from the viewpoint of the Fāṭimid *daʿwa* in his *al-Riyāḍ*,[198] with extensive quotations from

all three works, and in particular upheld the views of Abū Ḥātim against those of al-Nasafī in affirming the indispensability of both the *ẓāhir* and the *bāṭin* of the law. This explains why Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī's *al-Iṣlāḥ* was the only early text related to this debate that was selected for preservation by the Fāṭimid Ismāʿīlī *daʿwa*. Later, the antinomian tendencies of al-Nasafī and al-Sijistānī were also attacked by Nāṣir-i Khusraw who, like al-Kirmānī, reflected the position of the Fāṭimid Ismāʿīlī *daʿwa*.[199]

Al-Nasafī and Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī both envisaged hierohistory in terms of the Ismāʿīlī scheme of the seven eras, marked by the appearance of the speaker-prophets announcing new *sharīʿa*s and religions, though they disagreed on some of the details.[200] According to al-Nasafī, the first of the seven *nāṭiq*s, Adam, promulgated no law; he taught the doctrine of the unity of God, *tawḥīd*, without prescribing any action (*ʿamal*) or religious duties. In any event, in the first era, there were no other human beings besides Adam, so no *sharīʿa* was actually required. Consequently, the first law-announcing *nāṭiq* was Noah, at the beginning of whose era other beings had also appeared and hence a religious law was now needed. Similarly, the seventh *nāṭiq*, the Qāʾim Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl, would not announce any law, since his function was to reveal the inner meaning of all the previous laws. Meanwhile, Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl had disappeared like the fifth *nāṭiq* Jesus, but he would soon return. Apparently, al-Nasafī also maintained that the era of Islam had ended with the first coming of Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl. In other words, the seventh, lawless *dawr* had already started and in that era, by contrast to the previous six eras, there were no longer any imams, but only the *lawāḥiq* (*lāḥiq*s) of the twelve *jazāʾir* of the earth. Herein lay the antinomian tendencies which met with the strong disapproval of Abū Ḥātim, who held that all esoteric truth inevitably requires an exoteric revealed law.

Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī countered al-Nasafī's views with detailed arguments that Adam did in fact announce a law, though for him too Adam could not be classified amongst the *ūlu'l-ʿazm* prophets, since he had not abolished the law of any previous *nāṭiq*.[201] In a similar manner, the seventh *nāṭiq*, who himself brings no law, does not abrogate the religious law of Islam, but merely manifests its hidden meaning. Abū Ḥātim, however, holds that there will be no *ʿamal* in the seventh era. In order to avoid the conclusion reached by al-Nasafī that the seventh, lawless era had already begun with the first coming of Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl, Abū Ḥātim introduced the concept of the interim period. This was a period marked by the absence of imams, and occurring at the end of each prophetic era, between the disappearance of the seventh imam of that era and the coming of the *nāṭiq* of the following era. During this period of interregnum, or *dawr al-fatra*, the twelve *lawāḥiq* assume command, with one acting as the deputy (*khalīfa*) of the absent seventh imam and as such possessing the right of authoritative arbitration

amongst the *lawāḥiq*. It may be added that this is also the earliest usage of the term *khalīfa* by an Ismāʿīlī author. According to Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī, an interim or *fatra* of this nature had occurred after the disappearance of Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl, implying that the sixth era, the era of Islam, had not yet expired. Abū Ḥātim also fails to see any comparison between the absence of the seventh *nāṭiq* and the disappearance of the fifth *nāṭiq*, Jesus, since the latter's mission had been completed on his departure from this world, while the cause of Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl was not concluded upon his disappearance.[202]

Al-Nasafī and Abū Ḥātim also devoted much energy and imagination to accommodating some other prevalent religions, notably those of the Zoroastrians (Arabic, al-Majūs) and the Ṣābiʾa or Sabaeans mentioned in the Qurʾān, within their scheme of the seven prophetic periods, assigning these religions to specific periods and *nāṭiq*s. The Sabaeans, who in the Islamic period have been identified with both the Mandaeans of southern ʿIrāq and the pagan community of Ḥarrān in Mesopotamia, were assigned by al-Nasafī to the era of the fifth *nāṭiq*, Jesus. Their doctrines, therefore, were considered to have been derived essentially from Christianity. Abū Ḥātim concurs with al-Nasafī in attributing the religion of the Sabaeans to the era of Jesus, adding that this religion was originally founded by a *lāḥiq* of that period who was not himself a *nāṭiq* and who did not promulgate any new laws in his book, called *al-Zabūr*. However, as al-Sijistānī also argued later on, the original doctrine of the founder of the Sabaean religion was corrupted during the interregnum of the fifth era by adversaries such as Mānī, Bardesanes (Ibn Dayṣān) and Marcion, who misinterpreted the doctrine. On the other hand, Abū Ḥātim objects to al-Nasafī's assignment of Zoroastrianism to the period of the third *nāṭiq*, Abraham. Al-Sijistānī, as in other cases, supported al-Nasafī's view in this respect, considering Zoroaster as a missionary of Abraham.[203] According to Abū Ḥātim, the Zoroastrians belonged to the period of the fourth *nāṭiq*, Moses, and Zoroaster (Zardusht) was one of the *lāḥiq*s of that period, receiving his investiture during its interregnum. But Zoroaster's original doctrine was also corrupted by adversaries such as Mazdak.[204]

Abū Yaʿqūb al-Sijistānī defended al-Nasafī's position against the criticisms of Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī. He, too, believed that Adam had brought no law, and his historical scheme is identical with that of al-Nasafī.[205] Between any two *nāṭiq*s, he explains, there are seven imams, the last one becoming the speaker-prophet of the following era. But there are no more imams in the final era after the Qāʾim, when the period of the *lawāḥiq* and *khulafāʾ* who follow him begins in the world.[206] For al-Sijistānī too, while he was a supporter of al-Nasafī, the era of Islam had ended with the coming of the Qāʾim Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl. But later, al-Sijistānī modified some of his more radical views. For instance, in his *Kitāb ithbāt al-nubuwwāt*, he states that he does not belong to those who follow

the path of *taʾwīl* without paying attention to the religious commandments.[207] Contrary to the view of Abū Ḥātim, al-Sijistānī explains that the imamate and the function of the deputies (*khulafāʾ*) of the Qāʾim will belong until the day of resurrection to the progeny of Muḥammad, the 'seal of the prophets'. And more significantly, contrary to the view expressed earlier in his own *Kitāb al-nuṣra*, he now designates these deputies, who carry out the deeds of the Qāʾim, as imams.[208] In these statements, al-Sijistānī has clearly approached the reformed doctrine of al-Muʿizz. Al-Sijistānī doubtless recognized the imamate of the Fāṭimids at least since the time he composed his *Ithbāt al-nubuwwāt*.

Al-Nasafī, al-Rāzī and, later, al-Sijistānī, as noted, became greatly influenced by Neoplatonism, especially by its concept of the unknowable God, its theory of emanation, and its hierarchic chain of beings. In their cosmologies, which represented a drastic change from the theory of creation of the early Ismāʿīlīs, the Iranian *dāʿī*s did not, however, adopt every doctrine of Neoplatonic philosophy, since they had to integrate these borrowed ideas into an Islamic perspective. As a result, the *dāʿī*s of the Iranian lands developed their own unique brand of metaphysics, cosmology and spiritual anthropology. It is mainly on the basis of al-Sijistānī's numerous extant writings that modern scholars have studied the origins and early development of philosophical Ismāʿīlism, with its cosmology, as elaborated during the 4th/10th century.[209]

In the Neoplatonized Ismāʿīlī cosmology, fully discussed in al-Sijistānī's *Kitāb al-yanabīʿ* and other works, God is described as absolutely transcendent, beyond human comprehension, beyond any name or attribute, beyond being and non-being, and therefore unknowable. This conception of God, reminiscent of the ineffable One of the Greek Neoplatonists, was also in close agreement with the fundamental Islamic principle of *tawḥīd*, affirming the absolute unity of God. The basic tenet of Neoplatonism could thus find ready acceptance in Ismāʿīlī theology, which adhered to strict monotheism and at its core was 'revelational' rather than 'rational'. This is why al-Sijistānī stresses that the worshipping of the unknowable God and the upholding of *tawḥīd* would require, via double negation, the denial of both *tashbīh*, or anthropomorphism, and the most radical anti-anthropomorphist doctrines such as those held by the rationalist Muʿtazila, since the advocation of the latter doctrines would mean committing *taʿṭīl*, or the denudation of the divine essence.[210]

The Ismāʿīlīs did, however, introduce some major changes in the next stage of the emanational cosmological doctrine they had borrowed from the Neoplatonists, harmonizing it with their Islamic teachings and the Qurʾānic view of creation. Instead of having the intellect, called *nous* by the Neoplatonists, emanate directly and involuntarily from the source of being, the One, as with Plotinus and his school, in the system of the Iranian *dāʿī*s God brings creation

into being through His command or volition (*amr*), or word (*kalima*), in an act of primordial, extra-temporal origination (*ibdāʿ*), signifying creation out of nothing — *ex nihilo*. Hence, God is the originator or the *mubdiʿ*, and His command or word act as an intermediary between Him and His creation. The universal intellect (*ʿaql)* is the first originated being (*al-mubdaʿ al-awwal*), also called simply the first (*al-awwal*) and the preceder (*al-sābiq*), since the *amr* or *logos* is united with it in existence. The intellect is eternal, motionless and perfect, both potentially and actually.[211] It corresponds to the number one, and, in keeping with the Neoplatonic tradition, it is called the source of all light.[212] From the intellect proceeds, through emanation (*inbiʿāth*), the soul (*nafs*), or the universal soul (*al-nafs al-kulliyya*), also referred to as the second (*al-thānī*) and the follower (*al-tālī*), corresponding to the psyche of the Neoplatonists. In this cosmological doctrine, intellect and soul are also combined together as the two roots or principles (*al-aṣlān*), the original dyad of the pleroma. The *nafs*, the second hypostasis, is much more complex than the *ʿaql*, being imperfect and belonging to a different plane of existence.[213] The deficient soul is definitely subservient to the intellect and requires the benefits of the intellect in order to achieve perfection. The Iranian *dāʿī*s continued the emanational chain of their cosmology all the way to the genesis of man, beyond the simple triad of the One, intellect, and soul described by Plotinus, while also recognizing that God had created everything in the spiritual and physical worlds all at once (*dafʿatan wāḥidatan*).[214] The various parts of the universe, however, became only gradually manifested through the process of causation and emanation

The imperfection (*naqṣ*) of the soul, and its desire to attain perfection, expresses itself in movement and this movement is a symptom of defect, just as tranquillity reflects perfection.[215] For Plotinus as for Plato, the essential characteristic of the soul is movement, and it is the soul's movement which causes all other movements. It is interesting to note that for al-Sijistānī, as for Plotinus, time is the measure of motion, resulting from the soul's activity. The soul's defect also accounts for its descent into the depths of the physical world, which owes its existence to this very defect. From the soul, which is the source of matter (*hayūlā*) and form (*ṣūra*),[216] proceed the seven spheres (*aflāk*) with their stars, and the heavenly bodies move with the soul's movement. Then the four elemental qualities or simple elements (*mufradāt*), namely, heat, cold, humidity and dryness, are produced. The simple elements are mixed, through the revolution of the spheres, to form the composite elements (*murakkabāt*), namely, earth, water, air and ether (fire). The composite substances then mingle to produce the plants with the vegetative soul (*al-nafs al-nāmiya*), from which the animals with their sentient soul (*al-nafs ḥissiyya*) originate.[217] From the latter, finally man with his rational soul (*al-nafs al-nāṭiqa*) comes forth.

In order to relate more closely this Ismāʿīlī Neoplatonic cosmology to Islamic tradition, some of the concepts of the spiritual world contained in it were identified by the Iranian *dāʿīs* with Qurʾānic terms. Thus, *ʿaql* was identified with the 'pen' (*qalam*) and the 'throne' (*ʿarsh*), while *nafs* was equated with the 'tablet' (*lawḥ*) and the 'chair' (*kursī*).[218] At the same time, much emphasis was given to analogies between the spiritual, celestial world and the physical, terrestrial world on the one hand, and between man as the microcosm and the physical universe as the macrocosm, on the other. This cosmology, as refined by al-Sijistānī, came to be officially accepted by the Fāṭimid Ismāʿīlī *daʿwa* some time towards the latter part of the reign of al-Muʿizz, with the caliph-imam's approval and evidently as part of his measures designed to win the allegiance of the dissident eastern Ismāʿīlīs.

Certain conceptions of the earlier Ismāʿīlī cosmology continued however to be retained in the Neoplatonic cosmology that superseded and partly replaced it, though the original character and function of the older elements are unrecognizable in their new context. The *amr* or *kalima*, as the creative command of the new doctrine, may be equated with the *kun* of the earlier doctrine; while the terms *kūnī, qadar, jadd, fatḥ* and *khayāl*, preserved by the Iranian *dāʿīs*, had now lost their original significance. For al-Nasafī, the pair KŪNĪ–QDR represent the letters of the seven days of the week. Al-Sijistānī regards them as the seven upper or divine letters through which the spiritual forms come into being.[219] Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī applies Neoplatonic emanationalism to the cosmological pair of the early Ismāʿīliyya, holding that the three letters QDR are issued from the first three letters of the word *kūnī*. In a general sense, *kūnī* and *qadar* now became synonymous with the intellect and soul of the new doctrine. Thus, *kūnī* came to be identified with the first, the preceder, and with *ʿaql*, whereas *qadar* was equated with the second, the follower, and *nafs*. This identification is also attested by a Yamanī Zaydī historian of the 6th/12th century, Musallam b. Muḥammad al-Laḥjī, who comments on some earlier Zaydī references to the doctrines of the Yamanī Ismāʿīlīs. In one of his commentaries on a reference made to *kūnī-qadar* by ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar al-Hamdānī, a Yamanī author of the beginning of the 4th/10th century who wrote a biography of the Zaydī Imam al-Nāṣir li-Dīn Allāh Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā (d. 322/934), al-Laḥjī states that 'they now say of the one they formerly called *kūnī, al-sābiq*, and of the one they used to call *qadar, al-tālī*.... and of the preceder and the follower they also say the first two principles (*al-aṣlān al-awwalān*), saying the two are *al-ʿaql* and *al-nafs*, from which *al-jadd*, *al-fatḥ* and *al-khayāl* are issued like emanations (*inbiʿāthāt*).'[220] It may be noted that the original female-male sequence of the primal pair was now reversed, and *qadar* in effect came to precede *kūnī*. The priority of the feminine hypostasis, *kūnī*, that assumed the more preferred place in the older doctrine, was lost in

'philosophical Ismāʿīlism'. The *ʿaql*, occupying the first place in the new doctrine, was masculine and perfect, while the feminine hypostasis, *al-nafs*, now descended to second place and became characterized by imperfection and unrest.

The three spiritual beings *jadd*, *fatḥ* and *khayāl*, preserved from the earlier cosmology, now acquired the function of acting as intermediaries between the terrestrial *daʿwa* hierarchy and intellect and soul, whilst retaining their previous role of rendering the cognition of the upper world feasible for mankind.[221] As in the case of the earlier doctrine, they are also the special graces which bestow certain gifts upon the speaker-prophets of sacred human history, bringing the benefits of intellect and soul directly to the *nuṭaqāʾ*. For al-Sijistānī, the pentad consisting of the *aṣlān* (intellect and soul), *jadd*, *fatḥ* and *khayāl* in fact comprise the spiritual *ḥudūd*, which together with the five ranks of the terrestrial *daʿwa* (*nāṭiq*, *asās, imām*, *lāḥiq* and *janāḥ*) make up what Paul Walker has designated as the normative or moral hierarchy, which is of specifically Ismāʿīlī provenance.[222] Al-Sijistānī harmonizes this hierarchy of the intelligible reality, in a highly intricate fashion, with the hierarchical order derived from Neoplatonism, viz., intellect, soul, the spheres and the lower natural orders, God being at the head of both hierarchies.

The authors of the Iranian school of 'philosophical Ismāʿīlism' also propounded a doctrine of salvation as part of their cosmology. Indeed, al-Sijistānī's Neoplatonic philosophy and his Ismāʿīlī theology, as in the case of his Iranian predecessors, were closely related to a soteriological vision of the cosmos in which man appears as a microcosm with individual human souls as parts of the universal soul. Al-Sijistānī's doctrine of salvation, elaborated in purely spiritual terms, bears a close affinity to Plotinus's ideas on the mystical union between man and the One – a union that according to the ancient Neoplatonists was the supreme goal of all human endeavour. Drawing extensively on various Neoplatonic and gnostic motifs, al-Sijistānī's doctrine of salvation is also closely related to his doctrine of the soul and the Ismāʿīlī cyclical view of history. This soteriological vision can be explained in terms of descending and ascending scales or paths with their related hierarchies. The descending scale traces creation from God's command through an emanational hierarchy, to the world of material reality and the genesis of man. As a counterpart, the ascending scale maps the rise of man's soul to the higher, spiritual world in quest of salvation. The doctrine of salvation, thus, forms the necessary counterpart to the cosmological doctrine in the metaphysical system of al-Sijistānī, as in the case of other theologian-philosophers of the Iranian school of philosophical Ismāʿīlism.

The ultimate goal of man's salvation is the human soul's progression out of a purely mundane, physical existence towards his Creator, in quest of a spiritual reward in an eternal afterlife. This ascending quest up a ladder of salvation – or

Sullam al-najāt, which is the title of one of al-Sijistānī's still unpublished works related to his doctrine of salvation – involves the purification of man's soul, which depends on guidance provided by the terrestrial hierarchy of the Ismāʿīlī *daʿwa*. This is because only the authorized members of this *daʿwa* hierarchy are in a position to reveal the 'right path' along which God guides those who seek the truth and whose souls on the Day of Judgement will be rewarded spiritually. In every era of human history, the terrestrial hierarchy consists of the law-announcing *nāṭiq* of that era and his rightful successors. In the era of Islam, the guidance required for salvation is provided by the Prophet Muḥammad, his *waṣī* ʿAlī, and the Ismāʿīlī imams. In this system, man's salvation depends on his acquisition of a particular type of knowledge through a unique source or wellspring (*yanbūʿ*; plural, *yanābīʿ*) of wisdom. This knowledge can be imparted only through the guidance of religious authorities, sole possessors of the true, inner meaning of revelation in any prophetic era, who can provide its authoritative interpretation or *taʾwīl*. And it is only through the perfection of individual souls that the actually defective universal soul can realize its own perfection, which is tantamount to restoring perfection to the pleroma. Thus, history becomes the record of the universal soul's quest for perfection, and also the record of human achievement as man is called to assist in the perfection of the universal soul.[223]

In evaluating the intellectual contributions of the Iranian school of philosophical Ismāʿīlism, themes of theology and philosophy need to be considered side by side, even though al-Sijistānī and his predecessors would not have considered themselves as belonging to the category of the Muslim philosophers or *falāsifa*. These Iranian *dāʿī*s produced original syntheses of religious and philosophical themes. Yet, it is important to bear in mind that they used philosophy in a subservient manner and in the service of their religious quest, which ultimately required the guidance of the Ismāʿīlī imam and the hierarchy of teachers authorized by him in the *daʿwa* organization. Al-Sijistānī and other proponents of 'philosophical Ismāʿīlism' thus remained faithful *dāʿī*s propagating the central Shīʿī doctrine of the imamate. However, the philosophical superstructures of their systems enhanced the intellectual appeal of their message. This explains why their writings circulated widely in Persia and Central Asia, in both Ismāʿīlī and non-Ismāʿīlī intellectual circles. Some non-Ismāʿīlī scholars, like Abū Manṣūr al-Māturīdī (d. 333/944), the Sunnī theologian of Transoxania and founder of the Māturīdiyya school of *kalām* theology, and Abu'l-Qāsim al-Bustī (d. 420/1029), a Muʿtazilī Zaydī scholar of Persia, even commented upon aspects of the systems of thought developed by al-Nasafī and his school and preserved fragments of their writings.[224]

The Fāṭimid Ismāʿīlī *daʿwa* headquarters in Ifrīqiya did not contribute to the elaboration of the early philosophical Ismāʿīlism of the Iranian *dāʿī*s. The original cosmogony of the Ismāʿīliyya had continued to be adhered to by the

Fāṭimid *daʿwa* until the latter part of al-Muʿizz's reign, as attested, for instance, by Abū ʿĪsa al-Murshid's *Risāla*, already noted. The Neoplatonic cosmology of the Iranian *dāʿī*s was, however, endorsed eventually by al-Muʿizz. Thereafter, the new Ismāʿīlī Neoplatonic cosmology was generally advocated by Fāṭimid *dāʿī*-authors, in preference to the earlier mythological doctrine, at least until the time of Nāṣir-i Khusraw, the last major Iranian proponent of philosophical Ismāʿīlism who drew extensively on al-Sijistānī's writings in elaborating his own metaphysical system.[225]

The Neoplatonized cosmology of the Iranian *dāʿī*s went through a further transformation, representing yet a third stage in the medieval development of Ismāʿīlī cosmological doctrines, at the hands of the *dāʿī* Ḥamīd al-Dīn al-Kirmānī, the most learned Ismāʿīlī philosopher of the entire Fāṭimid period. He was fully acquainted with Aristotelian and Neoplatonic philosophies as well as the metaphysical systems of the Muslim philosophers, notably al-Fārābī and Ibn Sīnā, the latter a contemporary of al-Kirmānī's. As noted, he also knew the Hebrew and Syriac languages and was familiar with the Hebrew text of the Old Testament, the Syriac version of the New Testament, as well as other Judaeo-Christian sacred scriptures. Al-Kirmānī harmonized Ismāʿīlī theology with a diversity of philosophical traditions in developing his own elaborate metaphysical system in the *Rāḥat al-ʿaql*, his major philosophical treatise composed in 411/1020 for advanced adepts.[226] In fact, al-Kirmānī's metaphysical system represents a unique syncretic tradition within the Iranian school of philosophical Ismāʿīlism. Al-Kirmānī's cosmology was partially based on al-Fārābī's Aristotelian cosmic system, while taking account of certain of Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī's objections to al-Nasafī's school of thought.

Regarding God's unknowability and transcendence, al-Kirmānī adopted a stricter position compared to his Ismāʿīlī predecessors. He denied the hypostatic role of any mediator (*wāsiṭa*) such as the divine word or command between God and the first created being, because they too would compromise the principle of *tawḥīd* and God's absolute transcendence.[227] He was also opposed to the views of those Muslim philosophers like Ibn Sīna, who regarded God as a 'necessary existent' (*wājib al-wujūd*), a conception that would again, in al-Kirmānī's view, compromise God's transcendence since it could apply only to a 'created being'. In his cosmology, al-Kirmānī replaced the Neoplatonic dyad of intellect and soul in the spiritual world, adopted by his Iranian predecessors, with a system of ten separate intellects, or archangelical hypostases, in partial adaptation of al-Fārābī's school of philosophy.

In al-Kirmānī's system, the first intellect (*al-ʿaql al-awwal*), or the first originated being, is identical with the very act of origination (*ibdāʿ*), and it is perfect in its essence, motionless and stable. These attributes signify the complete tranquillity or repose (*rāḥa*) of the first intellect, hence the designation *Rāḥat*

al-ʿaql. The first intellect is also the cause (*ʿilla*) of all beings, corresponding to the One of Plotinus and other Greek Neoplatonists, and to the 'necessary existent' of the Muslim philosophers. The first intellect becomes the point of departure for the emanation (*inbiʿāth*) of the remaining intellects and all other beings. The second and third intellects are emanated from the higher and lower relations of the first intellect. The remaining seven intellects, identified symbolically with the seven higher letters (*al-ḥurūf al-ʿulwiyya*) of the original Ismāʿīlī cosmology,[228] are issued from the second intellect (*al-ʿaql al-thānī*), also called the first emanated being (*al-munbaʿith al-awwal*). Al-Kirmānī's ideas on the third intellect, or the second emanated being (*al-munbaʿith al-thānī*), representing archetypes of matter (*hayūlā*) and form (*ṣūra*), seem to have been without antecedent among his Ismāʿīlī predecessors and Muslim philosophers. Celestial bodies and the corporeal world are formed through the third intellect. The physical world consists of nine celestial spheres, the spheres of the planets and the sublunar world. Each sphere is related to one of the intellects. The tenth intellect, also called the active intellect (*al-ʿaql al-faʿʿāl*), governs the physical world as a demiurge. Al-Kirmānī then explains the generation of the four elements (*arkān*), of the realms of minerals, plants and animals, and finally of man as a microcosm reflecting in his essence the macrocosm.

Al-Kirmānī's system, too, culminates in a soteriological doctrine, centred around the salvation of man's soul through the attainment of spiritual knowledge provided by the authoritative guidance of prophets and their legitimate successors. In al-Kirmānī's metaphysical system, there are numerous correspondences between the celestial and terrestrial hierarchies, and between the ten intellects of the higher world and the ranks or *ḥudūd* of the terrestrial *daʿwa* organization, ranging from *nāṭiq*, *waṣī* (or *asās*) and *imām* to *bāb* (or *dāʿī al-duʿāt*), *ḥujja*, and different ranks of *dāʿī* and his assistant or *ma'dhūn*.[229] Al-Kirmānī used his diverse sources creatively and elaborated an original synthesis.[230] However, as in the case of his Iranian predecessors, it is ultimately the authoritative guidance of the Prophet Muḥammad and his successors, the Ismāʿīlī imams, that is determining in his metaphysical system. Al-Kirmānī's cosmology failed to be generally adopted by the Fāṭimid Ismāʿīlī *daʿwa*, but it later provided the doctrinal basis for the fourth and final stage in the medieval development of Ismāʿīlī cosmology at the hands of the Ṭayyibī Mustaʿlian *dāʿī*s of Yaman.

The Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ and their *Epistles*

Besides the Iranian school of philosophical Ismāʿīlism, there was another intellectual tradition affiliated to the broader Ismāʿīlī movement in the 4th/10th century

that came greatly under the influence of Neoplatonism. This tradition is manifested in the *Rasāʾil* or *Epistles* of the *Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ*, generally translated as the *Brethren of Purity*, or the *Sincere Brethren*.[231] Much controversy has surrounded the authorship and the date of composition of these *Epistles*, whose Ismāʿīlī connection was already recognized in 1898 by Paul Casanova, long before the modern recovery of Ismāʿīlī literature. There are various anachronistic accounts attributing the authorship of the *Epistles* to different Shīʿī imams, while the *dāʿī* Idrīs, reflecting the official view of the Ṭayyibī *daʿwa* in Yaman, has a detailed account in which he ascribes the *Epistles* to the Imam Aḥmad b. ʿAbd Allāh, the grandson of Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl and one of the hidden imams of the early Ismāʿīlīs.[232] However, some reliable contemporary authorities from the 4th/10th century, notably the philosopher Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī (d. 414/1023), name certain men of letters and secretaries of Būyid ʿIrāq, affiliated with the Ismāʿīlī movement and residents of Baṣra, as belonging to the group of authors who composed the otherwise anonymous *Epistles*. Amongst such authors, and in reply to certain questions raised around 373/983 by his patron Ibn Saʿdān, who was the vizier of the Būyid Ṣamṣām al-Dawla, Abū Ḥayyān names Abū Sulaymān Muḥammad b. Maʿshar al-Bustī, also known as al-Maqdisī, Abu'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Hārūn al-Zanjānī, Abū Aḥmad al-Nahrajūrī, and al-ʿAwfī. These four persons were somehow associated with the Ismāʿīlī movement, and it seems that al-Zanjānī, a *qāḍī* and an acquaintance of Abū Ḥayyān, was the leader of the group. Abū Ḥayyān's important statements, later reproduced by Ibn al-Qifṭī (d. 646/1248), are essentially corroborated by another contemporary source ʿAbd al-Jabbār b. Aḥmad al-Hamadhānī (d. 415/1025), the Muʿtazilī theologian and chief *qāḍī* of Rayy. In his own list, ʿAbd al-Jabbār omits al-Maqdisī but adds the names of Ibn Abi'l-Baghl, a certain astrologer, and the chancery secretary Zayd b. Rifāʿa who, also according to Abū Ḥayyān, was a close friend of the group.[233] On the basis of this evidence, most scholars are now agreed that the *Epistles* were secretly produced in Baṣra by a coterie of secretaries and men of letters affiliated with Ismāʿīlism, in the middle of the 4th/10th century, around the time of the Fāṭimid conquest of Egypt.

It seems that the authors who composed the *Rasāʾil* did not represent the official view of the Fāṭimid *daʿwa* and evidently did not even adhere to the tenets of Fāṭimid Ismāʿīlism. As Samuel Stern has argued, it may well be that the Shīʿī authors of the *Epistles* were motivated in their encyclopedic endeavour by a desire to reunite the non-Fāṭimid Ismāʿīlīs, including the Qarmaṭīs of Baḥrayn and the dissident eastern Ismāʿīlī communities, on a common and idealized doctrinal ground. These authors adopted a type of Ismāʿīlī Neoplatonism, on the basis of which they elaborated their emanational cosmological doctrine, conceiving of a hierarchy of beings in nine stages.[234] They also espoused a liberal and highly

enlightened attitude towards religion and the wide range of subjects discussed. Written in Baṣra at a time when southern ʿIrāq was under the virtual domination of the Qarmaṭīs of Baḥrayn, the *Epistles* probably also had the tacit approval, if not the active encouragement, of the Qarmaṭīs. The Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ, in fact, place their teaching under the auspices of the hidden seventh imam of the Ismāʿīliyya, the same Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl whose emergence was at the time expected by the Qarmaṭīs of Baḥrayn and all other dissident Ismāʿīlīs.[235] In other words, the authors did not recognize the imamate of the Fāṭimid caliphs, nor did they find it necessary to mention the early Fāṭimid caliph-imams and their ancestors.

More recently, Abbas Hamdani in numerous studies has argued for the weaknesses of al-Tawḥīdī's assertions. On the basis of detailed analyses and internal evidence, he has postulated his own hypothesis, viz., that the *Epistles* were compiled by a group of pre-Fāṭimid Ismāʿīlī *dāʿī*s, who worked in collaboration with non-Ismāʿīlī colleagues, between the years 260/873 and 297/909, and that the references and verses of later chronology in the *Epistles* represent subsequent editorial interpolations.[236] There are also a few modern scholars who deny any connection between the *Rasāʾil* and Ismāʿīlism.[237]

It is also worth noting that the *Epistles* did not have any influence on contemporary Ismāʿīlī thought, including the doctrines propagated by the Fāṭimid Ismāʿīlīs, and that they are not referred to by the authors of the classical Fāṭimid period. In other words, the *Rasāʾil* do not seem to have been adopted or endorsed, in any significant sense, by the Fāṭimid Ismāʿīlī *daʿwa*. It was only about two centuries after their composition that the *Epistles* began to acquire an important place in the literature of the Ṭayyibī Ismāʿīlī *daʿwa*. Evidently, it was the *dāʿī* Ibrāhīm b. al-Ḥusayn al-Ḥāmidī (d. 557/1162) who first introduced the *Rasāʾil* into the literature of the Ṭayyibī community in Yaman.[238] Henceforth, the *Epistles* came to be widely studied and commented upon by the Yamanī *dāʿī*s, and later also by their Indian successors in the Dāʾūdī Bohra community.

The *Rasāʾil Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ*, numbering fifty-two epistles, are divided into four books or sections, dealing with mathematical sciences (geometry, astronomy, music, logic, etc.), bodily and natural sciences, psychical and intellectual sciences (cosmology, eschatology, etc.), and theological sciences. Connected with these *Epistles*, which treat nearly all the sciences and intellectual traditions known at the time, there is a separate concluding summary of the Ikhwān's corpus, known as *al-Risāla al-jāmiʿa*. The latter work, wrongly attributed to Maslama al-Majrīṭī (d. ca. 398/1007) and of which there exists a further condensation, was evidently intended for the more advanced adepts.[239]

The authors of the *Epistles*, who practised religious tolerance and eclecticism, thought it quite legitimate to adopt all 'the science and wisdoms' of the ancient

philosophers in producing their own synthesis of the knowledge of the time. They drew on a wide variety of pre-Islamic sources and traditions, which they combined with Islamic teachings, especially as upheld by the Shīʿīs belonging to the Ismāʿīlī movement. There are, for instance, traces of early Babylonian astrology, and many elements of Judaeo-Christian, Iranian and Indian origins.[240] Above all, the *Epistles* reflect the influences of diverse schools of Hellenistic wisdom. Characterized by a type of numerical symbolism in a Pythagorean manner, the *Epistles* are permeated throughout with Hermetic, Platonic, Aristotelian, Neopythagorean, and especially Neoplatonic ideas and doctrines. It is Neoplatonism, with its distinctive doctrine of emanation and hierarchism, that is the dominant Greek philosophical influence on the Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ, who in an original and enlightened fashion attempted to harmonize religion and philosophy for the ultimate purpose of guiding man to purify his soul and achieve salvation.[241]

As the official religion of an important state, Fāṭimid Ismāʿīlism maintained its unity for close on two centuries, although it witnessed periodic internal dissensions of minor significance. The main body of the Ismāʿīlīs, both inside and outside Fāṭimid dominions, did on the whole remain faithful to the Fāṭimid caliph-imam, who had failed however to win over the Sunnī majority of the Muslim world. It was in this religio-political setting that the challenge of strong enemies, like the Saljūqs, and factional strife from within set the Fāṭimid caliphate on a course of decline and eventual collapse, a course that had irretrievable consequences for the Ismāʿīlī movement. By the time of al-Mustanṣir's death in 487/1094, the Fāṭimids still had another seventy-seven years to rule, but the dynasty had already passed its peak of accomplishment and glory. The days of Ismāʿīlism as a unified *daʿwa* movement and the official religion of an empire were almost ended. The Fāṭimids had also abandoned their hopes of universal hegemony in Islam, and yet the intellectual achievements and contributions of the Ismāʿīlīs had already forever enriched Islamic thought and culture.

5

The later Fāṭimids and Mustaʿlian Ismāʿīlism

This chapter will trace the development of the Mustaʿliyya (or Mustaʿlawiyya) branch of Ismāʿīlism, from its origins in 487/1094 up to the present. Until the year 524/1130, the Mustaʿlian Ismāʿīlīs of Egypt, Syria, Yaman and elsewhere constituted a unified group, as distinct from the Nizāriyya. By then, the Mustaʿlians had recognized two more imams in the persons of al-Mustanṣir's son and grandson, al-Mustaʿlī and al-Āmir. However, in the confusing aftermath of al-Āmir's death in 524/1130 and the claims of al-Ḥāfiẓ, al-Āmir's cousin and successor in the Fāṭimid caliphate, to the imamate, a new split occurred in the Mustaʿlian community, subdividing it into the Ḥāfiẓiyya and the Ṭayyibiyya. Both of these factions of Mustaʿlian Ismāʿīlism will be discussed in the present chapter.

The Ḥāfiẓiyya, also known as the Majīdiyya, accepted al-Ḥāfiẓ and the later Fāṭimid caliphs as their imams after al-Āmir. The Ḥāfiẓī cause, officially endorsed by the Fāṭimid *daʿwa* in Cairo, found the bulk of its supporters in Egypt and Syria. It received support also in Yaman, where the local dynasties of the Zurayʿids of ʿAdan and some of the Hamdānids of Ṣanʿāʾ supported the Ḥāfiẓī *daʿwa*. The Ḥāfiẓiyya, however, did not survive for long after the fall of the Fāṭimid dynasty in 567/1171.

The Ṭayyibiyya, initially known as the Āmiriyya, recognized al-Āmir's infant son, al-Ṭayyib, as their imam after al-Āmir, rejecting the claims of al-Ḥāfiẓ and his successors on the Fāṭimid throne to the imamate. The Ṭayyibī cause was at first supported by a minority of the Mustaʿlian Ismāʿīlīs of Egypt and Syria as well as by many of the Ismāʿīlīs of Yaman, where the Ṣulayḥids officially upheld the rights of al-Ṭayyib. Soon afterwards, with the establishment of the independent Ṭayyibī *daʿwa* headed by a supreme *dāʿī*, Yaman became the main stronghold of the Ṭayyibiyya. The Ṭayyibī *dāʿī*s, in time, succeeded in winning a considerable number of adherents in western India, amongst the Bohras of Gujarāt and elsewhere, some of whom had earlier embraced Ismāʿīlism.

The Ṭayyibīs, who closely maintain the traditions of the Fāṭimid Ismāʿīlīs, divide their history of the Islamic era into succeeding periods of concealment (*satr*) and manifestation (*kashf* or *ẓuhūr*), during which the imams are, or are not, concealed from the public eye. The first period of *satr*, coinciding with

early Ismāʿīlism, came to an end with the appearance of ʿAbd Allāh al-Mahdī in North Africa. This was followed by a period of *ẓuhūr*, continuing until the concealment of the twenty-first Ṭayyibī imam, al-Ṭayyib, soon after al-Āmir's death. The concealment of al-Ṭayyib initiated another period of *satr* in the history of Ṭayyibī Ismāʿīlism, continuing down to the present time. During the current *satr*, al-Ṭayyib, the last visible Ṭayyibī imam, and his successors from amongst his descendants have remained hidden (*mastūr*) from the eyes of their followers. According to the Ṭayyibīs, the present period of *satr* will continue until the appearance of an imam from the progeny of al-Ṭayyib, who may be the *qāʾim* of the present cycle in the history of mankind. At any rate, a few years after the death of al-Āmir, the headquarters of Ṭayyibī Ismāʿīlism were established in Yaman, where the Ṭayyibī *daʿwa* developed under the overall leadership of a powerful *dāʿī*, called *al-dāʿī al-muṭlaq*, who in the absence of the imams looked after the affairs of the *daʿwa* and the community.

The current period of *satr* in Ṭayyibī Ismāʿīlism is, in turn, divided into a Yamanī period, extending from 526/1132 to around 997/1589, when the Ṭayyibīs were split into the Dāʾūdī and Sulaymānī factions, and an Indian period, covering essentially the history of the Dāʾūdī *daʿwa* during the last four centuries. During the Yamanī period, the Ṭayyibīs maintained their unity in Yaman and also succeeded in winning an increasing number of adherents in western India. By the end of the 10th/16th century, the Indian Ṭayyibīs by far surpassed their Yamanī co-religionists in terms of numbers and financial contributions to the *daʿwa* treasury. In a sense, the Ṭayyibīs of India had by then become ready to exert their independence from Yaman, where the Ṭayyibī *dāʿī*s had resided for more than four centuries. Under these circumstances, the Indian Ṭayyibīs lent their support mainly to the Dāʾūdī *daʿwa*, while the Yamanī Ṭayyibīs became the chief supporters of the Sulaymānī *daʿwa*. There were essentially no doctrinal differences between the two groups, who, henceforth, followed separate lines of *dāʿī*s. A further split led to the formation of a third, ʿAlawī, faction of the Ṭayyibī Mustaʿlians with their own separate line of *dāʿī*s. During the Indian period, the majoritarian Indian Ṭayyibī community, represented by the Dāʾūdī Bohras, prospered as a trading community and developed rather freely, though also experiencing periods of severe persecution and of internal dissent.

The literary sources for the history of the Yamanī phase of the Ṭayyibī *daʿwa*, essentially a history of the activities of the various *dāʿī*s and their relations with the Zaydīs and other local dynasties of Yaman, have been fully discussed by Ayman F. Sayyid in the relevant sections of his bio-bibliographical survey of the sources on the Islamic period in Yaman.[1] For the earliest period in the history of the Ṭayyibīs and Ḥāfiẓīs in Yaman, our chief authority remains *Taʾrīkh al-Yaman* by Najm

al-Dīn ʿUmāra b. ʿAlī al-Ḥakamī, the Yamanī historian and poet who emigrated to Egypt and was executed in Cairo in 569/1174, on charges of plotting to restore the Fāṭimids to power.[2] Ismāʿīlī historical writings on the earliest Mustaʿlians, the Ḥāfiẓīs and the Ṭayyibīs of Yaman, are meagre. No Ḥāfiẓī sources have survived, and our chief Ismāʿīlī authority on the Yamanī Ṭayyibīs is again the *dāʿī* Idrīs, who as the head of the Ṭayyibī *daʿwa* in the 9th/15th century was fully informed about the details of that community in Yaman.[3]

Idrīs ʿImād al-Dīn b. al-Ḥasan came from the prominent al-Walīd family of Quraysh in Yaman, who led the Ṭayyibī *daʿwa* for more than three centuries. He succeeded his uncle as the nineteenth *dāʿī muṭlaq* of the Ṭayyibīs in 832/1428. Idrīs, who died in 872/1468, was also a warrior and fought several battles against the Zaydīs. Idrīs was the most celebrated historian of the Ismāʿīlī *daʿwa*, producing three extensive historical works: the *ʿUyūn al-akhbār*; the *Nuzhat al-afkār*, on the history of Ismāʿīlism in Yaman until the year 853/1449; and the *Rawḍat al-akhbār*, which is a continuation of the preceding work, to which Idrīs adds the events of his own time, from 854/1450 to 870/1465. The histories of Idrīs shed valuable light on issues, events and personalities not discussed elsewhere. Other Ṭayyibī authors and *dāʿī*s have also written important Ismāʿīlī chrestomathies, which however rarely contain historical details.

The history of the Indian phase of Ṭayyibī Ismāʿīlism, too, is essentially comprised of the activities of different *dāʿī*s, in addition to the accounts of the occasional disputes and minor schisms in the community stemming from conflicting claims to the leadership of the Ismāʿīlī Bohras. A number of Dāʾūdī *dāʿī*s and authors produced historical works, mostly in Arabic, on the Ṭayyibī *daʿwa* in India. In more recent times, some of these works have appeared in a form of Arabicized Gujarātī written in Arabic script, the official language of the Dāʾūdī *daʿwa*, so as to reach a wider public. The bulk of the Ismāʿīlī sources produced in India, however, mix legend and reality, being concerned chiefly with defending or refuting certain claims to the position of *dāʿī muṭlaq*. As a result, the history of the Ṭayyibī *daʿwa* in India, especially during the earlier centuries, continues to be shrouded in mystery. Amongst the few accurate Ismāʿīlī histories produced in India, mention may be made of the *Muntazaʿ al-akhbār*, in two volumes, written in Arabic by Quṭb al-Dīn Sulaymānjī Burhānpūrī (d. 1241/1826), a Dāʾūdī Bohra author. The second volume of this partially published work covers the history of the Ṭayyibīs and their *dāʿī*s until the year 1240/1824.[4] Another noteworthy history of Ismāʿīlism in India is the *Mawsim-i bahār* of Miyān Ṣāḥib Muḥammad ʿAlī Rāmpūrī, an agent of the Dāʾūdī *daʿwa* organization who died in 1315 or 1316/1897–1899.[5] This work, in Gujarātī and written in Arabic script, draws on the *Muntazaʿ al-akhbār* and a number of earlier sources, some of which have not survived. The first two volumes of the *Mawsim-i bahār* deal with the history of the

prophets and the Ismāʿīlī imams until al-Ṭayyib. The third volume, completed in 1299/1882 and lithographed soon after, contains the history of the Ismāʿīlī *daʿwa* in India from its origins in Gujarāt until the author's time, covering the lives of the Ṭayyibī *dāʿī*s in Yaman and the Dāʾūdī *dāʿī*s residing in India.

The Ismāʿīlī Bohras have also rendered a unique service to Ismāʿīlī studies by preserving a good portion of the literary heritage of the Ismāʿīlīs, including the classical works of the Fāṭimid period and the treatises written by the Yamanī Ṭayyibīs. These Ismāʿīlī manuscripts, collectively designated as *al-khizāna al-maknūna*, or 'the guarded treasure', were transferred, especially after the 10th/16th century, from Yaman to India, where they continued to be copied. At present, there are major libraries of such manuscripts at Sūrat, Bombay, and Baroda, the seats respectively of the Dāʾūdī, Sulaymānī and ʿAlawī *daʿwa*s in India. The largest collections belong to the Dāʾūdī Bohras, whose *dāʿī muṭlaq* has instituted a strict policy for accessing these Ismāʿīlī manuscripts.

The Nizārī–Mustaʿlī schism of 487/1094

The unified Ismāʿīlī *daʿwa* of al-Mustanṣir's period split into two branches upon his death in Dhu'l-Ḥijja 487/December 1094. Al-Mustanṣir had initially designated his eldest son Abū Manṣūr Nizār (437–488/1045–1095) as his successor. Nizār, who had received al-Mustanṣir's *naṣṣ* and was thus expected to succeed him in the imamate, was about fifty years old at the time of his father's death. However, Abu'l-Qāsim Shāhanshāh, better known by his vizieral title of al-Afḍal, who a few months earlier had succeeded his own father Badr al-Jamālī as the all-powerful vizier and 'commander of the armies', had other plans. Aiming to retain the reins of power in his own hands, al-Afḍal favoured the candidacy of Nizār's much younger half-brother Abu'l-Qāsim Aḥmad (467–495/1074–1101), who would be entirely dependent upon him. At the time, Aḥmad was about twenty years old and already married to al-Afḍal's sister. Al-Afḍal moved swiftly and, on the day after al-Mustanṣir's death, placed Aḥmad on the Fāṭimid throne with the title of al-Mustaʿlī bi'llāh. Supported by the Fāṭimid armies, the vizier quickly obtained for al-Mustaʿlī the allegiance of the notables of the Fāṭimid court and the leaders of the Ismāʿīlī *daʿwa* in Cairo. There are conflicting accounts of this important event in the history of Ismāʿīlism. Later, the leaders of the Mustaʿlian Ismāʿīlīs circulated different versions of the circumstances under which, according to them, al-Mustanṣir had nominated al-Mustaʿlī as his heir apparent, including a deathbed *naṣṣ*. It is a historical fact, however, that Nizār's succession rights were never revoked by al-Mustanṣir, and al-Afḍal secured al-Mustaʿlī's accession in a palace *coup d'état*. This explains why Nizār refused to endorse al-Afḍal's designs.



3. (a) Obverse and (b) reverse of a dinar of the Ismāʿīlī Imam Nizār al-Muṣṭafā li-Dīn Allāh, minted in Iskandariyya, dated 488/1095

The dispossessed Nizār hurriedly fled to Alexandria in the company of his half-brother ʿAbd Allāh and a few supporters, where he rose in revolt early in 488/1095. In Alexandria, the centre of military factions suppressed by Badr al-Jamālī, Nizār was assisted by the city's governor, the Turk Nāṣir al-Dawla Aftakīn, who aspired to replace al-Afḍal, and its Ismāʿīlī *qāḍī*, Ibn ʿAmmār. He also received much local support, especially from the Arab inhabitants of the area. Soon, Nizār received the oath of allegiance of the Alexandrians as caliph, and adopted the caliphal title of al-Muṣṭafā li-Dīn Allāh. The proclamation of Nizār as caliph as well as imam in Alexandria is attested to in a gold dinar discovered in 1994. Minted in 488 AH, this unique coin is now preserved in the The Institute of Ismaili Studies Library in London.[6] The revolt was initially successful, with Nizār easily managing to repel al-Afḍal's forces and advancing to the vicinity of Cairo. Nevertheless, towards the end of 488 AH, al-Afḍal's forces besieged Alexandria and forced Nizār, whose coalition of supporters had meanwhile faltered, to surrender. Nizār was taken to Cairo where he was imprisoned and then immured, all of these events taking place at the end of 488/1095.[7]

The fate of Nizār and the strife over the succession to the Fāṭimid caliph-imam al-Mustanṣir left a decisive mark on the history of Ismāʿīlism. By choosing al-Mustaʿlī, al-Afḍal had split the Fāṭimid Ismāʿīlīs into two rival factions which were to become bitter enemies. The ambitious al-Afḍal had in effect alienated almost all of the Ismāʿīlī communities of the Muslim East, especially those located in Persia. The imamate of al-Mustaʿlī, installed to the Fāṭimid caliphate, came to be recognized by the *daʿwa* establishment in Cairo, as well as most Ismāʿīlīs in Egypt, many in Syria, and by the whole Ismāʿīlī community in Yaman and that in western India dependent on it. For them, al-Mustaʿlī was now the nineteenth imam. These Ismāʿīlīs, who depended on the Fāṭimid regime and later traced the imamate in al-Mustaʿlī's progeny, maintained their relations with Cairo, hereafter serving as

the headquarters of the Mustaʿlian Ismāʿīlī *daʿwa*. On the other hand, the Persian Ismāʿīlīs, then under the leadership of Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ, defended al-Mustanṣir's original *naṣṣ* and upheld Nizār's right to the imamate. Ḥasan, in fact, founded the independent Nizārī Ismāʿīlī *daʿwa*, severing his relations with the Fāṭimid regime and the *daʿwa* headquarters in Cairo. In this decision, Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ was supported by the entire Ismāʿīlī communities of the Saljūq domains, in Persia and ʿIrāq. Nizār also had partisans within the Fāṭimid territories. In Egypt, they were quickly suppressed, but in Syria, now beyond Fāṭimid control, Nizār's followers soon became organized by emissaries despatched from Persia. The Ismāʿīlīs of Central Asia seem to have remained uninvolved in the Nizārī–Mustaʿlī schism for quite some time. It was much later, in the Alamūt period of Nizārī history, that the Ismāʿīlīs of Badakhshan and adjacent regions accorded their allegiance to the Nizārī *daʿwa*. The two factions of the Ismāʿīlī *daʿwa* henceforth became known as the Mustaʿliyya or Mustaʿlawiyya, and the Nizāriyya, depending on whether they recognized al-Mustaʿlī or Nizār as the rightful imam after al-Mustanṣir.

al-Mustaʿlī and al-Āmir

Al-Mustaʿlī remained a puppet in the hands of al-Afḍal during his short reign (487–495/1094–1101).[8] Al-Afḍal, continuing his father's policies, maintained order and relative prosperity in Egypt. He was also initially successful in Syria, regaining Tyre from a disloyal governor in 490/1097 and recapturing Jerusalem in the following year from the Turkish Artuqids, Sukmān and Īlghāzī, who had established themselves in Palestine. Close relations continued between Fāṭimid Egypt and Ṣulayḥid Yaman, now still ruled by al-Malika Arwā, who recognized al-Mustaʿlī as the legitimate imam after al-Mustanṣir and who managed the affairs of the Ismāʿīlī *daʿwa* in Yaman with the help of the *dāʿī* Yaḥyā b. Lamak al-Ḥammādī (d. 520/1126).[9] Yaḥyā had succeeded his father in the headship of the Yamanī *daʿwa* around the year 491/1098.

The Fāṭimids and all Muslims of the Near East now faced a new danger: from the Crusaders, who appeared in northern Syria in 490 AH to liberate the Holy Land of Christendom. Al-Afḍal immediately opened negotiations with the Crusaders and exchanged embassies with them, seeking their aid against the Turkish *amīr*s of Syria. Nonetheless, he underestimated the threat of the Crusaders, being taken by complete surprise when the invading Franks moved towards their primary target, Jerusalem. The Crusaders seized Jerusalem easily after defeating the Fāṭimid army, led by al-Afḍal, near ʿAsqalān (Ascalon) in 492/1099. By 494/1100–1101, they had established themselves firmly in Palestine, having taken Ḥayfā, Arsūf and Qayṣariyya (Caesarea). Al-Afḍal's continued attempts to deal more effectively

with the Crusaders proved futile. It was in the midst of the Fāṭimid entanglements with the Franks that al-Mustaʿlī died in Ṣafar 495/December 1101. Al-Afḍal now proclaimed al-Mustaʿlī's five-year-old son Abū ʿAlī al-Manṣūr as the new Fāṭimid caliph with the *laqab* of al-Āmir bi-Aḥkām Allāh.[10]

During the first twenty years of al-Āmir's caliphate (495–524/1101–1130) al-Afḍal remained the effective master of the Fāṭimid state, and ruled efficiently. Externally, he concerned himself mainly with the Crusaders, and organized numerous expeditions against them. In one of the more successful campaigns led by al-Afḍal's son Sharaf al-Maʿālī, the Fāṭimids defeated the Franks in 496/1103 and took Ramla. Nevertheless, the greater part of Palestine and the towns on the Syrian coast fell into Crusader hands. In 497/1103, ʿAkkā (Acre) was surrendered by its Fāṭimid commander, and then, in rapid succession, Ṭarablus (Tripoli) and Ṣaydā (Sidon) were lost to the Franks during 502–504/1109–1111. By 518/1124, when Ṣūr (Tyre) fell, only ʿAsqalān remained of the former Fāṭimid possessions in the Levant. Egypt itself was invaded in 511/1117 by Baldwin I (1100–1118), king of the Latin state of Jerusalem and one of the original leaders of the First Crusade, who took Faramā and then advanced to Tinnīs. However, the Crusaders were compelled to retreat from Egypt due to Baldwin's fatal illness.

After being the unchallenged ruler of Fāṭimid Egypt for some twenty-seven years, al-Afḍal was assassinated in 515/1121. His assassination seems to have been plotted by al-Āmir, who had become weary of his vizier's tutelage and restrictions. As related in some sources and claimed by the Nizārīs themselves, it is possible that the act was planned by the Nizārīs, who deeply despised al-Afḍal. Be this as it may, al-Āmir immediately ordered the confiscation of the murdered vizier's substantial properties and renowned treasures.[11]

After the death of al-Afḍal, al-Āmir appointed al-Maʾmūn al-Baṭāʾiḥī to the vizierate. Al-Maʾmūn, implicated in the murder of his patron al-Afḍal, reopened the Dār al-ʿIlm, which had been closed by al-Afḍal towards the end of the 5th/11th century. He was also instrumental in the construction of the Mosque of al-Aqmar, which is still preserved. But al-Maʾmūn, too, soon fell from al-Āmir's favour and was imprisoned in 519/1125. Three years later, he was crucified with his brothers on charges of plotting against the caliph.[12] Al-Āmir did not appoint any viziers after al-Maʾmūn, preferring to run the affairs of the state personally. Financial matters, however, were placed under the charge of a Christian monk, Abū Najāḥ b. Qannāʾ, who was soon afterwards dismissed and flogged to death in 523/1129. Al-Āmir was becoming rapidly detested by his subjects owing to his cruel acts when he was killed by a group of Nizārī *fidāʾī*s in Dhu'l-Qaʿda 524/October 1130. The tenth Fāṭimid caliph and the twentieth imam of the Mustaʿlian Ismāʿīlīs had reigned for almost twenty-nine years, longer than any other Fāṭimid caliph-imam except for his grandfather al-Mustanṣir.

As we shall see, it was in al-Āmir's time that the Nizārī Ismāʿīlīs consolidated their power in Persia and Syria, under the leadership of Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ (d. 518/1124), who resided at the mountain castle of Alamūt. Although the Nizārīs never made any major attempts to penetrate Egypt after the Nizārī–Mustaʿlī schism, it seems that their cause continued for some time to have supporters in Fāṭimid Egypt, finding expression in occasional plots. The vizier al-Maʾmūn evidently had to take extensive precautionary measures to prevent the infiltration of Nizārī agents into Egypt.[13] Some of these agents, carrying material aid as well, were reportedly being sent directly from Alamūt. Al-Maʾmūn also found it necessary to arrange for an official assembly in order to publicize the rights of al-Mustaʿlī and al-Āmir to the imamate and to refute the claims of Nizār and his partisans. This meeting, convened at the great hall of the Fāṭimid palace, was attended by numerous Fāṭimid princes and state dignitaries. Amongst those present were Walī al-Dawla Abu'l-Barakāt b. ʿAbd al-Ḥaqīq, the chief *dāʿī*, Abū Muḥammad b. Ādam, the head of the Dār al-ʿIlm, Abu'l-Thurayyā b. Mukhtār and Abu'l-Fakhr, the foremost Ismāʿīlī jurists, and Ibn ʿUqayl, the chief *qāḍī*. Ibn Muyassar preserved a detailed account of this event, which took place in 516/1122.[14] It is possible that Ibn Muyassar derived his account from a near contemporary Egyptian annalist, Ibn al-Maʾmūn (d. 588/1192), the son of the Fāṭimid vizier who had organized the assembly.

In the course of this meeting, various circumstances and episodes were related according to which al-Mustanṣir had supposedly expressed his preference for al-Mustaʿlī over Nizār. Most significantly, Nizār's full-sister, seated behind a screen in an adjoining chamber, testified that al-Mustanṣir, on his deathbed, had designated al-Mustaʿlī as his successor, divulging this *naṣṣ* to his own sister (Nizār's aunt). At the end of the meeting, al-Maʾmūn ordered Ibn al-Ṣayrafī (d. 542/1147), then an important secretary (*kātib*) at the Fāṭimid chancery, to draw up an epistle (*sijill*) to be read from the pulpits of the mosques throughout Egypt. This epistle, or perhaps what may be a longer version of it produced later, has been preserved under the title of *al-Hidāya al-Āmiriyya*.[15] Written about twenty-eight years after the Nizārī–Mustaʿlī schism, it is the earliest Mustaʿlian refutation of Nizār's claims to the imamate. The *Hidāya* admits that al-Mustanṣir had originally nominated Nizār as his heir apparent.[16] But it also argues that this original *naṣṣ* was subsequently revoked in favour of al-Mustaʿlī, repeatedly referring to al-Mustanṣir's deathbed *naṣṣ*.[17] The *Hidāya* also gives prominence to the testimony of Nizār's sister, who, during the assembly of Shawwāl 516 AH, had defended the legitimacy of the Mustaʿlian line of imams. The *Hidāya* was also circulated in Syria, where it caused an uproar amongst the Nizārīs of Damascus. One of the Syrian Nizārīs forwarded al-Āmir's epistle to his chief, who wrote a refutation of it. This Nizārī refutation was, in due course, read out at a meeting of the

Mustaʿlians in Damascus. A Mustaʿlian *dāʿī* from Damascus then wrote to al-Āmir asking him for further guidance on the matter. Soon afterwards, al-Āmir sent a reply to his Syrian *dāʿī* in the form of an additional epistle, refuting the Nizārī refutation of the *Hidāya*.[18]

al-Ḥāfiẓ and the Ḥāfiẓī–Ṭayyibī schism

After al-Āmir, the Fāṭimid caliphate embarked on its rapid decline, with numerous periods of crisis, whilst a new schism developed amongst the Mustaʿlian Ismāʿīlīs. It may be noted in passing that Idrīs, in line with the Ṭayyibī tradition in general, and for some inexplicable reason, mentions the year 526 AH, instead of 524, as the year of al-Āmir's death.[19] The Ṭayyibīs hold that a son, named al-Ṭayyib, had been born to al-Āmir a few months before his murder. This Ṭayyibī tradition is supported especially by an epistle of al-Āmir sent to the Ṣulayḥid queen of Yaman, Arwā, announcing the birth of Abu'l-Qāsim al-Ṭayyib in Rabīʿ II 524 AH.[20] The historical reality of al-Ṭayyib is also attested by Ibn Muyassar,[21] probably on the authority of the lost chronicle of al-Muḥannak (d. 549/1154), and by other histories written during the 6th/12th century.[22] Al-Ṭayyib was immediately designated as al-Āmir's heir, and the occasion was celebrated by a fortnight of public festivities in Cairo and Fusṭāṭ. After the death of al-Āmir, who had acted as his own vizier during the last years of his caliphate, caliphal power was immediately assumed by his cousin, Abu'l-Maymūn ʿAbd al-Majīd, the eldest member of the Fāṭimid family and the son of Abu'l-Qāsim Muḥammad b. al-Mustanṣir. More specifically, Hazārmard (Hizabr al-Mulūk) and Barghash, two favourites of al-Āmir, now came to hold the actual reins of power in the Fāṭimid state, with ʿAbd al-Majīd as nominal ruler. ʿAbd al-Majīd initially ruled officially as regent, pending the expected delivery of al-Āmir's pregnant wife.[23] Hazārmard himself assumed the vizierate, and Yānis, an Armenian general in the service of the Fāṭimids, became the army's commander-in-chief and the regent's chamberlain. ʿAbd al-Majīd had somehow managed to conceal the existence of al-Ṭayyib, born a few months earlier, and nothing more is known of his fate.[24]

The regency of ʿAbd al-Majīd and the vizierate of Hazārmard proved to be brief. Abū ʿAlī Aḥmad, nicknamed Kutayfāt, the son of al-Afḍal b. Badr al-Jamālī, was raised to the vizierate by the army about two weeks after al-Āmir's death. Hazārmard was executed, but ʿAbd al-Majīd continued a while longer as regent (*walī ʿahd al-Muslimīn*) with Kutayfāt as his vizier. This temporary arrangement is confirmed by an epistle issued in Dhu'l-Qaʿda 524 AH by the Fāṭimid chancery to the monastery of St Catherine in Mount Sinai.[25] Soon afterwards, probably

when the expectation of the birth of a male heir to al-Āmir had proved false, Kutayfāt made radical changes which affected the very foundations of the Fāṭimid regime. ʿAbd al-Majīd was overthrown and imprisoned by Kutayfāt, who now declared the Fāṭimid dynasty deposed and proclaimed the sovereignty of al-Mahdī, the twelfth imam of the Twelver Shīʿīs, whose reappearance had been expected since 260/874. As a result of this ingenious religio-political solution to the succession problem created by the absence of a direct heir to the Fāṭimid caliphate and imamate, Kutayfāt, an Imāmī Shīʿī himself, acquired a unique position of power, ruling as a dictator responsible to no one either in theory or practice.

Kutayfāt issued coins in Egypt during 525 and 526 AH, bearing the names of 'al-Imām Muḥammad Abu'l-Qāsim al-Muntaẓar li-Amr Allāh' and 'al-Imām al-Mahdī al-Qāʾim bi-Amr Allāh', on some of which he himself is named as the hidden imam's representative (*nāʾib*) and deputy (*khalīfa*).[26] These developments of course meant the adoption of Ithnāʿasharī Imāmī Shīʿism, instead of Ismāʿīlism, as the state religion of the Fāṭimid state. Nonetheless, Abū ʿAlī Kutayfāt, who came to adopt his father's title of al-Afḍal, allowed the Ismāʿīlīs and other non-Twelver communities some consideration. His policies, however, created much resentment amongst the Ismāʿīlīs and the supporters of the Fāṭimid dynasty in Egypt, who plotted against him, cutting down the period of his rule to just about a year. On 16 Muḥarram 526/8 December 1131, Kutayfāt was overthrown and killed in yet another *coup d'état*, organized by dissatisfied Ismāʿīlī elements and the Kutāma faction of the army, led by Yānis. ʿAbd al-Majīd was released from prison and restored to power. This event came to be commemorated annually by the so-called 'feast of victory' (*ʿīd al-naṣr*) held on that day, until the end of the Fāṭimid dynasty.[27]

At first, ʿAbd al-Majīd ruled once again as regent, with Yānis assuming the vizierate. But three months later, in Rabīʿ II 526/February 1132, he was proclaimed caliph and imam with the title of al-Ḥāfiẓ li-Dīn Allāh.[28] Ismāʿīlī Shīʿism was reinstated as the state religion of Fāṭimid Egypt. Al-Ḥāfiẓ became the first Fāṭimid caliph-imam whose father had not reigned before him and his irregular succession required specific justifications. Thus, a *sijill* was issued on the occasion of his proclamation as caliph-imam, containing various explanations for his legitimacy. Above all, this epistle, preserved by al-Qalqashandī,[29] centred around the idea that al-Āmir, the previous imam, had personally transmitted the caliphate and the imamate to his cousin ʿAbd al-Majīd, just as the Prophet had designated his cousin ʿAlī as his successor at Ghadīr Khumm. It also referred to the nomination of ʿAbd al-Raḥīm b. Ilyās, al-Ḥākim's cousin, as heir apparent. Yet, it did not mention the uncertainties of the initial interregnum of al-Ḥāfiẓ and the obscurities of his regencies, nor did it make any reference to al-Ṭayyib or to any posthumous child

of al-Āmir's. This important document, claiming legitimacy for the imamate of al-Ḥāfiẓ on the basis of an alleged *naṣṣ* derived from al-Āmir, provided the foundation on which Fāṭimid rule continued for another four decades. It also provided justification for the claims of the later Fāṭimids to the imamate of a section of the Mustaʿlian Ismāʿīlī community. The expressions *al-dawla al-Ḥāfiẓiyya* and *al-imāma al-Ḥāfiẓiyya* henceforth occur frequently in documents issued by the Fāṭimid chancery.[30]

The proclamation of al-Ḥāfiẓ as caliph-imam caused the first important schism in the Mustaʿlian community, further weakening the Ismāʿīlī movement. The claims of al-Ḥāfiẓ to the imamate, though he was not a direct descendant of the previous imam, were supported by the official *daʿwa* organization in Egypt and by the majority of the Mustaʿlian Ismāʿīlīs in both Egypt and Syria. These Mustaʿlians, recognizing al-Ḥāfiẓ and the later Fāṭimids as their imams, became known as al-Ḥāfiẓiyya or al-Majīdiyya. However, some Mustaʿlian groups in Egypt and Syria, as well as many in Yaman, acknowledged the rights of al-Ṭayyib to the imamate, accepting him as al-Āmir's successor and rejecting the claims of al-Ḥāfiẓ. These Mustaʿlians were initially known as the Āmiriyya, but later, after the establishment of the independent Ṭayyibī *daʿwa* in Yaman, became designated as the Ṭayyibiyya. Ḥāfiẓī Ismāʿīlism, as we shall see, also found support in Yaman for some time. However, Yaman was to become, for several centuries, the chief stronghold of Ṭayyibī Ismāʿīlism. Thus, by 526/1132, the unified Fāṭimid Ismāʿīlī movement of al-Mustanṣir's time had become split into the three rival Nizārī, Ḥāfiẓī and Ṭayyibī factions. While the Nizārīs had by then founded an independent state in Persia and Syria, and the Ṭayyibīs were taking advantage of the mountainous districts of Yaman to consolidate their own position, the days of Ḥāfiẓī Ismāʿīlism, now the official creed of the Fāṭimid state, were already numbered.

The later Fāṭimids and early Ḥāfiẓī Ismāʿīlism

Since Badr al-Jamālī's time, the viziers were the real masters of the Fāṭimid state. However, al-Ḥāfiẓ, the only caliph amongst the later Fāṭimids who was a grown man at the time of his accession, paid special attention to the activities of his viziers. It may be added that from the reign of al-Ḥāfiẓ onwards, the Fāṭimid viziers, or more precisely 'Viziers of the Sword', also competed with the claimants to the vizierate in gaining the loyalties of the various factions of the army, resulting in continuous military rivalries and disturbances in Egypt. Having become fearful of the growing influence of his Armenian vizier Yānis, who had given his name to a private regiment, al-Yānisiyya, al-Ḥāfiẓ had him killed towards the end of

526/1132, his vizierate having endured less than a year. After ruling without a vizier for some time, in 528/1133–1134 al-Ḥāfiẓ entrusted the duties of the vizierate to his eldest son Sulaymān, who had that year been designated as heir apparent. When Sulaymān died two months later, al-Ḥāfiẓ named another of his sons, Ḥaydara, as heir, also charging him with the functions of the vizierate.[31] Ḥasan, a third son of al-Ḥāfiẓ, now successfully plotted against his father and Ḥaydara, seizing power as vizier and killing several army leaders. Irritated by Ḥasan's behaviour, the army revolted and demanded his head. Al-Ḥāfiẓ was obliged to comply, and had Ḥasan poisoned by his physician. To deal with the deteriorating situation, Ḥasan had previously appealed for aid to Bahrām, an Armenian general who served the Fāṭimids and was at the time the governor of Gharbiyya, a province in lower Egypt. When Bahrām entered Cairo with his Armenian troops, Ḥasan had already been killed. Nonetheless, al-Ḥāfiẓ could not ignore Bahrām's presence in the capital and the Armenian general was appointed to the vizierate in Jumādā II 529/March 1135.

The pro-Armenian policies of Bahrām, who encouraged the immigration of his Christian co-religionists to Egypt and gave them important posts, angered the Muslim populace and soon provoked a military revolt led by Riḍwān b. Walakhshī, the new governor of Gharbiyya. Abandoned by the Muslim troops in the Fāṭimid army, Bahrām was forced out of office in Jumādā I 531/February 1137, when he fled to upper Egypt to seek the assistance of his brother Vasak, the governor of Qūṣ. But Vasak had meanwhile been killed by the Muslims, and Bahrām now had to face an army sent after him by Riḍwān, who had succeeded to the vizierate. Bahrām was saved through the intervention of Roger II, king of Sicily. Granted safe-conduct by al-Ḥāfiẓ, he was allowed to retire to a monastery. Riḍwān, himself a Sunnī, now began to persecute the Christians. Soon, he came to exercise full authority and took the title of *al-malik*, or king, a title which later passed to other Fāṭimid viziers and then to all members of the Ayyūbid dynasty. Al-Ḥāfiẓ, threatened and displeased by the growing influence of his vizier, removed Riḍwān from office in 533/1139. He was later killed in 542/1147 while attempting to overthrow the caliph. Meanwhile al-Ḥāfiẓ recalled Bahrām to Cairo, entrusting the vizierate to him without officially appointing him to the post. Bahrām died in the Fāṭimid palace in 535/1140, and al-Ḥāfiẓ personally took part in the funeral procession of his faithful Armenian servant.[32] Subsequently, Ibn Maṣāl held the vizierate for some time during the latter part of the caliphate of al-Ḥāfiẓ.[33] Al-Ḥāfiẓ, the eleventh Fāṭimid caliph and the twenty-first imam of the Ḥāfiẓī Ismāʿīlīs, died in Jumādā II 544/October 1149, after a reign of almost eighteen years beset by numerous revolts and disturbances. Like al-Ḥāfiẓ, the last three Fāṭimid caliphs, al-Ẓāfir (544–549/1149–1154), al-Fāʾiz (549–555/1154–1160), and al-ʿĀḍid (555–567/1160–1171), were also recognized as the imams

of the Ḥāfiẓiyya. These caliph-imams who died in their youth were, however, no more than puppets in the hands of their viziers.[34]

Al-Ḥāfiẓ was succeeded by his seventeen-year-old son Abū Manṣūr Ismāʿīl, who adopted the title of al-Ẓāfir bi-Amr Allāh. Al-Ẓāfir, strongly inclined to a life of pleasure, chose Ibn Maṣāl as his vizier, this being the last time a vizier was appointed by a Fāṭimid caliph. During his few months in office, Ibn Maṣāl checked the quarrels that raged between the Blacks and the Rayḥānīs in the army, restoring relative order to the country. Soon afterwards, al-ʿĀdil b. al-Salār, the governor of Alexandria, revolted and marched on Cairo at the head of his troops. He defeated and killed Ibn Maṣāl in Shawwāl 544/February 1150, forcing al-Ẓāfir to nominate him as vizier with the title al-Malik al-ʿĀdil. Ibn al-Salār, who in 545/1150 fruitlessly sought an alliance with the Zangid ruler of Aleppo, Nūr al-Dīn (541–569/1146–1174), against the Franks, and who also engaged the Fāṭimid fleet against the Frankish ports of Syria, was murdered in Muḥarram 548/April 1153.[35] The assassination plot, approved by the caliph, had been conceived by Ibn al-Salār's step-son, ʿAbbās, and carried out out by the latter's son Naṣr, a favourite of al-Ẓāfir. Thereupon, ʿAbbās, who was commander of the garrison of ʿAsqalān, the last Fāṭimid foothold in Syria, returned to Cairo and seized the vizierate.[36] ʿAsqalān was lost to the Franks shortly afterwards in Jumādā I 548/August 1153. ʿAbbās, rapidly becoming convinced that the caliph was conspiring against him, resolved to move first, with the aid of his son. Accordingly, Naṣr, luring al-Ẓāfir to his house, killed him in Muḥarram 549/April 1154.

ʿAbbās, continuing as vizier, then placed al-Ẓāfir's five-year-old son ʿĪsā on the Fāṭimid throne, giving him the title of al-Fāʾiz bi-Naṣr Allāh. ʿAbbās also charged two of al-Ẓāfir's brothers with his murder and had them executed. These events terrified the members of the Fāṭimid family, and they appealed for help to Ṭalāʾiʿ b. Ruzzīk, the Armenian governor of Usyūṭ (Asyūṭ) in upper Egypt. As Ibn Ruzzīk approached Cairo, ʿAbbās and Naṣr fled to Syria, where the Franks, warned in advance, awaited them. ʿAbbās was killed in Rabīʿ I 549/June 1154, whilst Naṣr was delivered to the Fāṭimids and executed the following year. Meanwhile, Ibn Ruzzīk had succeeded ʿAbbās to the vizierate in 549/1154, and became the absolute master of Egypt, a position he maintained throughout the reign of al-Fāʾiz. Ibn Ruzzīk, too, carried out some military operations against the Crusaders, gaining victories at Ghazza and Khalīl (Hebron), in southern Palestine, in 553/1158. But he failed in his endeavours to secure an alliance with Nūr al-Dīn, which would have effectively protected Egypt against the Crusaders. The sickly and helpless al-Fāʾiz died during an epileptic seizure in Rajab 555/July 1160 at the age of eleven, after a nominal reign of some six years spent in virtual captivity.

Al-Ṣāliḥ Ṭalāʾiʿ b. Ruzzīk now placed Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh b. Yūsuf, the grandson of al-Ḥāfiẓ and a cousin of al-Fāʾiz, on the Fāṭimid throne with

the *laqab* of al-ʿĀḍid li-Dīn Allāh. Al-ʿĀḍid's father Yūsuf had been one of the Fāṭimid princes charged with al-Ẓāfir's murder and executed on the order of ʿAbbās. Al-ʿĀḍid, destined to be the last Fāṭimid caliph, was only nine years old at the time of his accession. Ibn Ruzzīk continued to act as the effective ruler of the state, and he further enhanced his position by having his daughter marry the caliph. But he was assassinated in Ramaḍān 556/September 1161, evidently at the instigation of one of al-ʿĀḍid's aunts. The young caliph was obliged to confer the vizierate on Ruzzīk b. Ṭalāʾiʿ, the son of the murdered vizier, who soon afterwards met a similar fate.[37] This second Ruzzīk was killed by Shāwar, the governor of upper Egypt, who had revolted and entered Cairo to assume the vizierate in Muḥarram 558/January 1163. Shāwar's own vizierate, however, did not last more than nine months. In Ramaḍān 558/August 1163, he was driven out of Cairo by Ḍirghām, an able Fāṭimid officer who had distinguished himself by defeating the Franks at Ghazza in 553/1158. Now there followed a fateful struggle between Shāwar and his successor, Ḍirghām, not only influencing the relations of Egypt with the Crusaders and Nūr al-Dīn, but also bringing about the circumstances that led to the downfall of the Fāṭimid dynasty.[38]

Shāwar had succeeded in taking refuge at the Zangid court in Syria, where he sought the help of Nūr al-Dīn in regaining the Fāṭimid vizierate. After some hesitation, Nūr al-Dīn agreed to assist Shāwar, encouraged perhaps by the fact that Amalric I (1163–1174), the new Frankish king of Jerusalem, was then seriously considering his own conquest of Egypt.[39] The Franks had already, in 556/1161, entered Egypt and forced Ibn Ruzzīk to pay them an annual tribute. The following year, another Frankish invasion of Egypt had proved abortive due to the deliberate flooding of the Nile by the Fāṭimids. Towards the end of 559/1163 Amalric's advance guard entered Egypt, obliging Ḍirghām to resume the payment of the tribute previously promised to the Franks. It was under these circumstances that Nūr al-Dīn sent Shāwar back to Egypt with a force commanded by Asad al-Dīn Shīrkūh, an *amīr* of Kurdish origins who along with his brother Ayyūb had entered the service of the Zangids. On this expedition, Shīrkūh took along his nephew Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn (Saladin), the son of Ayyūb and the future founder of the Ayyūbid dynasty. After several battles, Ḍirghām was defeated and killed in Ramaḍān 559/August 1164 and Shāwar was restored to the vizierate.

Shāwar's second term as vizier lasted about five years, a most confusing period in the closing years of Fāṭimid history, marked by several more Frankish and Zangid invasions of Egypt, and by Shāwar's vacillating alliances with Amalric I and Nūr al-Dīn, both of whose forces fought numerous battles on Egyptian soil. In 562/1167 Amalric I despatched an embassy, headed by Hugh of Caesarea, to al-ʿĀḍid, and successfully demanded a substantial tribute. Even in these final days of the dynasty, the Christian knights were amazed by the splendour and ceremony

of the Fāṭimid court.[40] In 564/1168, Nūr al-Dīn, now completely distrustful of Shāwar, who had failed to honour his commitments to the Zangid ruler, send his third expeditionary force to Egypt, again under the command of Shīrkūh and accompanied by Saladin. Nominally, the expedition had been undertaken in response to the appeals of Shāwar and al-ʿĀḍid, who had become weary of the Frankish occupation of Egypt. But Nūr al-Dīn now entertained designs of his own on Fāṭimid territories. Shīrkūh, having caused the withdrawal of Amalric's troops from Egypt, entered Cairo triumphantly, now resolving to eliminate Shāwar. Saladin arrested Shāwar and had him killed, with al-ʿĀḍid's consent, in Rabīʿ II 564/January 1169. Thereupon, al-ʿĀḍid was obliged to appoint Shīrkūh to the vizierate, giving him the title of al-Malik al-Manṣūr. When Shīrkūh suddenly died two months later in Jumādā II 564/March 1169, he was succeeded by Saladin, the last of the Fāṭimid viziers.[41]

Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Yūsuf b. Ayyūb (d. 589/1193), who received his formal investiture to the vizierate with the *laqab* of al-Malik al-Nāṣir from al-ʿĀḍid, and became known as Saladin in the European chronicles of the Crusades, was generally referred to by the title of *sulṭān*. He rapidly began to consolidate his position and prepare the ground for ending Fāṭimid rule, an objective persistently sought by his master Nūr al-Dīn, a fervent Sunnī favoured by the ʿAbbāsids. Saladin immediately embarked on the task of building his own loyal military force and destroying the Fāṭimid army. In particular, he dealt effectively and ruthlessly with the mutinous black troops in Egypt, an important contingent of the Fāṭimid army, burning down their quarters and routing their remnants in upper Egypt. He systematically appointed Syrians to key administrative positions at the expense of Egyptians. At the same time, Saladin gradually adopted anti-Ismāʿīlī policies, including the elimination of the Shīʿī form of the *adhān* and the closing of the sessions of Ismāʿīlī lectures at al-Azhar and elsewhere in Cairo. He also appointed a Sunnī to the position of chief *qāḍī*, who then removed the Ismāʿīlī jurists of Egypt and replaced them with Sunnī ones. About two-and-a-half years after his accession to the vizierate, Saladin felt sufficiently secure to take the final step in uprooting the Fāṭimid dynasty.

Saladin formally put an end to Fāṭimid rule when, in Muḥarram 567/September 1171, he had the *khuṭba* read in Cairo in the name of the reigning ʿAbbāsid caliph al-Mustaḍīʾ (566–575/1170–1180), thus proclaiming ʿAbbāsid suzerainty in Egypt. A Shāfiʿī theologian, Najm al-Dīn al-Khabūshānī, carried out this act, also reciting the misdeeds of the Fāṭimids. After two centuries, Ismāʿīlism was thus abandoned as the state religion of Egypt, the sole remnant of the former Fāṭimid empire. Egypt returned to the fold of Sunnism amidst the complete apathy of the populace. A few days after these events, the helpless al-ʿĀḍid, the fourteenth and the last of the Fāṭimid caliphs, and the twenty-fourth imam of

the Ḥāfiẓī Ismāʿīlīs, died following a brief illness. He was barely twenty-one years old. The Fāṭimid caliphate, established in 297/909 and embodying perhaps the greatest religio-political and cultural success of Shīʿī Islam, had thus come to a close after 262 years. Saladin, who acquired his independence on Nūr al-Dīn's death in 569/1174, succeeded in founding the Ayyūbid dynasty, which was to rule in Egypt, Syria, Yaman and other parts of the Near East until the end of the 9th/15th century.

On al-ʿĀḍid's death, the numerous members of the Fāṭimid family were permanently placed in honourable captivity in sections of the Fāṭimid palace and in other isolated quarters. The immense treasures of the deposed dynasty were divided between Saladin's officers and Nūr al-Dīn. Saladin also caused the destruction of the renowned Fāṭimid libraries in Cairo, including the collections of the Dār al-ʿIlm. At the same time, Saladin started to persecute the Egyptian Ismāʿīlīs, who for the most part were Ḥāfiẓī Mustaʿlians. The Ḥāfiẓī *daʿwa*, which had now lost official support in Egypt, did not survive long after the fall of the Fāṭimid dynasty. It may be noted that during the reigns of the last four Fāṭimid caliphs, recognized as the imams of the Ḥāfiẓiyya, the Ismāʿīlī traditions of the earlier times had been essentially maintained. These included the appointment of chief *dāʿīs* as administrative heads of the *daʿwa*, starting with Sirāj al-Dīn Najm b. Jaʿfar (d. 528/1134), who became chief *dāʿī* and chief *qāḍī* in 526/1132, and ending with Ibn ʿAbd al-Qawī and his relatives, who held that office during the final years of the dynasty.[42] It may also be assumed that the Ḥāfiẓī theologians of this period engaged in literary activities. However, as the Ḥāfiẓiyya were to disappear soon afterwards, no Ḥāfiẓī texts analogous to the medieval works of the Ṭayyibīs and Nizārīs preserved by the adherents of these branches of Ismāʿīlism have survived to the present time.[43]

In the immediate aftermath of the collapse of the Fāṭimid dynasty, the Ismāʿīlīs of Egypt, fleeing from the persecutions of the country's new Sunnī Ayyūbid masters, went into hiding. Many took refuge in upper Egypt, where they continued to agitate against Saladin. And for some time thereafter, the direct descendants of al-Ḥāfiẓ, as well as a few false Fāṭimid pretenders, claimed the imamate of the Ḥāfiẓīs. Some of them also led revolts which always received limited support in Egypt.[44] Al-ʿĀḍid had appointed his eldest son, Dāʾūd, as his heir apparent. After al-ʿĀḍid, the Ḥāfiẓīs recognized Dāʾūd, with the title of al-Ḥāmid li'llāh, as their next imam. He, like other members of the Fāṭimid family, was detained as a prisoner by the Ayyūbids. In 569/1174, a major conspiracy to overthrow Saladin and restore Fāṭimid rule was discovered in Cairo.[45] The chief conspirators, who had also sought the help of Amalric I and the Franks, included the famous Yamanī poet-historian ʿUmāra, a former chief *dāʿī*, several Ismāʿīlī jurists and Fāṭimid commanders, some descendants of the viziers Ibn Ruzzīk and Shāwar, and even

some of Saladin's own officers. ʿUmāra and certain of his collaborators were executed on Saladin's orders, while many of the supporters of the fallen dynasty were killed or exiled to upper Egypt, henceforth the main area of pro-Fāṭimid activity. During 570/1174–1175, a pro-Fāṭimid revolt led by the general Kanz al-Dawla, and with the participation of the Egyptian Ismāʿīlīs, was suppressed in upper Egypt by al-Malik al-ʿĀdil, Saladin's brother and future successor.[46] In 572/1176–1177, a pretender, falsely claiming to be Dāʾūd b. al-ʿĀḍid, led another pro-Fāṭimid revolt in the town of Qifṭ.[47] Saladin had to send an army, commanded by al-Malik al-ʿĀdil, to deal with the revolt, in which many participated. Some three thousand inhabitants of Qifṭ were killed before the revolt was ended. It may be noted at this juncture that while the Ḥāfiẓiyya and the pro-Fāṭimid elements were thus being annihilated in Egypt, the Nizāriyya had developed into a significant political force in Syria, where, under the leadership of Rāshid al-Dīn Sinān, they had to be reckoned with in various local alliances and rivalries, as we shall see later. It was also at this time that the Syrian Nizārīs engaged in a struggle against Nūr al-Dīn and the Ayyūbids, making two unsuccessful attempts on Saladin's life during 570–571/1175–1176, when he was conducting military campaigns in Syria.

A few more revolts of little significance, led by Fāṭimid pretenders or Ismāʿīlīs, occurred during the final decades of the 6th/12th century,[48] during which time the Ayyūbid regime became well entrenched in Egypt under Saladin, who left various parts of his empire to different members of his family. The real Dāʾūd b. al-ʿĀḍid died as a prisoner in Cairo in 604/1207–1208, during the reign of the fourth Ayyūbid sultan al-Malik al-ʿĀdil I (596–615/1200–1218). In this same year Dāʾūd and other surviving Fāṭimid prisoners had been collectively transferred to a new location in the citadel of Cairo.[49] The Ḥāfiẓīs of Egypt asked and received permission from the Ayyūbids to mourn Dāʾūd publicly in Cairo. The Ayyūbids used the occasion to identify and arrest the Ḥāfiẓī leaders and confiscate their properties. After Dāʾūd, his son Sulaymān, surnamed Badr al-Dīn and conceived secretly in prison, seems to have been generally acknowledged as the imam of the Ḥāfiẓiyya. Sulaymān too, died in his Cairo prison in 645/1248.[50] Evidently, Sulaymān left no progeny, although some of his partisans held that he had a son who was kept in hiding. A number of Fāṭimids from amongst the descendants of al-ʿĀḍid, including two of his grandsons, Abu'l-Qāsim ʿImād al-Dīn and ʿAbd al-Wahhāb Badr al-Dīn, were still alive in 660/1262, during the early decades of the Mamlūk dynasty established in 648/1250 by Turkish slave troops in Egypt. According to al-Maqrīzī, the Fāṭimid prisoners were finally released in 671/1272–1273.[51] Still later, in 697/1298, a Fāṭimid pretender, claiming to be Dāʾūd b. Sulaymān b. Dāʾūd b. al-ʿĀḍid, appeared in upper Egypt where the remnants of the Ḥāfiẓiyya had clandestinely survived. But the Ḥāfiẓiyya had disintegrated

almost completely in Egypt by the end of the 7th/13th century. Indeed, by about a century after the fall of the Fāṭimid dynasty, Ismāʿīlism too had disappeared from the land of Egypt. Henceforth, only a few isolated Ismāʿīlī communities, probably Ḥāfiẓī, continued to exist for a while longer in some villages in upper Egypt, such as the one reported to have existed around 727/1327 in the village of ʿUṣfūn.[52] By the end of the 6th/12th century, Ḥāfiẓī Ismāʿīlism had disappeared also in Syria, although an isolated Ḥāfiẓī community is still mentioned there in the Baqīʿa mountains near Ṣafad during the early decades of the 8th/14th century.

The Ḥāfiẓī Mustaʿlian *daʿwa* in Yaman

The Ḥāfiẓī *daʿwa*, as noted, had found support also in Yaman. In fact, the Zurayʿids of ʿAdan (473–569/1080–1173) and some of the Hamdānids of Ṣanʿāʾ adhered to Ḥāfiẓī Ismāʿīlism until the Ayyūbid conquest of Yaman. And significant numbers in the territories of these local Yamanī dynasties, as well as in the region of Ḥarāz, later the stronghold of Ṭayyibī Ismāʿīlism, had rallied to the side of the Ḥāfiẓī *daʿwa*, in preference to the Ṭayyibī *daʿwa* which after the collapse of the Ṣulayḥid dynasty in 532/1138 did not have the support of any of the ruling dynasties of Yaman.

The main source for the history of the Zurayʿids is ʿUmāra, who had close relations with several members of the dynasty.[53] ʿUmāra, a zealous partisan of the Fāṭimids, wrote his history of Yaman in the year 563/1167–1168, at the request of al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil, at the time chief secretary to the caliph al-ʿĀḍid and subsequently a close companion of Saladin. Later south Arabian historians, like al-Khazrajī (d. 812/1410),[54] add very little to ʿUmāra's account of the Zurayʿid dynasty. The Zurayʿids, who belonged to the Yām branch of the Banū Hamdān, had come to prominence during the reigns of the early Ṣulayḥids. In recognition of their services to the Ṣulayḥids and to the cause of the Fāṭimid *daʿwa* in Yaman, the second Ṣulayḥid ruler al-Mukarram Aḥmad (459–477/1067–1084) conferred in 476/1083 the governorship of ʿAdan and its surrounding districts on the brothers al-ʿAbbās and al-Masʿūd b. al-Karam (al-Mukarram). They ruled jointly and founded the Ismāʿīlī dynasty of the Zurayʿids of ʿAdan. The generally accepted name of the house, the Banū Zurayʿ or Zurayʿiyya, was derived from the name of a subsequent ruler, Zurayʿ b. al-ʿAbbās. Al-ʿAbbās was given the hinterland of ʿAdan, ruling from the Ḥiṣn al-Taʿkar, while al-Masʿūd received the port and the coastline of ʿAdan, establishing his residence at the fortress of al-Khaḍrāʾ. The joint system of government, with constant rivalry between the two branches of the Zurayʿid family, continued for some time. Since ʿAdan formed part of the dowry of the queen Arwā, who soon became the real authority in the Ṣulayḥid

state, the Zurayʿids were to pay her direct allegiance and a portion of their revenues. Disagreements and conflicts over the actual size of the annual tribute payable to the Ṣulayḥid queen proved to be a constant theme in Ṣulayḥid–Zurayʿid relations, contributing to the eventual estrangement of the Zurayʿids from their Ṣulayḥid overlords.

In 480/1087, when al-Sayyida Arwā sent her general and chief advisor al-Mufaḍḍal b. Abi'l-Barakāt to Zabīd to fight the Najāḥids, the Zurayʿid rulers al-Masʿūd and Zurayʿ, who had succeeded his father al-ʿAbbās in 477/1084, fought on the side of the Ṣulayḥids and lost their lives in that campaign. However, the Zurayʿids themselves periodically attempted in vain to win their independence from the Ṣulayḥids, although they did succeed in gradually reducing the tribute they paid to them. On one occasion, after 484/1091, al-Mufaḍḍal had to be despatched with a large army to ʿAdan so as to force the renewed submission of the Zurayʿid rulers, Abu'l-Suʿūd b. Zurayʿ and Abu'l-Ghārāt b. al-Masʿūd. After the death of al-Mufaḍḍal in 504/1111, al-Sayyida Arwā sent a cousin of al-Mufaḍḍal, Asʿad, against the Zurayʿids who had rebelled anew, refusing to pay the customary tribute. It was Sabaʾ b. Abu'l-Suʿūd, the grandson of Zurayʿ, who united the port and the interior of ʿAdan under his own rule. With sufficient tribal support and after prolonged warfare during 531–532/1136–1138, he finally defeated ʿAlī b. Abu'l-Ghārāt, thus permanently ending the rule of the Masʿūdid branch of the family. Sabaʾ died in 533/1138–1139, a few months after he had become the sole Zurayʿid ruler.

Towards the end of his life, Sabaʾ had started to exert his independence from al-Malika al-Sayyida, taking over various fortresses in the southern highlands of Yaman which belonged to the Ṣulayḥids. Sabaʾ also enriched the Zurayʿid treasury by prospering from the flourishing trade between Fāṭimid Egypt and India, which passed through the Red Sea and the port of ʿAdan. When al-Ḥāfiẓ claimed the imamate in 526/1132, a bitter fight undoubtedly ensued at the court of the Ṣulayḥids and throughout the Mustaʿlian Ismāʿīlī community in Yaman. As a result, the Yamanī Ismāʿīlīs, always closely connected with the headquarters of the Ismāʿīlī *daʿwa* in Cairo, became split into two factions. The Ṣulayḥid queen championed the cause of al-Ṭayyib and became the official leader of the Ṭayyibī faction in Yaman. On the other hand, the Zurayʿids became the leaders of the Ḥāfiẓī (Majīdī) party, recognizing ʿAbd al-Majīd al-Ḥāfiẓ as their new imam after al-Āmir. It was probably immediately after the Ḥāfiẓī–Ṭayyibī schism that the Zurayʿid Sabaʾ, under obscure circumstances, allied himself to al-Ḥāfiẓ and assumed the title of *dāʿī* on behalf of the Ḥāfiẓī *daʿwa* in Yaman.

It seems that the successors of Sabaʾ became officially designated as *dāʿī*s by the headquarters of the Ḥāfiẓī *daʿwa* at Cairo. Muḥammad b. Sabaʾ was the first Zurayʿid to have become so designated as a *dāʿī* in Yaman. Sabaʾ had been initially

succeeded by his son ʿAlī al-Aʿazz, who died a year later in 534/1139. Subsequently, Muḥammad b. Sabaʾ, a younger brother of ʿAlī, was placed on the throne by the powerful Bilāl b. Jarīr, who retained the Zurayʿid vizierate from that time until his death around 546/1151.[55] Meanwhile, al-Qāḍī al-Rashīd Aḥmad b. ʿAlī b. al-Zubayr had set off from Cairo in 534/1139–1140 with a charter of investiture issued by al-Ḥāfiẓ, appointing ʿAlī b. Sabaʾ to the office of the *dāʿī* of the Majīdī *daʿwa* in Yaman. By the time of al-Qāḍī al-Rashīd's arrival in Yaman, ʿAlī had died, and, consequently, the position of *dāʿī* was transferred to the next Zurayʿid ruler Muḥammad b. Sabaʾ.[56] Al-Ḥāfiẓ also bestowed several honorific titles on the Zurayʿid vizier Bilāl for his loyalty to the Fāṭimids and the Ḥāfiẓī *daʿwa*. Bilāl, who had married his daughter to Muḥammad b. Sabaʾ, was followed in the vizierate by two of his sons. In 547/1152–1153, Muḥammad b. Sabaʾ purchased a number of fortresses and towns from the Ṣulayḥids, whose dynasty had effectively ended with the death of al-Malika al-Sayyida Arwā in 532 AH. These acquisitions included the former Ṣulayḥid capital Dhū Jibla which was chosen by Muḥammad as his own place of residence.

Muḥammad b. Sabaʾ died around 550/1155 and was succeeded by his son ʿImrān, who, like his father, carried the title of *dāʿī*. During ʿImrān's rule, close relations continued to be maintained between the later Fāṭimids and the Zurayʿid state. There are extant coins of this Zurayʿid ruler, minted in ʿAdan in the year 556 AH, and bearing the name of the Imam al-ʿĀḍid, on one side, and that of ʿImrān on the other.[57] With the death of ʿImrān in 561/1166, the affairs of the Zurayʿid state fell into the hands of the vizier Yāsir b. Bilāl, who ruled on behalf of ʿImrān's three minor sons. By then, the Ḥāfiẓī Ismāʿīlī kingdom of the Zurayʿids included ʿAdan, Abyan, Dumluwa, Taʿizz, and other localities as far north as Naqīl Ṣayd. Zurayʿid rule was brought to an end with the Ayyūbid conquest of south Arabia in 569/1173. Tūrānshāh, Saladin's brother, who led the Ayyūbid armies into Yaman, also conquered ʿAdan and killed Yāsir b. Bilāl. The Ayyūbids re-established Sunnism throughout the former Zurayʿid territories. ʿImrān's sons, Muḥammad, Manṣūr and Abu'l-Suʿūd, continued to stay for a while longer, under the guardianship of Jawhar b. ʿAbd Allāh, at the fortress of Dumluwa, the last Zurayʿid outpost. Eventually in 584/1188 Jawhar sold Dumluwa to the Ayyūbids and left south Arabia for Abyssinia in the company of ʿImrān's sons, the last nominal rulers of the Zurayʿid state.[58]

The Ḥāfiẓī *daʿwa* in Yaman was also supported by at least some of the Hamdānid rulers of Ṣanʿāʾ who, like the Zurayʿids, had been Ismāʿīlīs and belonged to the tribal confederation of Hamdān.[59] Ṣanʿāʾ and its environs were often ruled by the large and influential Banū Hamdān, many of whose clans adhered to Zaydī or Ismāʿīlī Shīʿism. Around 467/1074, when the second Ṣulayḥid ruler al-Mukarram Aḥmad retired to Dhū Jibla and left the affairs of the state to

his consort al-Malika al-Sayyida Arwā, Ṣanʿāʾ was placed under the joint governorship of al-Qāḍī ʿImrān b. al-Faḍl and Asʿad b. Shihāb, al-Mukarram's uncle. ʿImrān, one of the leaders of the Banū Hamdān from the clan of Yām, had supported the founder of the Ṣulayḥid dynasty in most of his campaigns and had also undertaken a mission on his behalf to Cairo in 459/1067, urging al-Mustanṣir to permit the visit of ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Ṣulayḥī to the Fāṭimid court. Later, ʿImrān, who like the Ṣulayḥids adhered to Fāṭimid Ismāʿīlism, became the commander of the Ṣulayḥid army. ʿImrān's governorship of Ṣanʿāʾ, however, did not last very long. For some unknown reason, there soon occurred an estrangement between al-Mukarram and ʿImrān, who was removed from his post. It seems that ʿImrān had been intriguing against the Ṣulayḥids, probably out of his resentment for the authority exercised by al-Sayyida Arwā. He had also become envious of the power and position of Lamak b. Mālik al-Ḥammādī in the Ṣulayḥid state. As it turned out, the successors of these two rival *qāḍī*s became leaders of opposing Ismāʿīlī factions in Yaman. While Lamak's successors became *dāʿī*s of the Ṭayyibīs, the descendants of ʿImrān were amongst those Hamdānid rulers supporting the Ḥāfiẓī *daʿwa*. The rising fortunes of al-Mufaḍḍal b. Abi'l-Barakāt (d. 504/1110), Arwā's confidant who fought against the Najāḥids and the Zurayʿids, was another factor undermining the loyalty of the Zurayʿids and the Hamdānids towards the Ṣulayḥids. In any case, due to the Ṣulayḥid queen's popularity throughout Yaman, ʿImrān could not oppose her openly. In fact, ʿImrān fought for her in the Ṣulayḥid war against the Najāḥids in 479/1086, and was killed in battle.

In the meantime, different Hamdānī clans had been attempting to acquire their independence from the central authority of the Ṣulayḥids. By 492/1098–1099, they had severed Ṣanʿāʾ from the Ṣulayḥid state. The city and its surrounding districts now came under the rule of Ḥātim b. al-Ghashīm al-Mughallasī, another Hamdānī leader who founded the first of the three Hamdānid dynasties of Ṣanʿāʾ. Ḥātim died in 502/1108 and was succeeded by his sons ʿAbd Allāh (502–504/1108–1110) and then Maʿn, who faced serious opposition from within the Banū Hamdān. In 510/1116, Maʿn was formally deposed by the Qāḍī Aḥmad b. ʿImrān b. al-Faḍl, the son of the former Ṣulayḥid governor of Ṣanʿāʾ, who had assumed the leadership of the Hamdānī clans. Hishām b. al-Qubayb, from another Hamdānī family and a Mustaʿlian Ismāʿīlī, was now set up as the new ruler of Ṣanʿāʾ.[60] Hishām, the founder of the second Hamdānid dynasty, died around 518/1124 and was succeeded by his brother Ḥimās b. al-Qubayb. It was during the reign of Ḥimās that al-Āmir died and al-Ḥāfiẓ claimed the imamate. Ḥimās became the first Hamdānid ruler to support the cause of al-Ḥāfiẓ in Yaman. He died in 527/1132–1133, shortly after the Ḥāfiẓī–Ṭayyibī schism, and his son Ḥātim took over the Hamdānid state. He, too, adhered to Ḥāfiẓī Ismāʿīlism.

When Ḥātim b. Ḥimās died in 533/1138–1139, soon after al-Sayyida Arwā, his sons quarrelled over his succession and tribal dissension arose once again within the Banū Hamdān. It was under these circumstances that the Hamdānī house of ʿImrān, with the approval of the tribal leaders, assumed responsibility for ruling over Ṣanʿāʾ. The control of the Ṣanʿāʾ area thus passed in 533 AH into the hands of Ḥamīd al-Dawla Ḥātim b. Aḥmad b. ʿImrān, who founded the third Hamdānid dynasty of Ṣanʿāʾ, the Banū Ḥātim. The heritage lost by ʿImrān was thus regained by his grandson, who, by 545/1150, held the whole country north of Ṣanʿāʾ with the main exception of Ṣaʿda, the chief Zaydī centre in Yaman. Ḥātim, like the Banu'l-Qubayb, supported the Ḥāfiẓī *daʿwa* in the districts under his rule. Religious differences played their part in continuous entanglements between the Ḥāfiẓī Ḥātim and the Rassid Zaydī Imam al-Mutawakkil Aḥmad b. Sulaymān, who in 532/1137–1138 had proclaimed his leadership of the Yamanī Zaydīs in Ṣaʿda. These conflicts began in 545/1150, when the Zaydīs attacked Ḥātim's forces and temporarily wrested the control of Ṣanʿāʾ from the Hamdānids, and continued until Ḥātim's death in 556/1161.[61] When Ḥātim regained control of Ṣanʿāʾ, he restored the inscription on a mosque in Ṣanʿāʾ containing the names of the Fāṭimid Ismāʿīlī imams, which had been erased by the Zaydī Imam al-Mutawakkil Aḥmad (d. 566/1170).[62]

Ḥātim was succeeded by his son ʿAlī, the last ruling member of his dynasty. Sultan ʿAlī b. Ḥātim consolidated his position and expanded his territories northward, gaining temporary control of even Ṣaʿda, and westward as far as Ḥarāz, where significant numbers of Ḥāfiẓī Ismāʿīlīs were then to be found. The Hamdānid ʿAlī b. Ḥātim, who led the cause of the Ḥāfiẓī *daʿwa* in the Ṣanʿāʾ region, waged a prolonged war against Ḥātim b. Ibrāhīm al-Ḥāmidī, who in 557/1162 had succeeded as the third *dāʿī muṭlaq* to the leadership of the Ṭayyibīs. This also represented the most serious military contest between the Ḥāfiẓī and the Ṭayyibī parties in Yaman. The hostilities lasted for three years, starting in 561 AH when the Ṭayyibī *dāʿī* Ḥātim, with the growing support of a large number of Hamdānī tribesmen, rose against ʿAlī b. Ḥātim and seized the fortress of Kawkabān near Ṣanʿāʾ.[63] ʿAlī b. Ḥātim retaliated and fought the *dāʿī* Ḥātim, eventually defeating him. Kawkabān surrendered in 564/1168–1169, and the *dāʿī* retreated to Rayʿān and Luʾluʾa before establishing himself in Ḥarāz. The Hamdānids destroyed much of the territory around Kawkabān and Shibām. Sultan ʿAlī also played a leading role in forming an alliance with his Zurayʿid co-religionists and some Hamdānī clans against the Khārijī ruler of Zabīd, ʿAbd al-Nabī, son of ʿAlī b. al-Mahdī (d. 554/1159), who had seized Zabīd from the Najāḥids and founded a new dynasty there.[64] ʿAbd al-Nabī, in his own campaign of territorial expansion, had laid siege to ʿAdan, obliging the Zurayʿids to seek military assistance from the Hamdānids, both dynasties being Yāmīs and Ḥāfiẓī

Ismāʿīlīs. The Mahdid army was defeated in 569/1173, and driven back to Zabīd by the combined forces of the Ismāʿīlī dynasties and their tribal warriors.[65] By that time, the Ayyūbids had already started their penetration of Yaman, which was to result in the collapse of the Zurayʿid, Hamdānid and Mahdid dynasties. Only the Zaydī imams ruling from Ṣaʿda escaped the Ayyūbid subjugation of south Arabia.

Shortly after ʿAlī b. Ḥātim returned to Ṣanʿāʾ from his campaign against the Mahdids, the Ayyūbids under Tūrānshāh managed to reach the outskirts of the city in 570/1174. ʿAlī fled to the safety of his fortress of Birāsh, while Tūrānshāh temporarily secured Ṣanʿāʾ, abandoned by the Hamdānids. This marked the end of Hamdānid rule, although a number of Hamdānids continued to control various localities around Ṣanʿāʾ for some time longer. ʿAlī b. Ḥātim returned to Ṣanʿāʾ after Tūrānshāh left Yaman for Egypt in 571/1175–1176, and put up a vigorous resistance against the Ayyūbids with the help of his brother Bishr b. Ḥātim and other relatives. It was not until 585/1189 that the second Ayyūbid ruler of Yaman, al-Malik al-ʿAzīz Ṭughtakīn b. Ayyūb (577–593/1181–1197), having settled the affairs in the south, entered Ṣanʿāʾ, then still in the hands of the Ḥāfiẓī Hamdānids. Nonetheless, ʿAlī b. Ḥātim's brothers and other Hamdānids, scattered over a wide area around Ṣanʿāʾ, continued to hold on to a number of fortresses during the Ayyūbid period in Yaman (569–626/1173–1229). ʿAlī b. Ḥātim himself remained in possession of different fortresses until his death in 599/1202–1203.

The slow progress made by the Ayyūbids in conquering Ṣanʿāʾ and its environs and in uprooting the Hamdānids is related by Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Ḥātim (d. ca. 700/1300), a Yamanī historian and great-grandson of ʿAlī b. Ḥātim.[66] This also explains why Ḥāfiẓī Ismāʿīlism lingered on for quite some time in Yaman after the Ayyūbid conquest of the country, although with the fall of the Zurayʿid and Hamdānid dynasties Ḥāfiẓī Ismāʿīlism lost its prominence in Yaman, surviving only in isolated communities and amongst some of the descendants of the Hamdānid rulers of Ṣanʿāʾ. It is interesting to note that by the beginning of the 7th/13th century, the Ḥāfiẓiyya were still important enough in Yaman to warrant the writing of polemical treatises by Ṭayyibīs, refuting the claims of al-Ḥāfiẓ and his successors to the imamate and defending the legitimacy of the Ṭayyibī *daʿwa*. One of these polemical works against the Majīdī (Ḥāfiẓī) *daʿwa*, written by the fifth *dāʿī muṭlaq* of the Ṭayyibīs, ʿAlī b. Muḥammad Ibn al-Walīd (d. 612/1215), is extant and has been published.[67] There is no evidence showing that the Ḥāfiẓī *daʿwa* ever gained a foothold in India. The Indian Mustaʿlian Ismāʿīlīs, who had close ties with the Ṣulayḥid state, seem to have rallied completely to the side of the Ṭayyibī *daʿwa*, upheld by the Ṣulayḥids.

The early Ṭayyibī Mustaʿlian *daʿwa* in Yaman

Before embarking on a discussion of Ṭayyibī Ismāʿīlism in Yaman, it may be noted in passing that the few Ṭayyibī communities of Egypt and Syria, known as the Āmiriyya, which had come into existence following the Ḥāfiẓī–Ṭayyibī schism, remained insignificant and short-lived. By the time Ayyūbid rule was firmly established in Egypt and Ismāʿīlism was replaced there by Sunnism as the state religion, the clandestine Egyptian Ṭayyibīs, who had been subjected to severe persecutions, had disintegrated almost completely.[68] In Syria, too, the history of the Ṭayyibīs was of rather short duration. Ibn Abī Ṭayyiʾ, the Shīʿī chronicler of Aleppo who died around 630/1232, attests to the presence of some Syrian Ismāʿīlīs belonging to the Āmiriyya party at the end of the 6th/12th century.[69] By the early decades of the 8th/14th century, only an isolated community of the Āmiriyya still evidently existed in Syria, in the Baqīʿa and Zābūd mountains near Ṣafad. It was in Yaman, and then in India, that the Ṭayyibī *daʿwa* was successfully propagated and became permanently established.

As noted, a son named al-Ṭayyib was born a few months before his father al-Āmir, the twentieth imam of the Mustaʿlian Ismāʿīlīs, was murdered in 524/1130. We have already referred to Ibn Muyassar's account and to the epistle, preserved by ʿUmāra and the Ṭayyibīs, in which al-Āmir announced the birth of al-Ṭayyib to the Ṣulayḥid queen Arwā. At the time, the aged Arwā had been supporting for some thirty-six years the rights of al-Mustaʿlī and al-Āmir to the imamate of the Mustaʿlians. It is not clear what happened to al-Ṭayyib, designated heir apparent on his birth, during the critical weeks following al-Āmir's assassination. For instance, it is not known whether he died in infancy or was disposed of in some manner at the instigation of ʿAbd al-Majīd al-Ḥāfiẓ, who had then assumed the regency. A near contemporary Syrian chronicler, who has remained anonymous, insinuates that he was secretly killed on the order of al-Ḥāfiẓ.[70] Ibn Muyassar merely relates that al-Ḥāfiẓ somehow managed to conceal the existence of al-Ṭayyib. Other non-Ismāʿīlī historians of the period maintain silence on the subject. However, there is a Yamanī Ṭayyibī tradition concerning the fate of al-Ṭayyib, who is counted as the twenty-first imam of the Ṭayyibiyya, and the last one whose name is known to his followers. This tradition, preserved by the Ṭayyibī *dāʿī* and historian Idrīs, dates back to Ibrāhīm b. al-Ḥusayn al-Ḥāmidī, the second chief *dāʿī* of the Yamanī Ṭayyibīs, a mature man at the time of the Ḥāfiẓī–Ṭayyibī schism.[71]

According to this tradition, a certain Ibn Madyan was the leader of a small group of *dāʿī*s in the entourage of al-Āmir. The other members of this group, selected from amongst the most eminent and trusted *dāʿī*s, were Ibn Raslān,

al-ʿAzīzī, Qawnaṣ, and Naslān. Just before his death, al-Āmir placed al-Ṭayyib in the custody of Ibn Madyan, who had been appointed to the position of *bāb* by the caliph-imam. On al-Āmir's death, these *dāʿī*s swore allegiance to al-Ṭayyib, and Ibn Madyan, assisted by his brother-in-law Abū ʿAlī, assumed the headship of the *daʿwa* on behalf of al-Ṭayyib. When Abū ʿAlī Kutayfāt seized power and showed his hostility towards the Fāṭimids, Ibn Madyan and his circle of *dāʿī*s, realizing the impending dangers, decided to conceal the infant imam who had received al-Āmir's *naṣṣ*. However, Ibn Madyan and the other four *dāʿī*s who had been highly devoted to al-Āmir were arrested on Kutayfāt's orders. They were subsequently executed due to their refusal to abjure al-Āmir and al-Ṭayyib. In the meantime, Ibn Madyan's brother-in-law, Abū ʿAlī, had managed to go into hiding with al-Ṭayyib. Nothing more was heard of al-Ṭayyib. It is the belief of the Ṭayyibīs that al-Ṭayyib survived[72] and that the imamate continued in his progeny, being handed down from father to son, generation after generation, during the current period of *satr* initiated by al-Ṭayyib's concealment. It is interesting to note that according to this tradition, the blame for usurpation of al-Ṭayyib's rights is put on Kutayfāt, during whose brief rule many of the supporters of the Ṭayyibī cause were persecuted in Egypt and Twelver Shīʿism was adopted as the state religion there. This tradition thus ignores the fact that the mentioning of al-Ṭayyib's name was suppressed from the very beginning of the regency of ʿAbd al-Majīd al-Ḥāfiẓ.

Meanwhile, the news of al-Ṭayyib's birth had been met with rejoicing at the Ṣulayḥid court. We learn from the *ʿUyūn al-akhbār* that a certain Sharīf Muḥammad b. Ḥaydara was the Fāṭimid envoy, who, in 524 AH, carried al-Āmir's epistle regarding the birth of the heir apparent to Yaman.[73] There also exists the eyewitness report of al-Khaṭṭāb, assistant to the first chief *dāʿī* of the Ṭayyibīs, concerning the circumstances under which this epistle was received by the Ṣulayḥid queen.[74] Soon afterwards, the Yamanī Mustaʿlians were thrown into confusion by the news of the events taking place in rapid succession in Cairo, viz. al-Āmir's murder, ʿAbd al-Majīd's regency and Kutayfāt's vizierate. Muḥammad b. Ḥaydara, still in Yaman at that time, delivered public sermons deploring the murder of al-Āmir and exalting al-Ṭayyib. These sermons must have taken place soon after al-Āmir's death, since in one of them the Fāṭimid envoy names al-Ṭayyib, ʿAbd al-Majīd and Abū ʿAlī Kutayfāt, as, respectively, imam, regent and vizier.[75] It may be assumed that the crisis faced by the Yamanī Ismāʿīlīs reached its peak in 526 AH, when ʿAbd al-Majīd claimed the imamate. Idrīs relates how al-Sayyida Arwā was astonished when al-Ḥāfiẓ adopted the new title of *amīr al-muʾminīn*, instead of the previously used one of *walī ʿahd al-Muslimīn*, in his official correspondence with the queen.[76] It was probably at that time that the Mustaʿlians of Yaman became split into the Ḥāfiẓī and Ṭayyibī parties.

It is useful at this juncture to recapitulate the succession of the Ismāʿīlī *dāʿīs* in Ṣulayḥid Yaman. The first Ṣulayḥid ruler, ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Ṣulayḥī, was also the head of the Fāṭimid Ismāʿīlī *daʿwa* in Yaman, combining in his person the offices of sultan and chief *dāʿī*.[77] However, when Lamak b. Mālik al-Ḥammādī returned to Yaman from his Egyptian mission in 459/1066–1067, the same year in which ʿAlī b. Muḥammad died, the headships of the *daʿwa* and the state became separated in Yaman. Lamak was now appointed chief *dāʿī* of Yaman by al-Mustanṣir and became the executive head of the *daʿwa*, while the new Ṣulayḥid ruler al-Mukarram remained only nominally in charge of the *daʿwa*.[78] This arrangement was essentially maintained when al-Mukarram retired to Dhū Jibla in 467/1074–1075, leaving the affairs of the state to his consort al-Malika al-Sayyida Arwā. When al-Mukarram died in 477/1084 and was nominally succeeded by his minor son ʿAlī b. Aḥmad and then by others, al-Sayyida Arwā continued to hold the real authority in Ṣulayḥid Yaman. Henceforth, she also exercised more control over the affairs of the *daʿwa*, especially since she was officially designated by al-Mustanṣir as the *ḥujja* of Yaman, a higher rank than *dāʿī*, shortly after al-Mukarram's death.[79] The highly respected al-Sayyida lent her support to the Yamanī *daʿwa* organization headed by the *dāʿī* Lamak, who in turn solidly backed the queen. Both upheld the rights of al-Mustaʿlī against those of Nizār, thus permanently separating the destiny of the Yamanī Ismāʿīlīs from that of the eastern Nizārī communities.

Lamak b. Mālik, who belonged to the Banū Ḥammād branch of the Hamdān and resided at Dhū Jibla, died shortly before 491/1098 and was succeeded by his son Yaḥyā. Yaḥyā's tenure as *dāʿī* coincided with the reigns of al-Mustaʿlī and al-Āmir, and it seems that during this period relations deteriorated between the Ṣulayḥid queen and the Fāṭimid state. It was perhaps due to this fact that in 513/1119 Ibn Najīb al-Dawla was despatched by al-Āmir to assist the queen and bring the Ṣulayḥid state under greater administrative control of the Fāṭimids. However, there arose strong differences between al-Sayyida and Ibn Najīb al-Dawla, who as commander of the Ṣulayḥid forces had participated in several battles against the enemies of the Ṣulayḥids. In 519/1125, Ibn Najīb al-Dawla was recalled to Cairo, but from his ship back there was thrown overboard and drowned. Rumours were spread to the effect that he had been conducting propaganda in favour of the Nizārīs. The queen then replaced Ibn Najīb al-Dawla with a member of the Ṣulayḥid family, ʿAlī (ʿAbd Allāh) b. ʿAbd Allāh, who became the Ṣulayḥid administrator at Dhū Jibla. It is interesting to note that to ʿUmāra, and other non-Ismāʿīlī Yamanī historians after him, Ibn Najīb al-Dawla and his successor Ibn ʿAbd Allāh wrongly appeared as *dāʿīs*.[80] According to the Ṭayyibī tradition and literature on the succession of the early Yamanī *dāʿīs*,[81] however,

Ibn Najīb al-Dawla and Ibn ʿAbd Allāh did not hold any positions in the *daʿwa* organization.

Before his death in 520/1126 the *dāʿī* Yaḥyā b. Lamak, in consultation with al-Sayyida Arwā, appointed his assistant al-Dhuʾayb b. Mūsā al-Wādiʿī al-Hamdānī as his successor. It was during the earlier years of the latter's leadership as *dāʿī* that the Mustaʿlian Ismāʿīlīs were confronted with the Ḥāfiẓī–Ṭayyibī schism. Al-Dhuʾayb, in line with the position of the Ṣulayḥid queen, recognized the rights of al-Ṭayyib and thus became the first Yamanī chief *dāʿī* to propagate the Ṭayyibī *daʿwa*. From 524/1130 until her death in Shaʿbān 532/ April 1138, the Ṣulayḥid al-Malika al-Sayyida Ḥurra Arwā bint Aḥmad made every effort to consolidate the Ṭayyibī *daʿwa*. In her will, she bequeathed her famous collection of jewellery to al-Imām al-Ṭayyib.[82] Al-Dhuʾayb and other leaders of the established *daʿwa* in Yaman collaborated closely with al-Sayyida, who, during her final years, broke off relations with the Fāṭimid regime. It was soon after 526 AH that al-Dhuʾayb was declared by the Ṣulayḥid queen as *al-dāʿī al-muṭlaq*, with full authority to conduct and supervise the *daʿwa* activities on behalf of the hidden Imam al-Ṭayyib.[83] This marked the foundation of the independent Ṭayyibī *daʿwa* in Yaman, henceforth called *al-daʿwa al-Ṭayyibiyya*, under the headship of a *dāʿī*. Al-Dhuʾayb became the first in the line of *al-duʿāt al-muṭlaqīn* who have followed one another during the current period of *satr* in the history of the Ṭayyibī Ismāʿīlīs.

Al-Dhuʾayb was at first assisted in the affairs of the *daʿwa* by al-Khaṭṭāb b. al-Ḥasan b. Abi'l-Ḥifāẓ, who belonged to a family of chiefs of al-Ḥajūr, a clan of the Banū Hamdān. Al-Khaṭṭāb himself was the Ḥajūrī chief or sultan and had been converted to Ismāʿīlism by his teacher al-Dhuʾayb. An important Ismāʿīlī author and Yamanī poet, al-Khaṭṭāb was also a warrior and fought against the Najāḥids and the Zaydīs on behalf of the Ṣulayḥids.[84] His loyalty to the Ṣulayḥid queen Arwā and his military services to the Ismāʿīlī cause were crucial to the success of the Ṭayyibī *daʿwa* in Yaman during its formative years. In his *Ghāyat al-mawālīd*, al-Khaṭṭāb uses various arguments in support of al-Sayyida's rank as the *ḥujja* of Yaman, insisting that even a woman can hold that rank, and defends al-Ṭayyib's imamate.[85] Al-Khaṭṭāb was also involved in a prolonged family feud resulting from the murder of his sister and a bitter rivalry with his elder brother Sulaymān, a non-Ismāʿīlī, over the control of al-Ḥajūr. Al-Khaṭṭāb, who had succeeded in driving away and eventually murdering Sulaymān, was killed in revenge by Sulaymān's sons in 533/1138, six months after al-Sayyida had died.

On al-Khaṭṭāb's death, al-Dhuʾayb appointed Ibrāhīm b. al-Ḥusayn al-Ḥāmidī, belonging to the Ḥāmidī branch of the Banū Hamdān, as his new chief assistant or *maʾdhūn*, the second highest rank in the Ṭayyibī *daʿwa* hierarchy. On al-Dhuʾayb's death in 546/1151, Ibrāhīm succeeded him as the second *dāʿī muṭlaq*.[86] Al-Dhuʾayb, al-Khaṭṭāb and Ibrāhīm al-Ḥāmidī were the earliest Ṭayyibī leaders

who, under the patronage of al-Sayyida Arwā, founded and consolidated the Ṭayyibī *daʿwa* in southern Arabia. Al-Sayyida's death also marked the effective end of the Ṣulayḥid dynasty. The last Ṣulayḥid rulers only held on to certain isolated fortresses for a while longer until the 560s/1170s, when the Ḥāfiẓī Zurayʿids came into possession of the remaining Ṣulayḥid outposts. After the Ṣulayḥid queen, the Ṭayyibī *daʿwa*, unlike the Ḥāfiẓī *daʿwa*, did not receive the support of any Yamanī rulers. Nonetheless, Ṭayyibī Ismāʿīlism began to spread successfully in Yaman under the undisputed leadership of the chief *dāʿī*s al-Dhuʾayb and Ibrāhīm. The Ṭayyibī *daʿwa* had now become independent of both the Fāṭimid regime as well as the Ṣulayḥids, and this explains why it survived the fall of both dynasties.

Ibrāhīm al-Ḥāmidī resided at Ṣanʿāʾ, where he evidently enjoyed the hospitality of Ḥātim b. Aḥmad, the city's Hamdānid ruler who adhered to Ḥāfiẓī Ismāʿīlism. Ibrāhīm introduced the *Rasāʾil Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ* into the literature of the Ṭayyibī community in Yaman, and in his own writings drew extensively on the works of Ḥamīd al-Dīn al-Kirmānī. He formulated a new synthesis in the doctrinal domain, combining al-Kirmānī's cosmological system with mythical elements. His major work, *Kitāb kanz al-walad (Book of the Child's Treasure)*, provided the basis of the particular Ṭayyibī *ḥaqāʾiq* system and was used as a model for later Ṭayyibī writings on the subject. After the death of his original *maʾdhūn* ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn b. al-Walīd in 554/1159, Ibrāhīm appointed his own son Ḥātim as his assistant. Subsequently, the position of *dāʿī muṭlaq* remained in the hands of Ibrāhīm's descendants until 605/1209. Ibrāhīm died in 557/1162, and was succeeded by his son Ḥātim.

The third *dāʿī muṭlaq* of the Ṭayyibīs, Ḥātim b. Ibrāhīm al-Ḥāmidī, was a prolific author and poet in addition to being a warrior and a capable organizer.[87] He also achieved great success in spreading the Ṭayyibī *daʿwa* in Yaman during his thirty-seven years as *dāʿī*. Early in his career, Ḥātim won the support of some of the clans of Hamdān and Ḥimyar, with whose help he seized the fortress of Kawkabān. The *dāʿī*'s increasing influence, which spread also in Dhimār and Naqīl Banī Sharḥa close to Ṣanʿāʾ, soon aroused the apprehension of the Hamdānid ruler of Ṣanʿāʾ, ʿAlī b. Ḥātim al-Yāmī. We have already referred to the prolonged hostilities between the *dāʿī* Ḥātim and the Hamdānid ruler, which lasted from 561 to 564 AH. The Ṭayyibī *dāʿī* was finally defeated and had to surrender Kawkabān to ʿAlī b. Ḥātim. Having realized the futility of large-scale warfare, Ḥātim eventually withdrew to a location called Shiʿāf (or Shaʿāf) in Ḥarāz, where he converted large numbers to Ṭayyibī Ismāʿīlism. According to Idrīs, until the arrival of the *dāʿī* Ḥātim in Ḥarāz, the inhabitants of that mountainous region, with its several towns and fortresses, had adhered mainly to Ḥāfiẓī Ismāʿīlism.[88] Subsequently, Ḥātim began to conquer various strongholds in Ḥarāz. In 569/1173, he seized the

fortress of Ẓahra, and then reached the famous mountain of Shibām, taking the fortress of Ḥuṭayb on its lower peak which was situated in the country of his chief supporters, the Yaʿburīs of the Banū Hamdān. He established his headquarters at Ḥuṭayb, which he fortified. Later, he conquered the higher peak of Shibām and repaired its fortress, which had been constructed by the founder of the Ṣulayḥid dynasty. In his conquests, Ḥātim b. Ibrāhīm was effectively helped by Sabaʾ b. Yūsuf, the chief of the Yaʿburīs and the commander of the *dāʿī*'s forces. With the murder of the *amīr* Sabaʾ at the hands of the Banū Ḥakam and the extension of Ayyūbid rule over Yaman, Ḥātim could no longer rely on military power for expanding his influence. Nonetheless, he managed to maintain his control over Ḥarāz and the three main fortresses of the Shibām mountain, namely, Shibām, Jawḥab and Ḥuṭayb.

Ḥātim b. Ibrāhīm continued to use Ḥuṭayb as his headquarters, holding his assemblies and delivering his lectures (*majālis*) in a cave below the fortress. The *dāʿī muṭlaq* of the Ṭayyibīs had now assumed the teaching functions of the Fāṭimid *dāʿī al-duʿāt*. It was also at Ḥuṭayb that Ḥātim received the subordinate Ṭayyibī *dāʿī*s from all over Yaman, of whom there were many, as well as the *dāʿī*s he appointed for Sind and Hind. Ḥātim had, however, stationed his assistant, the learned Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir al-Ḥārithī, in Ṣanʿāʾ, where he aimed to undermine the Hamdānid dynasty and win influential converts. It was Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir, closely associated also with the *dāʿī* Ibrāhīm al-Ḥāmidī, who compiled a valuable chrestomathy of Ismāʿīlī works and composed some poems on the occasion of the fall of the Fāṭimid dynasty, an event greatly rejoiced in by the Ṭayyibīs, who regarded al-Ḥāfiẓ and the later Fāṭimids as usurpers and deserving of divine punishment.[89] On Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir's death in 584/1188, Ḥātim chose ʿAlī b. Muḥammad Ibn al-Walīd as his new *maʾdhūn* at Ṣanʿāʾ. ʿAlī b. Muḥammad, who later became the fifth *dāʿī muṭlaq*, visited Ḥarāz frequently and was entrusted with the education of Ḥātim's son ʿAlī. It was on the recommendation of ʿAlī b. Muḥammad that Ḥātim nominated his own son ʿAlī as his successor. Ḥātim b. Ibrāhīm died in 596/1199 and was buried under the fortress of Ḥuṭayb, where his grave is still piously visited by the Ṭayyibīs. ʿAlī b. Ḥātim al-Ḥāmidī succeeded his father as the fourth *dāʿī muṭlaq*, and ʿAlī b. Muḥammad continued as his *maʾdhūn*. As the Yaʿburīs of Ḥarāz now turned against ʿAlī b. Ḥātim and fought amongst themselves, killing their leader Ḥātim b. Sabaʾ b. al-Yaʿburī who supported the Ṭayyibī *daʿwa*, the *dāʿī* was obliged to transfer his headquarters from Ḥarāz to Ṣanʿāʾ. There, he was treated hospitably by the Hamdānids and with no opposition from the Ayyūbids. ʿAlī b. Ḥātim died in 605/1209, bringing to an end the Ḥāmidī family's leadership of the Ṭayyibī *daʿwa*.

The aged ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar b. Ibrāhīm b. al-Walīd succeeded ʿAlī al-Ḥāmidī as the fifth *dāʿī muṭlaq* of the Ṭayyibīs.[90] He belonged to the prominent

Banu'l-Walīd al-Anf family of Quraysh. His great-grandfather Ibrāhīm b. Abī Salama was a supporter of ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Ṣulayḥī and a descendant of the Umayyad al-Walīd b. ʿUtba b. Abī Sufyān. He had studied first under his uncle ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn, the *maʾdhūn* to the second *dāʿī muṭlaq*, and then under Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir al-Ḥārithī, whom he had succeeded as *maʾdhūn*. He resided at Ṣanʿāʾ and maintained friendly relations with the Hamdānids, also visiting as a guest their fortress of Dhū Marmar. ʿAlī b. Muḥammad, one of the most learned Ṭayyibī *dāʿī*s, produced numerous works which are important for understanding the Ṭayyibī esoteric doctrine.[91] He died at Ṣanʿāʾ in 612/1215, at the age of ninety.

Henceforth, the office of *dāʿī muṭlaq* remained amongst the descendants of ʿAlī b. Muḥammad Ibn al-Walīd al-Anf al-Qurashī, with only two interruptions in the 7th/13th century, until the death of the twenty-third *dāʿī* in 946/1539. During this period of more than three centuries, Ḥarāz remained the traditional stronghold of the Ṭayyibī *daʿwa*. The *dāʿī*s enjoyed the general protection and sometimes military support of the Hamdānids, who permitted them to reside in Ṣanʿāʾ, and later, during the 8th/14th century, in Dhū Marmar, before the *dāʿī*s transferred their residence to Ḥarāz in the 9th/15th century. In general, the Ṭayyibīs maintained peaceful, even friendly relations with Yaman's Ayyūbid (569–626/1173–1229), Rasūlid (626–858/1229–1454) and Ṭāhirid (858–923/1454–1517) rulers. On the other hand, relations between the Ṭayyibīs and the Zaydīs of Yaman, both Shīʿīs, were often marked by bitter enmity and open warfare.

In 612/1215, ʿAlī b. Ḥanẓala b. Abī Sālim al-Maḥfūẓī al-Wādiʿī succeeded to the headship of the Ṭayyibī *daʿwa* as the sixth *dāʿī muṭlaq*.[92] He was from the Banū Hamdān, and the first of the two *dāʿī*s in this period not from the family of al-Walīd. He maintained good relations with the Ayyūbids and Hamdānids, staying at both Ṣanʿāʾ and Dhū Marmar. He sent *dāʿī*s to the Ismāʿīlīs of western India, who had retained their close and subordinate ties with the Ṭayyibī *daʿwa* in Yaman. ʿAlī b. Ḥanẓala died in 626/1229 and was followed by Aḥmad b. al-Mubārak Ibn al-Walīd, who headed the *daʿwa* for about one year during 626–627/1229–1230, and then by the eighth *dāʿī muṭlaq* al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī (627–667/1230–1268), the son of the fifth *dāʿī*. Al-Ḥusayn was on particularly good terms with the Rasūlids and succeeded in converting several members of the family of Asad al-Dīn, cousin of the second Rasūlid ruler al-Malik al-Muẓaffar (647–694/1250–1295). He was also an important Ismāʿīlī author and produced several works on the *ḥaqāʾiq*, including the already-noted *al-Mabdaʾ waʾl-maʿād*, dealing with cosmogony and eschatology.[93] Al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī was assisted by his son, ʿAlī, who succeeded him as the ninth *dāʿī*. He first resided at Ṣanʿāʾ and then moved to the fortress of ʿArūs, where he was welcomed by the Hamdānids. After the Hamdānid repossession of Ṣanʿāʾ, however, the *dāʿī* returned to that city and died there in 682/1284.

ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn Ibn al-Walīd was succeeded by ʿAlī, the son of his *maʾdhūn* al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī b. Ḥanẓala (d. 677/1278). The tenth *dāʿī muṭlaq* of the Ṭayyibīs, like his grandfather, did not belong to the Banu'l-Walīd. The *dāʿī* ʿAlī died in 686/1287 in Ṣanʿāʾ, and was succeeded by Ibrāhīm b. al-Ḥusayn Ibn al-Walīd (686–728/1287–1328), who established his headquarters at the fortress of Afʾida. In 725/1325, Ibrāhīm acquired Kawkabān, where he gathered a force for possible confrontation with the Zaydīs. The eleventh *dāʿī* was followed by Muḥammad b. Ḥātim (728–729/1328–1329), and then by ʿAlī b. Ibrāhīm (729–746/1329–1345), who fought the Zaydīs with the help of some of the Banū Hamdān and seized Dhū Marmar in 733/1332. Subsequently, ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib b. Muḥammad (746–755/1345–1354) became the fourteenth *dāʿī*, and was in turn followed by ʿAbbās b. Muḥammad (755–779/1354–1378) and ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAlī (779–809/1378–1407). The latter, supported by the ever loyal Yaʿburīs, fought the Zaydīs in Ḥarāz and then inflicted a heavy defeat on the Zaydī pretender al-Manṣūr ʿAlī b. Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn (793–840/1390–1436). He also succeeded in 794/1392 in reconquering the fortress of Shibām. The seventeenth and the eighteenth *dāʿī*s were al-Ḥasan b. ʿAbd Allāh (d. 821/1418) and his brother ʿAlī b. ʿAbd Allāh Ibn al-Walīd. It was during the latter's time that the Zaydī al-Manṣūr ʿAlī besieged and captured Dhū Marmar in 829/1426, but allowed the *dāʿī* to move to Ḥarāz with his family, associates, and his collection of Ismāʿīlī books. Henceforth, the *dāʿī*s resided in Ḥarāz during the remainder of the Yamanī period of the Ṭayyibī *daʿwa*. The Zaydīs now captured several of the Ṭayyibī fortresses, including Afʾida. ʿAlī b. ʿAbd Allāh died in 832/1428 at Shibām and was followed by his nephew Idrīs b. al-Ḥasan, whose father and grandfather had been the seventeenth and sixteenth *dāʿī*s.[94]

The nineteenth *dāʿī muṭlaq* Idrīs ʿImād al-Dīn, who was the last great Yamanī exponent of the *ḥaqāʾiq* and the foremost Ismāʿīlī historian, was born in the fortress of Shibām in 794/1392.[95] He succeeded his uncle as the head of the *daʿwa* in 832/1428. Maintaining the policies of his predecessors, Idrīs allied himself with the Rasūlids of Zabīd and remained hostile towards the Zaydīs of Ṣanʿāʾ and elsewhere in Yaman. Joined by the Rasūlid al-Malik al-Ẓāhir (831–842/1428–1439), the *dāʿī* engaged in battle against the Zaydī al-Manṣūr ʿAlī. Indeed, he fought constantly with the Zaydīs and regained control of several fortresses. He also enjoyed the support and friendship of the Ṭāhirid brothers ʿAlī and ʿĀmir, who, around 858/1454, seized ʿAdan and Zabīd, replacing the Rasūlids as the masters of lower Yaman. Idrīs took special interest in the affairs of the *daʿwa* in western India, and during his long leadership of some forty years he contributed to the success of Ṭayyibī Ismāʿīlism in Gujarāt. The *dāʿī* Idrīs died in 872/1468 at Shibām, where he had established his headquarters in 838/1434, and was succeeded by his son al-Ḥasan (872–918/1468–1512), and then by another of his

sons al-Ḥusayn (918–933/1512–1527). The latter's son, ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn b. Idrīs, led the *daʿwa* as the twenty-second *dāʿī* for only a few months during 933/1527. The twenty-third *dāʿī muṭlaq*, Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan, the grandson of Idrīs, was the last of the *dāʿī*s from the Banu'l-Walīd al-Anf and also the last Yamanī *dāʿī* to lead the undivided Ṭayyibīs of Yaman and India. When he died in 946/1539, the position of *dāʿī muṭlaq* passed to an Indian from Sidhpūr, Yūsuf b. Sulaymān.

Aspects of Ṭayyibī thought

In the doctrinal field, the Ṭayyibīs maintained the Fāṭimid traditions and preserved a good portion of the literature of the Fāṭimid Ismāʿīlīs. Like the latter, the Ṭayyibīs stressed the equal importance of the *ẓāhir* and *bāṭin* dimensions of religion. They also retained the earlier interest of the Ismāʿīlīs in cosmology and cyclical hierohistory, which provided the main components of their esoteric, gnostic *ḥaqāʾiq* system. In their esoteric doctrine, however, they introduced some innovations which gave the Ṭayyibī gnosis a distinctive character. In cosmology, the Yamanī Ṭayyibīs from the beginning adopted al-Kirmānī's system with its ten separate intellects, instead of the earlier Neoplatonic system accepted by the Fāṭimid Ismāʿīlī *daʿwa*. But the Ṭayyibīs also modified al-Kirmānī's system by introducing a mythical 'drama in heaven', first elaborated by the second *dāʿī muṭlaq*, Ibrāhīm al-Ḥāmidī, who drew extensively on al-Kirmānī's *Rāḥat al-ʿaql*. This represented the fourth and final stage in the medieval development of Ismāʿīlī cosmology. The cosmological doctrine first expounded by Ibrāhīm al-Ḥāmidī, and adopted by later authors, shaped the distinctive Ṭayyibī *ḥaqāʾiq* system, which is a synthesis of many earlier Ismāʿīlī and non-Ismāʿīlī traditions and gnostic doctrines. By astronomical and astrological speculations, the Yamanī Ṭayyibīs also introduced certain innovations into the earlier Ismāʿīlī conception of hierohistory, expressed in terms of the seven prophetic eras. The Ṭayyibīs conceived of countless cycles leading the sacred history of mankind from its origins to the Great Resurrection. The Ṭayyibī *ḥaqāʾiq* find their fullest description in the *Zahr al-maʿānī* of Idrīs ʿImād al-Dīn, an extensive compendium of esoteric doctrines completed in 838/1435.[96] Subsequently, the Ṭayyibīs made few further doctrinal contributions, while they continued to copy the works of the earlier authors.

According to the Ṭayyibī cosmological doctrine, the primordial pleroma or the intelligible world (*ʿālam al-ibdāʿ*) was created all at once, with innumerable spiritual forms (*ṣuwar*) which were all equal to one another in terms of life, power and capacity. This was the state of the so-called first perfection (*al-kamāl al-awwal*). One of these forms of primordial beings, in contemplating itself, became

the first to realize that it was originated, and thus it recognized and worshipped the originator (*al-mubdiʿ*). As a result, this particular form was singled out for special distinction, meriting to be called the first originated being (*al-mubdaʿ al-awwal*), or simply the first (*al-awwal*). He also became known as the first intellect (*al-ʿaql al-awwal*), identified with the Qurʾānic term *al-qalam*, or the pen. The first intellect now invited, in what may be called the *daʿwa* in heaven, all the other primordial beings to follow his example by recognizing the originator and his unity or *tawḥīd*. Those responding positively to this call were ranked in descending order according to the swiftness of their response, occupying the *ḥudūd* of the celestial world.

According to the mythical 'drama in heaven', introduced by Ibrāhīm al-Ḥāmidī,[97] the first two emanations from the first intellect, viz., the first emanation (*al-munbaʿith al-awwal*) and the second emanation (*al-munbaʿith al-thānī*), respectively designated as the second intellect and third intellect, were rivals for the second rank (*ḥadd*) in the celestial hierarchy, after the first intellect. It was the second intellect who, by his superior efforts and swifter response, attained that position. But the third intellect, whilst acknowledging the originator, refused to recognize the superior rank of the second intellect, the universal soul, also identified with the Qurʾānic term *al-lawḥ*, the tablet, since he considered himself to be his equal. Thus, the third intellect, the protagonist of the cosmic dramaturgy, fell into a state of negligence and stupor, and, by hesitating to accord due recognition to his preceding archangelical hypostasis, committed the first cosmic sin or error. As punishment for his insubordination, he fell from the third to the tenth rank in the archangelical hierarchy, coming after the other seven intellects who had meanwhile responded to the call of the first intellect. In other words, after awakening from his stupor, the third intellect discovered that he had descended by seven ranks, due to his immobilization that gave rise to a temporal gap or retard (*takhalluf*) in the pleroma, the so-called 'retarded eternity' which may be viewed as the prototype of cyclical time and history based on the number seven. The doubt or hesitation expressed by the third intellect may also be described as the exteriorization of the darkness which had remained hidden within him, a being of light, and which had to be overcome. After repenting, the third intellect became stabilized as the tenth intellect and demiurge (*mudabbir*) of the physical world, an inferior and opaque world. The tenth intellect is also called the celestial or spiritual Adam (*Ādam al-rūḥānī*), the angel corresponding to Christos Angelos and showing certain traits of the Manichaean and Gnostic *anthropos*. As Corbin has explained,[98] his role corresponds even more closely to that of the angel Zervān in Zervānite Zoroastrian myths.

There were other spiritual forms (*ṣuwar*) that, like the third intellect, committed the error of failing to acknowledge the superior rank of the second intellect.

The physical world was produced out of these fallen forms, belonging to the circle (*dāʾira*) of the tenth intellect, and out of the darkness generated by their sin. Through their movements, reflecting confusion and doubt, the fallen forms produced length, width, depth, the dimensions of space, matter (*hayūlā*), the spheres (*aflāk*), the elements (*arkān*), etc. In this Ṭayyibī cosmology, characterized by the fall and repentance of one of the archangels in the pleroma, the tenth intellect or the spiritual Adam, who is charged with administering the affairs of the physical world, tries to regain his lost position by calling on other fallen spiritual forms to repent, like himself. This *daʿwa*, corresponding to the *daʿwa* of the first intellect, is indeed the outstanding motif of the Ṭayyibī cosmogony. The primordial universe, which becomes the scene of combat between the posterities of Adam and Iblīs, was created for this soteriological purpose, namely, the redemption of the spiritual Adam and the salvation of the fallen forms which had manifested themselves as darkness and matter. Some of the fallen spiritual forms respond to the appeal of the spiritual Adam. They are the celestial archetypes of the earthly proclaimers of the mystical *daʿwa*, becoming the posterity of the spiritual Adam. On the other hand, various categories of forms belonging to the circle of the tenth intellect persist in their negation and denial. The implacable adversaries constitute, throughout the cycles, the posterity of Iblīs, the devil. The spiritual Adam, helped by his supporters, carries on a combat which finally, after innumerable cycles, will destroy darkness and the progeny of Iblīs.

The earliest representative of the spiritual Adam's *daʿwa* on earth was the first, universal Adam (*Ādam al-awwal al-kullī*), the terrestrial homologue of the first intellect and the epiphanic form or *maẓhar* of the spiritual Adam. He appeared, together with his twenty-seven loyal companions, on the island of Sarandīb (Ceylon), a region of the earth having the best climatic and astronomical conditions. The primordial universal Adam made his appearance at the dawn of the Ṭayyibī mythohistory, at the beginning of the cycle of cycles, and inaugurated the first cycle of epiphany or manifestation (*dawr al-kashf*). He was the first repository of the imamate, the primordial imam, who as such was *maʿṣūm*, being immunized against all impurity and sin. He instituted the terrestrial *daʿwa* hierarchy, corresponding to the celestial order, and divided the earth into twelve regions (*jazāʾir*), each one placed under the charge of one of his companions who, themselves, had responded to the *daʿwa* of the spiritual Adam. This original cycle lasted for 50,000 years and constituted a period of knowledge (*ʿilm*) and not of action (*ʿamal*), an era of true gnosis in which no laws were required. It endured until the approach of the first cycle of concealment (*dawr al-satr*), when the form of Iblīs reappeared, disturbing the preceding state of harmony. The Ṭayyibī mythohistory allows for a great number of such cycles, the original one having been a cycle of manifestation rather than concealment, because the

spiritual Adam, the Ṭayyibī figure of the saved-saviour, had defeated his Iblīs. The universal Adam of this doctrine must be distinguished from the 'historical' Adam described in the Bible and the Qurʾān. The latter, who opened the present cycle of concealment, was only a partial Adam (*Ādam al-juzʾī*), like so many others preceding and following him in the partial cycles of history.

At the end of the first cycle, the universal Adam, along with his supporters, rose to the horizon of the tenth intellect and took his place, while the tenth intellect rose by one rank towards his original *ḥadd* in the pleroma. Similarly, the *qāʾim* of every following cycle, which is closed by a resurrection or *qiyāma*, after his passing, rises and takes the place of the tenth. In this manner, the ascension of each *qāʾim al-qiyāma* at the end of every cycle marks the progressive elevation of the spiritual Adam towards the primordial archangelical dyad in the celestial hierarchy in which he originated, and which he lost due to the crisis that befell him in heaven. This process continues throughout the cycles and from *qāʾim* to *qāʾim*, and the spiritual Adam gradually rises in rank and annuls the form of Iblīs which he tears out of himself, until he actually joins the second intellect. This conjunction is the central idea of the Ṭayyibī gnosis. The universal Adam, as noted, in initiating the first cycle also initiated the imamate and he was the first imam to accomplish the task which henceforth became the work of each imam and *qāʾim* in a partial cycle, and particularly of the final Qāʾim. Just as the universal Adam is the first terrestrial manifestation of the spiritual Adam, exemplified in the partial Adams, so the Qāʾim (exemplified in the partial *qāʾim*s) will be his final manifestation. The *imām-qāʾim* of each partial cycle is, thus, the manifestation of an eternal imam who, in the person of the seal of the series, will consummate the aeon, consisting of a vast number of cycles. All the partial *qāʾim*s are, in a sense, 'recapitulated' in the last one amongst them, the Qāʾim of the Great Resurrection (*qiyāmat al-qiyāmāt*), which consummates the grand cycle (*al-kawr al-aʿẓam*), restoring the Angel Adam to his original position and redeeming humanity.

The original cycle of manifestation was followed by a cycle of concealment, initiated by a partial Adam and closed by a partial *qāʾim*, and then by another cycle of manifestation, and so on. An unknown number of successive cycles of *kashf* and *satr*, each one composed of seven periods or eras, occurred until the present cycle of *satr*, which was initiated by the 'historical' Adam of the Qurʾān, the first *nāṭiq* of the present age. When this cycle is closed by the seventh *nāṭiq* and the expected *qāʾim* of the current cycle, there will begin again another cycle of manifestation, inaugurated by an *Ādam al-juzʾī*, and so on. The countless alternations of these cycles will continue until the parousia of the final Qāʾim, proclaiming the final *qiyāma*, the Resurrection of the Resurrections (*qiyāmat al-qiyāmāt*), at the end of the grand cycle. According to some Ṭayyibī calculations, the duration of the grand cycle (*al-kawr al-aʿẓam*) is estimated at 360,000 times

360,000 years, amounting to almost 130 billion years. The consummation of the grand cycle will also mark the end of the Ṭayyibī mythohistory. The final Qāʾim is not merely a final legitimate leader of mankind from amongst the descendants of ʿAlī and Fāṭima, he is the Lord of the Resurrection and the summit of the eternal imamate in which the Ismāʿīlī vision of the aeon finds its culmination. As Corbin has remarked,[99] this imam, resembling the perfect child (*al-walad al-tāmm*) of the Gnostics, engenders himself in the secret of the cycles of the aeon, and in his eschatological epiphany is expected to be the ultimate 'exegete' of mankind. He is the final manifestation of the spiritual Adam, and a member of his true posterity, which he will lead back to its original celestial archetype.

Ṭayyibī gnosis is indeed rich in eschatological doctrines, which draw extensively on Manichaean ideas. The eschatology of the Ṭayyibīs, closely related to their cosmogony, is expounded in terms of a cosmic process which includes the eschatological fate or *maʿād* of individuals. Naturally, different posthumous fates await believers and unbelievers. A person is categorized as a believer (*muʾmin*) if he affirms the unity of God, recognizes and obeys the true imam of his time, and acknowledges the *ḥudūd* of the *daʿwa* hierarchy. These are, in fact, the conditions for man's salvation, although other groups of human beings may also ultimately receive an opportunity for redemption.

At the moment of initiation into the *daʿwa*, the soul of each neophyte (*mustajīb*) is joined by a point of light, which is his spiritual soul. This point stays with the initiate and grows as its possessor advances in knowledge and virtue. On his passing from this world, the point of light, which by then has grown into a form of light (*al-ṣūra al-nūrāniyya*), becomes completely integrated with the believer's soul. The resulting luminous soul leaves the body and rises to join the soul of the holder of the next higher rank (*ḥadd*) in the hierarchy. This ascension towards the superior *ḥadd* is caused by the magnetism of a column of light (*ʿamūd min nūr*, or *al-ʿamūd al-nūrānī*), the summit of which reaches into the pleroma of the archangels and towards which the souls of the believers are drawn. This column of light, which in Ṭayyibī gnosis assumes a two-fold function in eschatology and imamology, is one of the characteristic motifs of Manichaeism, where it has an essential, salvational function. The elevation of the soul of each believer from *ḥadd* to *ḥadd* does not, it may be emphasized, imply transmigration (*tanāsukh*), or the reincarnation of human souls in the bodies of other persons or animals, a doctrine rejected by the Ṭayyibīs. Here, the Ṭayyibī authors are in fact referring to the conjunction of souls, and more precisely, the souls of the holders of different ranks in the hierarchy. Each *ḥadd* is the superior spiritual limit of the *ḥadd* immediately below it, viz., its *maḥdūd*. And the relationship between *ḥadd* and *maḥdūd* acquires a particular significance in this eschatological context. Each *ḥadd* becomes an imam for its *maḥdūd*. And the 'quest for the imam' raises each

adept, metamorphosing and elevating him from rank to rank, throughout the hierarchy.

The soul of each believer continues to ascend in the hierarchy until it is gathered together with the luminous souls of all other believers. Their collectivity constitutes the temple of light (*haykal nūrānī*), which has the shape of a human being but is purely spiritual. Without any confusion, each individual soul subsists as a member in the coalescence of the souls. This temple of light is the imamate, representing the *lāhūt* or divinity of the imam, as distinct from his *nāsūt* or humanity. Each imam has his own temple of light or *corpus mysticum*, and as the epiphanic form of the celestial Adam, he is also the terrestrial support of the column of light. On the passing of each imam, he and his temple of light rise into the pleroma. This holds true also for the imams of the era of Muḥammad who are recognized by the Ṭayyibī Ismāʿīlīs, including the concealed imams succeeding al-Ṭayyib. The *qāʾim* of each partial cycle, the last imam of that cycle, has his own *corpus mysticum*, or sublime temple of light (*haykal nūrānī ʿaẓīm*), composed of all the temples of light belonging to that cycle and constituting the form of the *qāʾim* (*al-ṣūra al-qāʾimiyya*), again having a human shape. At the end of each partial cycle, when a resurrection is proclaimed, the *qāʾim* of that cycle rises into the pleroma with his sublime temple of light and takes the place of the tenth intellect. The latter, as noted, ascends by one *ḥadd* in the celestial hierarchy, drawing the entire universe of beings one degree closer to reconquering the 'retarded eternity' and bringing the repentant beings of the cosmos a step closer to redemption and salvation. This celestial ascension, representing the denouement of the 'drama in heaven' that befell the spiritual Adam, and reflecting a symmetrical relationship between the cosmogony and the eschatology of the Ṭayyibīs, is aimed towards the second intellect whose circle is designated as the *ḥaẓīrat al-quds*, the paradise. The process will continue, from cycle to cycle, until the consummation of the grand cycle. At the time of the Great Resurrection, the final Qāʾim will rise and take his own sublime temple of light, the coalescence or *majmaʿ* of all the luminous souls located at the horizon of the tenth intellect, to the second intellect, the universal soul. The error of the third intellect is now completely atoned for. The spiritual Adam, the saved-saviour angel of humanity, and his supporters in both the celestial and terrestrial worlds are thus ultimately redeemed. Once more, there is only the harmonious world of the *ibdāʿ*.

The unbelievers, designated as the adversaries (*mukhālifūn*) of the people of truth (*ahl al-ḥaqq*), cannot emancipate themselves from matter so as to gain salvation. Their souls, representing the form of darkness (*al-ṣūra al-ẓulmāniyya*) and being inseparable from their bodies, stay with their corpses when they die. In time, the bodies of the unbelievers decompose in the earth and join the elements. After several mutations, they are transformed into various substances

and creatures in descending order. Depending on the nature and seriousness of their sins, they may eventually rise again through the ascending forms of life, culminating in the human form. As human beings, they may either accept the *daʿwa* and become believers or reject it. Those belonging to the latter category end up in *sijjīn*, a place for the supreme torment (*al-ʿadhāb al-akbar*) located in the depths of the earth, where they stay throughout the entire duration of the grand cycle.

The Yamanī Ṭayyibīs also inherited the *daʿwa* hierarchy of the Fāṭimid Ismāʿīlīs, especially as described by the *dāʿī* al-Kirmānī. However, since the Ṭayyibī *daʿwa* had to operate under changed realities, some modifications to the earlier structure were necessary. The organization of the Ṭayyibī *daʿwa*, first explained in Ḥātim b. Ibrāhīm al-Ḥāmidī's *Tuḥfat al-qulūb*, came to be much simpler, with fewer ranks (*ḥudūd*) than those under the Fāṭimids. The imam had now gone into concealment, along with his *bāb* and *ḥujja*s, a situation continuing from generation to generation after al-Ṭayyib, the twenty-first imam. Similarly no longer was there any person occupying the position of *dāʿī al-balāgh*, who in earlier times evidently acted as an intermediary between the central headquarters of the Ismāʿīlī *daʿwa* and the local headquarters of a *jazīra*. In Yaman, Lamak b. Mālik was the only chief dignitary to have borne the designation of *dāʿī al-balāgh*, when al-Malika al-Sayyida Arwā was accorded the rank of *ḥujja*. In the absence of these higher ranks of the hierarchy, the administrative head of the Ṭayyibī *daʿwa*, starting with al-Dhuʾayb b. Mūsā, was designated as *dāʿī*, or more precisely as *al-dāʿī al-muṭlaq*. As al-Kirmānī had argued,[100] the holder of every *ḥadd* in the *daʿwa* hierarchy was potentially entitled to the position of the next higher *ḥadd* and as such, a *dāʿī* was potentially in possession of the authority reserved for higher *ḥudūd*. At any rate, the *dāʿī muṭlaq*, as the leader of the *daʿwa*, enjoyed supreme authority in the community. Obedience to the imam, required of all the believers, now meant submission to the *dāʿī muṭlaq*, the concealed imam's highest representative in the Ṭayyibī community. As in the case of the imams, every *dāʿī muṭlaq* also nominated his successor by the rule of *naṣṣ*.

The *dāʿī muṭlaq* was assisted in the affairs of the *daʿwa* by several subordinate *dāʿī*s, designated as *maʾdhūn* and *mukāsir*.[101] These lower ranks are mentioned for the first time in the *Tuḥfat al-qulūb* as having fixed status in the hierarchy. One or two chief assistants to the *dāʿī muṭlaq* received the designation of *maʾdhūn*. Normally, the *dāʿī* chose the *maʾdhūn* as his successor. The *mukāsir*, who had more limited authority, was now identical with *al-maʾdhūn al-maḥṣūr* and *al-maʾdhūn al-maḥdūd* of the Fāṭimid hierarchy. At the bottom of the hierarchy were the ranks of *muʾmin*, the ordinary initiated member of the community, and *mustajīb*, the neophyte or candidate for initiation. The Ṭayyibīs maintained the concern of the Fāṭimid period in the training of the *dāʿī*s and the education of the

adepts, though on a much more limited scale. The Yamanī *dāʿī*s were amongst the most learned members of the Ṭayyibī community, and many of them, as scholars and authors, produced elaborate treatises synthesizing different Islamic and non-Islamic traditions.

In principle, the Ṭayyibī *daʿwa* in Yaman seems to have functioned similarly to the Fāṭimid Ismāʿīlī *daʿwa* in terms of its initiation procedures, secrecy, teaching, as well as the gradual training of the adepts and the members of the hierarchy, though few specific details are available. There is no evidence showing that the Ṭayyibī *daʿwa* was active in any region outside Yaman and India. The Indian *daʿwa* continued to be under the strict supervision of the Ṭayyibī *dāʿī*s and headquarters in Yaman until the middle of the 10th/16th century, when the headquarters were transferred to Gujarāt. Until then, the head of the Indian *daʿwa*, locally known as the *wālī*, was regularly selected by the *dāʿī muṭlaq* residing in Yaman. The *wālī* had a hierarchy of assistants of his own, about which few details are available until more recent times, but which essentially seems to have been the replica of the pattern adopted in Yaman. The Ṭayyibī *daʿwa* operated with such an organization until the Ṭayyibīs of Yaman and India became split into Dāʾūdīs and Sulaymānīs, with their separate *dāʿī*s, headquarters and organizations.

The early Ṭayyibī *daʿwa* in India

The Ismāʿīlī community in western India grew steadily after the arrival of the first Ismāʿīlī *dāʿī* in Gujarāt in 460/1067–1068. The Ismāʿīlīs of Gujarāt, who were mainly of Hindu descent, became known as Bohrās (Bohorās). According to the usual etymological explanation, the name *bohrā (bohorā)* is derived from the Gujarātī term *vohorvū (vyavahār)*, meaning 'to trade'. The term was applied to the Ismāʿīlīs of Gujarāt probably because they were originally a trading community, trade having also been the occupation of the earliest Gujarātī converts to Islam. According to another explanation, the Bohras were so designated because they had been converted to Ismāʿīlism from the Hindu Vohra caste.

The first Ismāʿīlī *dāʿī*, ʿAbd Allāh, had been despatched, as noted, from Yaman to Cambay, where he succeeded in firmly establishing the *daʿwa*. According to the Ismāʿīlī Bohra traditions or *riwāyāt*,[102] ʿAbd Allāh eventually converted Siddharāja Jayasingha (487–527/1094–1133), the Rājpūt Hindu king of Gujarāt who had his capital at Anhalwāra (modern Pātan), and his two ministers, the brothers Bhārmal and Tārmal, along with a large portion of the local populace. According to these traditions, after ʿAbd Allāh, it was Yaʿqūb, the son of Bhārmal, who became the head of the *daʿwa* in India. He sent his cousin Fakhr al-Dīn, the son of Tārmal, to propagate Ismāʿīlism in western Rajasthan, where

he was murdered. The tomb of Fakhr al-Dīn, who is considered the first Indian Ismāʿīlī martyr, is located at Galiakot, and is one of the most venerated Bohra shrines. Yaʿqūb was succeeded by his son Isḥāq and then by his grandson ʿAlī b. Isḥāq. Subsequently, the position of the *wālī* of the *daʿwa* in India passed to Pīr Ḥasan, more commonly known as Ḥasan Pīr, a descendant of the *dāʿī* ʿAbd Allāh. Ḥasan was killed while conducting missionary activity and his grave is still located near Hārij. Ḥasan Pīr was succeeded by his grandson Ādam b. Sulaymān, whose descendants occupied the wālīship for several generations.[103]

The Ismāʿīlī community in Gujarāt had maintained close religious ties with Yaman, and like the Ṣulayḥids, upheld the rights of al-Mustaʿlī and al-Āmir to the imamate. Similarly, in the Ḥāfiẓī–Ṭayyibī conflict, the Mustaʿlians of Gujarāt sided with al-Sayyida Arwā and the established *daʿwa* organization in Yaman, in supporting the Ṭayyibī cause. After the collapse of the Ṣulayḥid state the Ṭayyibīs of India were closely supervised by the *dāʿī muṭlaq* in Yaman, who selected the successive heads of the Indian community and received regular Bohra delegations from Gujarāt. Under these circumstances, the Ṭayyibī community in Gujarāt grew appreciably and large numbers of Hindus embraced Ṭayyibī Ismāʿīlism, especially in Cambay, Pātan, Sidhpūr and later, in Aḥmadābād, where the headquarters of the Indian *daʿwa* were established.

The Ṭayyibīs of Gujarāt and their *dāʿī*s were not persecuted by the local Hindu rulers, who did not feel endangered by their activities. The Ṭayyibī community thus developed without any hindrance until the Muslim conquest of Gujarāt in 697/1298, when the *daʿwa*'s activities came under the scrutiny of the region's Muslim governors, who recognized the suzerainty of the Sultans of Delhi, who belonged to the Khaljī and Tughluqid dynasties. The situation of the Indian Ṭayyibīs deteriorated further with the invasion of Gujarāt by Ẓafar Khān Muẓaffar in 793/1391. Ẓafar Khān, who had been sent out by the Tughluqid Muḥammad Shāh III (792–795/1390–1393), established the independent sultanate of Gujarāt in 810/1407, which lasted until 991/1583 when Gujarāt was annexed to the Mughal empire, then ruled by Akbar. Ẓafar Khān favoured the propagation of Sunnism, his own newly-acquired faith. Being apprehensive of the success of the Ismāʿīlī *daʿwa*, he became the first ruler of Gujarāt to suppress Shīʿism in his domains. It was, however, under Ẓafar Khān's grandson and successor, Aḥmad I (814–846/1411–1442), that Ismāʿīlīs began to be severely persecuted. As a result, in the reign of Aḥmad I, who founded his capital at Aḥmadābād in 814/1411, the Ṭayyibīs observed *taqiyya* very strictly, adhering outwardly to many of the Sunnī formalities. It was during his oppressive rule that many Ismāʿīlīs were obliged to convert to Sunnism, while an important schism in the Ismāʿīlī Bohra community, the first of its kind, divided the community and caused even greater numbers to embrace Sunnī Islam. This schism resulted from an estrangement

arising between a *wālī* and a certain charismatic Bohra by the name of Sayyid Jaʿfar Shīrāzī.

In the time of the eighteenth *dāʿī muṭlaq*, ʿAlī b. ʿAbd Allāh (821–832/1418–1428), the headship of the *dāʿwa* in India passed to Ḥasan b. Ādam b. Sulaymān, who founded a *madrasa* at Aḥmadābād for religious sciences. A certain Sayyid Jaʿfar, from Pātan, was one of the many Bohra students attending the *wālī*'s school. Later, Jaʿfar decided to proceed to Yaman to study under the *dāʿī* himself, without the *wālī*'s permission. In the *wālī*'s judgement, Jaʿfar had not yet completed his courses of study in Gujarāt and hence he was not adequately prepared to benefit from the more advanced courses offered in Yaman. However, Jaʿfar went to Yaman despite the *wālī*, and won the confidence of the *dāʿī muṭlaq*. He studied in Yaman for two years. On his return to Gujarāt, Jaʿfar was asked by the Ṭayyibīs of Cambay and elsewhere to lead them in prayers. When pressed sufficiently, Jaʿfar complied, although he did not have the *wālī*'s required authorization. These developments further aggravated the *wālī*, who, in due course, reprimanded Jaʿfar at Aḥmadābād for his unruly conduct. A deep rupture now occurred between the *wālī* and the defiant Sayyid Jaʿfar, who proceeded to Pātan, where he declared himself a Sunnī and began an intensive campaign against the *wālī* and the Ṭayyibī *daʿwa* in Gujarāt. He met with immediate success: many Bohras in Pātan and its surrounding villages responded positively to his call and left the fold of Ismāʿīlī Shīʿism.

In his anti-Ismāʿīlī campaign, Sayyid Jaʿfar Shīrāzī had the active support of Aḥmad Shāh and his son Muḥammad, who at the time deputized for his father in Aḥmadābād. On the other hand, the attempts of the *dāʿī muṭlaq* to resolve this serious internal conflict in the Bohra community, and his insistence that the *wālī* should reconcile his differences with Jaʿfar, proved futile. An increasing number of Bohras followed Jaʿfar's example and embraced Sunnism, doubtless being fearful of the persecutions of the sultan. According to some accounts,[104] more than half of the entire Bohra community seceded, and became known as Jaʿfarī Bohras. The secessionist Sunnī Bohras were also designated as the *jamāʿat-i kalān*, the large community, in contrast to the *jamāʿat-i khurd*, the small community, an appellation reserved for the loyal Ṭayyibī Ismāʿīlī Bohras.[105] These events gave further encouragement to the sultan Aḥmad's persecution of the Ismāʿīlīs. The *wālī* himself had to go into hiding and his deputy in Pātan and future successor, Rāja, was obliged to seek refuge in Morbi around 840/1436. The harassment of the Ismāʿīlī Bohras continued until Sayyid Jaʿfar's assassination in 845/1441.

The Ṭayyibī Bohras continued to be persecuted in the sultanate of Gujarāt. Mullā Rāja Jamāl al-Dīn b. Ḥasan, who succeeded his father as *wālī*, was a learned man who endeavoured to consolidate the position of the Ṭayyibīs in Gujarāt. He became very popular amongst the Ṭayyibī Bohras, and, according to their

traditions, he was the only *ʿālim* in India who successfully carried out disputations with a Shīʿī envoy sent from the Ṣafawid court in Persia. Rāja's reputation, however, angered the sultan of Gujarāt, Muẓaffar II (917–932/1511–1526), who had the *wālī* executed in 924/1518. Meanwhile, the disruptive work of Sayyid Jaʿfar Shīrāzī was continued by another Sunnī missionary, Aḥmad Jaʿfar Shīrāzī, who caused a deeper rift between the Ṭayyibī and Sunnī Bohras. Aḥmad Jaʿfar arrived in Gujarāt from Sind and soon won the favour of Maḥmūd I Begrā (863–917/1459–1511) and his successor Muẓaffar II. Until then, intermarriage had occurred frequently between the Ṭayyibī and Sunnī Bohras, whilst the social identity and homogeneity of the Bohra community had not been drastically affected by the earlier religious schism. But Aḥmad Jaʿfar now persuaded the Sunnī Bohras to sever all ties with the Ṭayyibī Shīʿīs of the Bohra community. Henceforth, the two Bohra factions became distinctively and permanently separated from one another, developing different socio-religious identities. The Ṭayyibī Bohras were also severely persecuted in the reign of Maḥmūd III (943–961/1537–1554). It was only after the establishment of Mughal rule that the Ṭayyibī Ismāʿīlīs began to enjoy a certain degree of religious freedom in India, abandoning *taqiyya* practices and praying publicly in their own mosques.

Taking advantage of the close ties existing between the Ṭayyibī Bohras and their central *daʿwa* headquarters, promising Indian Ṭayyibīs were often sent to Yaman to further their education. It was according to this custom that Sayyid Jaʿfar, the future Sunnī dissident, travelled to Yaman during the first half of the 9th/15th century. Subsequently, several prominent Ṭayyibī Bohras distinguished themselves by advancing their religious learning in Yaman. Ḥasan b. Nūḥ al-Bharūchī (d. 939/1533), the famous Ṭayyibī author born in Cambay, made the journey to Yaman around 904/1498 and became a student of al-Ḥasan b. Idrīs, the twentieth *dāʿī*.[106] The courses of study pursued by him are described in the introduction to his *Kitāb al-azhār*, a seven-volume chrestomathy of Ismāʿīlī literature. He was closely associated also with ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn b. Idrīs and Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. Idrīs, who later became the twenty-second and twenty-third *dāʿī*s. Yūsuf b. Sulaymān, who succeeded to the headship of the Ṭayyibīs, was another Bohra selected by the *wālī* to further his studies in Yaman. Yūsuf arrived in Yaman while still in his youth and first studied under al-Bharūchī. Yūsuf's learning soon attracted the attention of the twenty-third *dāʿī*, who nominated him as his successor.[107] Yūsuf thus became the first Indian to lead the Ṭayyibī *daʿwa* as the twenty-fourth *dāʿī muṭlaq*. When the twenty-third *dāʿī* died in 946/1539, his successor Yūsuf was in Sidhpūr, and it was from Gujarāt that he conducted the affairs of the *daʿwa* for a few years, before settling in Yaman. When Yūsuf died in 974/1567, the central headquarters of the Ṭayyibī *daʿwa* were transferred from Yaman to Gujarāt by his Indian successor, Jalāl b. Ḥasan. The Ṭayyibī *dāʿī*

muṭlaq now established his own residence in Aḥmadābād, and appointed a deputy for the administration of the affairs of the Ṭayyibī *daʿwa* and community in Yaman.

The Dāʾūdī–Ṣulaymānī–ʿAlawī schism in Ṭayyibī Ismāʿīlism

By the time of Jalāl b. Ḥasan, their twenty-fifth *dāʿī*, the Ṭayyibī Bohra community in India had grown to such an extent, despite rampant persecutions and conversions to Sunnī Islam, so as to overshadow the original community in Yaman. The bulk of the religious income of the *dāʿī*, too, was now contributed by the Ṭayyibīs of the Indian subcontinent. Meanwhile, the Yamanī Ṭayyibīs had been experiencing their own difficulties, in the aftermath of the Ottoman occupation of Yaman, which had started in 923/1517. This coincided also with the severe persecution of the Banu'l-Anf at the hands of al-Muṭahhar b. Sharaf al-Dīn, a Zaydī imam who was extremely hostile towards the Ismāʿīlīs. The transference of the Ṭayyibī *daʿwa* headquarters to India, in effect, reflected these realities and it marked the definite end of the Yamanī phase of Ṭayyibī Ismāʿīlism.

Jalāl b. Ḥasan died in 975/1567, after a tenure of only a few months. His son, Amīnjī b. Jalāl (d. 1010/1602), was an eminent Ismāʿīlī jurist who attained high ranks in the Dāʾūdī *daʿwa*.[108] The Ṭayyibī Bohras still regard him as a great authority on legal matters after al-Qāḍī al-Nuʿmān, whose *Daʿāʾim al-Islām* has been used as their most authoritative compendium on *fiqh*. Jalāl b. Ḥasan was succeeded by Dāʾūd b. ʿAjabshāh, whose term as *dāʿī* coincided with the closing years of the sultanate of Gujarāt. In his time, the Ṭayyibī Bohras were subjected to a new wave of persecution spurred on by the activities of Muḥammad Ṭāhir, a Sunnī propagandist and leader of the Jaʿfarī Bohras, who was killed by a Ṭayyibī in 986/1578. Muḥammad Ṭāhir also briefly received the support of the Mughal emperor Akbar the Great (963–1014/1556–1605), who conquered Gujarāt in 980/1573. Akbar's deputy at Aḥmadābād, too, adopted anti-Shīʿī policies. Dāʾūd b. ʿAjabshāh was obliged to go to Āgra and personally present the grievances of his community to Akbar, who enjoyed a reputation for religious tolerance. Before leaving Aḥmadābād in 981/1573, the *dāʿī* appointed Dāʾūd b. Quṭbshāh as his deputy in Gujarāt, an appointment later cited by the Dāʾūdīs in their argument against the Sulaymānīs. The *dāʿī* was well-received by the Mughal emperor, who ordered his officals in Gujarāt to accord religious freedom to the Ṭayyibīs. Henceforth, it was no longer necessary for the Ṭayyibī Bohras to observe *taqiyya*. Dāʾūd b. ʿAjabshāh now launched a programme of revitalizing the community, reinstating the Ṭayyibī practices of worship which had been set aside for a long

time in Gujarāt. In 986/1578, he was also able to reprimand Muẓaffar III, the last sultan of Gujarāt, who was visiting Kapadwanj whilst fleeing from the Mughals, for his anti-Ismāʿīlī policies. When Dāʾūd b. ʿAjabshāh, the twenty-sixth *dāʿī muṭlaq*, died in 999/1591, or in 997/1589 according to the Sulaymānī Ṭayyibīs, his succession was disputed, causing a major schism in the Ṭayyibī *daʿwa* and community.

Dāʾūd b. ʿAjabshāh was succeeded in India by his deputy Dāʾūd b. Quṭbshāh, and the Yamanī Ṭayyibīs were duly informed of this event. However, four years later, Sulaymān b. Ḥasan al-Hindī, the grandson of the twenty-fourth *dāʿī muṭlaq* and the deputy of Dāʾūd b. ʿAjabshāh in Yaman, claimed the succession for himself and returned to India to establish that claim. Sulaymān produced a document, still extant, showing that he had been the beneficiary of the *naṣṣ* of the twenty-sixth *dāʿī*. According to certain Ṭayyibī groups, this document had been forged with the help of some of the relatives of the deceased *dāʿī*, who had been implicated in financial misconduct. Matters became further complicated due to an inheritance suit filed in Mughal courts by Ibrāhīm b. Dāʾūd b. ʿAjabshāh against the new *dāʿī*, Dāʾūd b. Quṭbshāh. The heated succession dispute was brought before the emperor Akbar at Lahore in 1005/1597. To investigate the matter, Akbar appointed a special tribunal consisting of his biographer and secretary Abu'l-Faḍl ʿAllāmī, his Persian Shīʿī physician Ḥakīm ʿAlī Gīlānī, and the governor of Gujarāt. The tribunal decided in favour of Dāʾūd b. Quṭbshāh, but the dispute, having essentially an Indian versus Yamanī character, was not resolved definitely and led to a permanent schism in the Ṭayyibī community.[109] The great majority of the Ṭayyibī Bohras, comprising the bulk of the Ṭayyibī Ismāʿīlīs, acknowledged Dāʾūd Burhān al-Dīn b. Quṭbshāh as their twenty-seventh *dāʿī muṭlaq* and henceforth they became known as Dāʾūdīs. A small group of Yamanī Ṭayyibīs, too, upheld the Dāʾūdī cause. On the other hand, a minority of the Ṭayyibīs, accounting for the bulk of the Yamanī Ṭayyibīs and a small group of the Ṭayyibī Bohras, supported the succession rights of Sulaymān b. Ḥasan. These Ṭayyibīs, designated as Sulaymānīs, now accepted Sulaymān b. Ḥasan as their twenty-seventh *dāʿī*. Henceforth, the Dāʾūdīs and the Sulaymānīs followed different lines of *dāʿī*s.[110] The Dāʾūdī *dāʿī muṭlaq* continued to reside in India, while the head of the Sulaymānī *daʿwa* established his headquarters in Yaman.

Dāʾūd Burhān al-Dīn, who had managed to win the support of the majority of the Indian Ṭayyibīs, continued to have his headquarters at Aḥmadābād. He was not troubled during the remaining years of Akbar's reign. He also established friendly relations with Qulīj Khān, the Mughal governor of Gujarāt under Akbar's son and successor Jahāngīr (1014–1037/1605–1627), who, at the instigation of the Sunnī *ʿulamāʾ*, ordered the execution of the Imāmī scholar Nūr Allāh al-Shūshtarī. Dāʾūd died in 1021/1612. His tomb and that of his rival, Sulaymān b.

Ḥasan, who died in 1005/1597, are still visited at Aḥmadābād by the Dāʾūdīs and Sulaymānīs. Dāʾūd Burhān al-Dīn was succeeded by his chief lieutenant, Shaykh Ādam Ṣafī al-Dīn. On the latter's death in 1030/1621, ʿAbd al-Ṭayyib Zakī al-Dīn, the son of the twenty-seventh *dāʿī*, became the twenty-ninth *dāʿī muṭlaq* of the Dāʾūdīs. Soon afterwards, his authority was challenged by ʿAlī b. Ibrāhīm, the grandson of the twenty-eighth *dāʿī*, Ādam. ʿAlī, supported by his paternal uncles and some others, claimed the succession for himself and carried his protest to the court of Jahāngīr. The Mughal emperor decided in favour of the incumbent *dāʿī*, ʿAbd al-Ṭayyib, and had ʿAlī reconcile his differences with the *dāʿī* in his presence at Lahore. After both parties returned to Aḥmadābād, however, ʿAlī once again refused to acknowledge the *dāʿī*'s leadership and seceded, with a group of followers, from the Dāʾūdī Bohra community. ʿAlī had in fact founded, in 1034/1624–1625, a new Ṭayyibī Bohra group called ʿAlawī, or incorrectly as ʿAliyya, after his own name.[111] ʿAlī b. Ibrāhīm thus became the twenty-ninth *dāʿī* of the ʿAlawī Bohras, who have followed their own line of *dāʿī*s to the present time.[112]

Shams al-Dīn ʿAlī b. Ibrāhīm (d. 1046/1637), founder of a separate line of ʿAlawī *dāʿī*s, was succeeded by one of his uncles, Zakī al-Dīn Ṭayyib b. Shaykh Ādam (d. 1047/1638). Since the time of the thirty-second ʿAlawī *dāʿī*, Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn Jiwābhāʾī b. Nūḥ (d. 1130/1718), the headquarters of the ʿAlawī Bohras have remained at Baroda (Vadodara) in Gujarāt. At present, the ʿAlawīs are a small community of some 8000, confined essentially to Baroda. The present ʿAlawī *dāʿī*, the forty-fourth in the series, Abū Ḥātim Ṭayyib Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn b. Nūr al-Dīn Yūsuf, succeeded to office in 1394/1974. The ʿAlawīs do not intermarry with the Dāʾūdī Bohras, and evidently have produced no particular literature of their own. They do, however, preserve an important collection of Ismāʿīlī manuscripts at their *daʿwa* headquarters in Baroda. In the time of their thirty-seventh *dāʿī*, Shams al-Dīn ʿAlī (1189–1248/1775–1832), a small group of dissenters broke away from the ʿAlawī community in 1204/1789. The dissenters, who were excommunicated by the *dāʿī*, preached that the era of Islam had ended. They also held some Hindu doctrines, especially the sinfulness of eating the flesh of animals, which won them the name of Nāgoshiyya (from *nagosh*, 'no-meat'). The vegetarian Nāgoshias, who like their parent group of the ʿAlawīs subsisted on the fringe of the Ismāʿīlī Bohra community in Baroda, are now practically extinct.

The Dāʾūdī Bohra *daʿwa* and community

The Dāʾūdī Bohra community grew and prospered under their successive *dāʿī*s, who were for the most part allowed religious freedom by the Mughal rulers

of India and their governors or *ṣūbadār*s in Gujarāt. Departing from the religious policies of his dynasty, Awrangzīb was the only Mughal ruler to launch a major wave of persecution against the Ismāʿīlīs, both during his governorship of Gujarāt and after ascending to the Mughal throne in 1068/1658. The twenty-ninth Dāʾūdī *dāʿī*, ʿAbd al-Ṭayyib, was succeeded by ʿAlī Shams al-Dīn (1041–1042/1631–1632), a descendant of Idrīs ʿImād al-Dīn and the first Yamanī to head the Dāʾūdī *daʿwa*. ʿAlī's father, al-Ḥasan, had been appointed the deputy of the *dāʿī muṭlaq* in Yaman by Dāʾūd Burhān al-Dīn, a position he retained until after the succession of his own son to the leadership of the Dāʾūdīs. The tenure of the thirty-second *dāʿī*, Quṭbkhān Quṭb al-Dīn (1054–1056/1644–1646), coincided with Awrangzīb's brief governorship of Gujarāt, when the Ismāʿīlīs were persecuted. Awrangzīb, who himself did not exercise religious toleration, had come also under the influence of ʿAbd al-Qawī, his mentor and close adviser, who was strongly against the Shīʿa of all forms. Upon his arrival in Aḥmadābād in 1055/1645, Awrangzīb started a prolonged campaign against the Ismāʿīlīs. The *dāʿī* Quṭbkhān and his close associates were arrested and imprisoned. The Ismāʿīlī Bohras, accused of heresy, were now pressured into embracing Sunnī Islam and their mosques were placed in the hands of Sunnī administrators. Many Dāʾūdīs converted to Sunnism or fled from Aḥmadābād in fear of persecution, and the community once again resorted to *taqiyya* practices. These persecutory measures culminated in the trial of the *dāʿī* Quṭbkhān in a Sunnī court and in his execution in 1056/1646 on Awrangzīb's order.[113]

After Awrangzīb's departure from Aḥmadābād, the governorship of Gujarāt was handed to Shāyasta Khān, who was generally tolerant towards the Bohras and allowed them religious freedom. Awrangzīb, now engaged in his military campaigns, took along with him Quṭbkhān's successor as the thirty-third *dāʿī*, Pīrkhān Shujāʿ al-Dīn (1056–1065/1646–1655), and the latter's chief deputies. Pīrkhān accompanied Awrangzīb as a prisoner to Deccan and elsewhere, but he was later released and permitted to return to Aḥmadābād. The Ismāʿīlīs were once again persecuted by Ghayrat Khān, who arrived in Gujarāt in 1058/1648 as Dārā Shukōh's deputy there. He also kept Pīrkhān in prison for some time, freeing him only on the order of Shāh Jahān (1037–1068/1628–1657).

In Pīrkhān's time, another split which proved to be of temporary duration occurred in the Dāʾūdī Bohra community. The original protagonist of this split was a certain Bohra named Aḥmad, a trusted associate of Pīrkhān who had mishandled his mission to Āgra to obtain the Mughal emperor's intercession on behalf of the imprisoned *dāʿī*. Angered by Pīrkhān's refusal to reconcile with him, Aḥmad started an anti-*dāʿī* campaign, and preached certain ideas which were to have important consequences later on. Aḥmad adopted the view that the *dāʿī*, due to his erroneous judgement, had disqualified himself from office and that

he should have been replaced by his chief assistant or *maʾdhūn*. Aḥmad was now in effect expounding a new doctrine, holding that in the period of *satr*, when the concealed imam cannot rectify the errors of his *dāʿī*s, the *dāʿī muṭlaq* is to be *kaʾl-maʿṣūm*, nearly possessing infallibility. Aḥmad and his followers, failing to win the support of Pīrkhān's *maʾdhūn* and future successor Ismāʿīl, seceded from the Dāʾūdī community and became known as the Hujūmiyya.[114] Initially, Aḥmad gained some success and even managed to have Pīrkhān imprisoned in 1064/1654 by the new governor of Gujarāt, Shāh Jahān's youngest son Murād Bakhsh. However, the Hujūmiyya did not survive for long.

Ismāʿīl Badr al-Dīn b. Mullā Rāj (1065–1085/1655–1674), who succeeded Pīrkhān as the thirty-fourth *dāʿī*, was the first Rājpūt *dāʿī* of the Dāʾūdīs, tracing his ancestry to Bhārmal and Rāja, the *wālī*'s deputy in Pātan at the time of Sayyid Jaʿfar Shīrāzī's secessionist activities. Ismāʿīl transferred the headquarters of the *daʿwa* (or *daʿwat*, as pronounced by the Dāʾūdīs themselves) from Aḥmadābād to Jamnagar. It was under Ismāʿīl's son and successor, ʿAbd al-Ṭayyib Zakī al-Dīn (1085–1110/1674–1699), that the Ismāʿīlī Bohras experienced the renewed persecutions of Awrangzīb (1068–1118/1658–1707), who had meanwhile installed himself as the Mughal emperor of India. The new troubles began around 1091/1680, when the Dāʾūdī *dāʿī* held a large public assembly in Aḥmadābād, where he intended to reside, to announce his *naṣṣ* in favour of his son Mūsā. The governor of Gujarāt, apprehensive of the increasing influence of the Ismāʿīlī Bohras, ordered the arrest of the *dāʿī* in 1093/1682. But ʿAbd al-Ṭayyib fled to Jamnagar and the officials contented themselves with seizing a number of prominent Dāʾūdīs of Aḥmadābād who were sent to Awrangzīb. The *dāʿī* himself was forced to go into hiding in Khambhlia and elsewhere.

Under the new persecutions, the religious rituals and practices of the Ismāʿīlī Bohras of India, including their pilgrimages to various shrines and the ceremonies commemorating the martyrdom of the Imam al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī during the month of Muḥarram, were banned. Furthermore, the regular Ṭayyibī religious ceremonies, such as daily prayers, were now to be performed by Sunnī functionaries, who also became the custodians of the Dāʾūdī mosques. The Ismāʿīlī Bohras were subjected to heavy punitive taxes and other monetary exactions as well. At the same time, Sunnī instructors were appointed to teach the doctrines of Sunnī Islam to the Ismāʿīlī Bohras. Periodical reports on this official educational programme were to be forwarded to Awrangzīb. These persecutions, necessitating the strict observance of *taqiyya*, continued during the leadership of ʿAbd al-Ṭayyib's son and successor, Mūsā Kalīm al-Dīn (1110–1122/1699–1710), whose tenure coincided with the final years of the ʿĀlamgīrī era. As late as 1116/1704, yet more leading Bohras working on behalf of the Dāʾūdī *daʿwa* were seized with their religious books and sent for punishment to the Mughal emperor.[115]

With Awrangzīb's death in 1118/1707 and the subsequent decline of the Mughal empire, the Ismāʿīlī Bohra community was in general permitted to develop more freely. As a trading and wealthy community, however, the Bohras continued to attract the attention of various minor Indian rulers, who often exacted irregular payments from them. The *dāʿī* Mūsā Kalīm al-Dīn's son and designated successor, Nūr Muḥammad, was imprisoned for unknown reasons by the ruler of Jamnagar, which was at the time the seat of the Dāʾūdī *daʿwa*. He was released after the payment of a large ransom by the *dāʿī*, reflecting an often utilized form of exaction applied to the Dāʾūdīs. Nūr Muḥammad Nūr al-Dīn b. Mūsā, the thirty-seventh *dāʿī*, died in Mandvi, Cutch, and was succeeded by his cousin and brother-in-law Ismāʿīl Badr al-Dīn b. Shaykh Ādam Ṣafī al-Dīn (1130–1150/1718–1737). The Dāʾūdīs were required by him to attend the mourning assemblies held during the month of Muḥarram, and to read verses from the Qurʾān after their morning prayers. It was also in Ismāʿīl's time that the dissenting Hujūmiyya returned to the fold of the Dāʾūdī *daʿwa*. Ibrāhīm Wajīh al-Dīn's accession to the headship of the Dāʾūdīs as the thirty-ninth *dāʿī* in 1150/1737 marks a shift in the family line of *dāʿī*s. Ibrāhīm's father, ʿAbd al-Qādir Ḥakīm al-Dīn (d. 1142/1730), was an influential and learned Bohra from Mālwā in central India, who had risen to the rank of *maʾdhūn* of the thirty-eighth *dāʿī*. Ibrāhīm Wajīh al-Dīn transferred the headquarters of the *daʿwa* to Ujjain, where he died in 1168/1754. At the time, Burhānpūr had become another important Dāʾūdī centre outside Gujarāt.

When Ibrāhīm's son and successor, Hibat Allāh al-Muʾayyad fi'l-Dīn (1168–1193/1754–1779) was *dāʿī*, coinciding with the early phase of the British subjugation of India, another minor episode of dissident occurred in the Dāʾūdī community. The leaders of this new anti-*dāʿī* movement were Ismāʿīl b. ʿAbd al-Rasūl al-Majdūʿ, the author of the famous Ismāʿīlī bibliographical work, *Fihrist al-kutub*, and his son Hibat Allāh. Ismāʿīl, who had studied under Luqmānjī b. Ḥabīb (d. 1173/1760), a renowned Dāʾūdī scholar, as well as Hibat Allāh had distinguished themselves as Ismāʿīlī scholars aspiring to the leadership of the community. In 1175/1761, Hibat Allāh claimed to have established direct contact with the concealed Ṭayyibī imam through his *dāʿī al-balāgh*, ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḥārith. He further claimed to have been appointed by the hidden imam to the position of *al-ḥujja al-laylī*, a rank superior to that of *dāʿī muṭlaq*. By these claims, which were supported by his father Ismāʿīl, Hibat Allāh evidently expected the incumbent *dāʿī* to yield his position to him. Hibat Allāh acquired some followers in Ujjain and elsewhere, who became known as Hiptias (Hibtias) after his name.[116]

The *dāʿī* attempted in vain to persuade the new dissenters to abandon their propaganda. They were eventually attacked and chased out of Ujjain, their initial seat, by angered Dāʾūdīs. Ismāʿīl managed to escape unharmed but Hibat Allāh

was seized and his nose was amputated as a mark of disgrace, before he was permitted to leave Ujjain. The derogatory nickname al-Majdūʿ, meaning a person whose nose is cut off, was later given to Hibat Allāh's father, Ismāʿīl, who died in 1183 or 4/1769–1770 in Ujjain. Hibat Allāh conducted his campaign in various towns, but he failed to acquire any significant following. The *dāʿī muṭlaq* himself travelled widely throughout the community, countering the propaganda of the Hiptias. Today, the Hiptias are almost extinct, except for a few families in Ujjain, where they live in isolation from the 'orthodox' Dāʾūdīs. In his travels, the *dāʿī* also spent a few years in Sūrat, then rapidly becoming another important Dāʾūdī town in India. The fortieth *dāʿī*, who had statesmanship qualities, averted the occurrence of another major schism in the Dāʾūdī community. He also maintained cordial relations with the Mughal emperor of his time, Shāh ʿĀlam II, who appointed him the *qāḍī* of Ujjain, and with other minor rulers as well as with the British, who by then controlled parts of Gujarāt. The *dāʿī* Hibat Allāh died in 1193/1779 at Ujjain. He was succeeded by his son-in-law ʿAbd al-Ṭayyib Zakī al-Dīn b. Ismāʿīl Badr al-Dīn (1193–1200/1779–1785), marking the reversion of the position of *dāʿī* to the Rājpūt family and the abandonment of Ujjain as the headquarters of the Dāʾūdī *daʿwa*. ʿAbd al-Ṭayyib, who was very strict in enforcing the Dāʾūdī Bohra prohibitions against the use of tobacco and alcohol, spent most of his time in Gujarāt and died in Burhānpūr.

The forty-second *dāʿī*, Yūsuf Najm al-Dīn b. ʿAbd al-Ṭayyib Zakī al-Dīn (1200–1213/1785–1798), transferred the headquarters of the *daʿwa* to Sūrat, in Gujarāt, then controlled by the British and as such a safe location for the Ismāʿīlīs. Yūsuf Najm al-Dīn's brother and successor, ʿAbd ʿAlī Sayf al-Dīn (1213–1232/1798–1817), founded a seminary at Sūrat, known as the Sayfī Dars (also Jāmiʿa Sayfiyya), for the training of the Dāʾūdī functionaries and for imparting higher religious education to the members of the community. This institution, with a major library, has contined to serve as a centre of traditional Islamic and Ismāʿīlī learning for the Dāʾūdī Bohras. By 2002, the seminary had a faculty of almost 100 instructors and 750 students (of whom 300 were women). The tenure of the forty-third *dāʿī* coincided with the consolidation of British rule in India and the virtual termination of the persecution of the Ismāʿīlī Bohras and Khojas. However, occasional internal strife and factionalism, often due to succession or financial disputes, as well as conflicts with other Muslim groups and Hindus, continued to mark the subsequent history of the Dāʾūdīs of India.

The forty-sixth *dāʿī*, Muḥammad Badr al-Dīn b. ʿAbd ʿAlī Sayf al-Dīn (1252–1256/1837–1840), was the last of the *dāʿī*s belonging to the Rājpūts of Gujarāt. Muḥammad Badr al-Dīn had evidently mentioned on several occasions that ʿAbd al-Qādir Najm al-Dīn would be his successor. However, the *dāʿī* died suddenly in 1256/1840, without having clearly pronounced the so-called *naṣṣ al-jalī*, the

public designation of a successor, thus causing a heated succession controversy in the community which has continued down to the present.[117] Under the circumstances, the Dāʾūdī *ʿulamāʾ* did not divulge the matter to the public, and they generally agreed that ʿAbd al-Qādir Najm al-Dīn should now administer the affairs of the *daʿwa*. ʿAbd al-Qādir, who at the time held the rank of *mukāsir*, was the son of the forty-fifth *dāʿī*, Ṭayyib Zayn al-Dīn b. Shaykh Jīwanjī Awrangābādī (1236–1252/1821–1837). Shaykh Jīwanjī, it may be noted, is the ancestor of the most recent family of Dāʾūdī *dāʿī*s, initiated in 1232/1817 by the forty-fourth *dāʿī* and continuing to the present time with the exception of the forty-sixth *dāʿī*. According to the agreement reached between the *ʿulamāʾ* and ʿAbd al-Qādir, evidently the latter was to become the *nāẓim*, a manager or caretaker for administrative purposes only, without laying any claim to the spiritual position of *al-dāʿī al-muṭlaq*. Be that as it may, the Dāʾūdīs now recognized ʿAbd al-Qādir as their new leader while certain circles continued to debate his accession and doubted his legitimacy.

Some of the *ʿulamāʾ*, disturbed by the so-called 'suspension of the *naṣṣ*' (*inqiṭāʿ al-naṣṣ*) and the irregular succession of the *dāʿī*s, even began to expect the imminent emergence of the Ṭayyibī imam. As a result, in 1293/1876, five renowned Dāʾūdī *ʿulamāʾ*, including Muḥammad ʿAlī b. Fayḍ Allāh al-Hamdānī (d. 1315/1898), left India for Arabia on a search for the imam. The group visited many localities in the Ḥijāz and elsewhere, and also ran into difficulties with the Ottoman authorities who suspected the Ismāʿīlī Bohras of being spies. In 1295/1878, the leading Dāʾūdī scholars, headed by Ibrāhīmbhāʾī Ṣafī al-Dīn b. ʿAbd-i ʿAlī ʿImād al-Dīn (d. 1315/1897), set up a consultative council in Sūrat, known as *ḥilf al-faḍāʾil*, to guide the community in religious matters in accordance with the *sharīʿa*, especially since religious education in the meantime had been discontinued at the Sayfī Dars. The council proved to be short-lived and various Dāʾūdī circles remained perturbed by the controversy surrounding the succession of ʿAbd al-Qādir Najm al-Dīn to the position of the *dāʿī*.

Circulating as early as 1264/1847–1848, the so-called Imāmī letters indicated the existence of growing opposition in the community to ʿAbd al-Qādir Najm al-Dīn's leadership and policies. Meanwhile, after becoming securely established, ʿAbd al-Qādir himself assumed the title of *dāʿī muṭlaq*. He also adopted a policy of undermining the position of the *ʿulamāʾ* who were opposed to him. For instance, he appointed numerous members of his own family to the ranks of the *daʿwa* hierarchy. And the status of *shaykh* (plural, *mashāyikh*), hitherto bestowed on Dāʾūdīs in recognition of their learning and piety, was now given to a larger number of persons in the community. These developments had, in turn, adverse effects on the financial situation of the *daʿwa*, further aggravating the fears of the discontented Dāʾūdīs. Financial difficulties were accentuated by the fact that

ʿAbd al-Qādir's relatives, made responsible for collecting the religious dues of the Dāʾūdīs in many regions, including the prosperous Bohra community of Bombay, often evidently kept portions of the funds for themselves.

ʿAbd al-Qādir survived various vicissitudes during his long tenure of nearly forty-five years, but by now serious dissensions had appeared within the Dāʾūdī community. He also laid the ground for grievances which later led to more active dissent in the Dāʾūdī Bohra community. The events of this tumultuous period were subsequently brought out during the court hearings related to two Bohra civil suits, challenging the authority of the *dāʿī*, filed in British India, viz., the Chandabhai Gulla Case of 1917 and the Burhanpur Durgah Case of 1925. ʿAbd al-Qādir Najm al-Dīn died in 1302/1885 and was succeeded by his brother ʿAbd al-Ḥusayn Ḥusām al-Dīn (1302–1308/1885–1891), who devoted his brief tenure mainly to campaigning against the superstitious beliefs and practices of the Dāʾūdī Bohras, often reflecting Hindu influences.

The forty-eighth *dāʿī* was succeeded by his nephew Muḥammad Burhān al-Dīn b. ʿAbd al-Qādir Najm al-Dīn (1308–1323/1891–1906). In his time communal rift and religious dissent were further aggravated among the Ismāʿīlī Bohras of India. Overt dissension now broke out in the community, and Muḥammad's leadership was contested even by his own brother ʿAbd Allāh, whilst financial difficulties continued to beset the *daʿwa*. Under the circumstances, another split occurred in the Dāʾūdī Bohra community. In 1315/1897, a young Dāʾūdī called ʿAbd al-Ḥusayn Jīwājī, originally a petty merchant in Bombay, came to Nagpur, claiming that he was in direct communication with the hidden imam and that he had been appointed his *ḥujja*. At first he gained some supporters, including some amongst the Dāʾūdī *ʿulamāʾ*, who came to be known as the Mahdībāghwālās, or the Mahdībāgh party, named after their place of residence in Nagpur, as well as the Atbāʿ-i Malak Badr.[118] The *ʿulamāʾ*, however, soon became disillusioned with ʿAbd al-Ḥusayn, who had also attracted some wealthy and enterprising Bohra merchants, and left the new Dāʾūdī group. ʿAbd al-Ḥusayn, popularly known as Malak Ṣāḥib, designated as his successor one Khan Bahadur Ghulām Ḥusayn, who became the head of the Mahdībāgh colony at Nagpur in 1321/1903. In 1341/1922, Ibrāhīm Riḍā Ṣāḥib, took over the leadership of this group and he was followed by Ḥasan Nūrānī, who succeeded to that non-hereditary position in 1376/1956. The present head of this group is Muhammad Amiruddin.

The Mahdībāghwālās, continuing to live in their settlement in Nagpur, never acquired any significance and were refuted in several treatises written by prominent Dāʾūdīs. A small group of the Mahdībāghwālās, believing that the *dawr al-kashf* had already commenced and that it was no longer necessary to observe the prescriptions of the *sharīʿa*, gave up praying and fasting in the month of Ramaḍān, along with other Muslim rituals and obligations. Initially led by Abd

al-Qadir Ibrahimji, they became known as the Atbāʿ-i Malak Vakīl, or Artāliswālās (literally, 'forty-eighters'). The present head of this Dāʾūdī subgroup is Malik Shahanshah Tayyibhai Razzak, who has evidently also claimed the imamate.

Meanwhile, ʿAbd Allāh Badr al-Dīn b. ʿAbd al-Ḥusayn Ḥusām al-Dīn (1323–1333/1906–1915) had succeeded his cousin Muḥammad Burhān al-Dīn as the fiftieth *dāʿī* of the Dāʾūdī majority. During his short term in office, he introduced some changes designed to improve the functioning of the *daʿwa* and its regional organization in India. He was, however, opposed to the dissemination of Western-style secular education among the Dāʾūdīs, which at the time was the foremost desideratum of the reform-oriented members of the community. It was also during the term of ʿAbd Allāh Badr al-Dīn as *dāʿī* that serious troubles broke out between the Ismāʿīlī Bohras and other Muslim groups, leading to serious riots in Bhopal.

A new era in the modern history of the Dāʾūdī Bohras began with their fifty-first *dāʿī*, Sayyidnā Ṭāhir Sayf al-Dīn b. Muḥammad Burhān al-Dīn (1333–1385/1915–1965), who headed the community for fifty years, longer than any of his predecessors. Henceforth, the Dāʾūdīs became strongly polarized between the *dāʿī* and his traditionally-minded supporters on the one side, and an opposition comprised of several reformist groups on the other. From early on, Ṭāhir Sayf al-Dīn strove to acquire a firm hold over the community, while pursuing specific policies designed to ensure the unquestioning submission of the Dāʾūdīs to his authority in both religious and secular matters. The *dāʿī*, maintaining the policies of his grandfather ʿAbd al-Qādir Najm al-Dīn, appointed his own family members to high positions in the *daʿwa* organization. He also took under his control all the communal and endowed properties, the so-called *awqāf*. It should also be mentioned here that the ruling of the Bombay High Court issued in 1921 in connection with the Chandabhai Gulla Case, and reinforced by the Privy Council Judgement of 1947, cleared away any lingering uncertainties regarding the *naṣṣ* of the forty-seventh *dāʿī* and, therefore, established the legal entitlement of his successors, including Ṭāhir Sayf al-Dīn, to the spiritual position of *dāʿī muṭlaq*.

The opposition to the *dāʿī*, initially emphasizing secular education, in time came to campaign for social change and individual rights, democratization of the local institutions belonging to the *daʿwa*, and financial accountability of the funds collected from the Dāʾūdīs. During the 1950s and 1960s, more reformist groups were formed which soon joined forces with the old opposition in the community, establishing a united front under the name of Pragati Mandal (Progressive Group).[119] But the vast majority of the Dāʾūdī Bohras, traditional in their ways and outlook, continued to be devout supporters of their *dāʿī*. In no small measure, the Dāʾūdī reformist efforts have been undermined by the effective use of excommunication and the ordering of social boycotts, amongst other

punitive measures, exercised by the *dāʿī*. Early in his tenure, Sayyidnā Ṭāhir Sayf al-Dīn transferred his permanent residence and the headquarters of the Dāʾūdī *daʿwa* to Bombay, where already a significant Ismāʿīlī Bohra community was situated. In addition, Bombay had become a major centre of trade and commerce in India, surpassing the former Bohra seats in Gujarāt. After the partition of India, Karachi in Pakistan, with another sizeable Bohra population, became the Dāʾūdī community's second most important centre in South Asia. The fifty-first *dāʿī*, who made himself regularly accessible to the members of his community, also reconstructed numerous Bohra shrines in India in addition to building the Sayfī Masjid in Bombay, the largest mosque of the Dāʾūdīs, who have numerous other mosques in Asia and elsewhere. It should also be noted that whilst retaining the traditional structure and outlook of the Bohra community, Sayyidnā Ṭāhir Sayf al-Dīn launched a reform programme of his own affecting aspects of the administration, education and finances of the Dāʾūdī Bohras. A learned scholar, Ṭāhir Sayf al-Dīn was also a prolific author and produced a vast chrestomathy, entitled *al-Risāla al-Ramaḍāniyya*, of his own prose and poetic compositions as well as extracts from earlier Ismāʿīlī works.

Ṭāhir Sayf al-Dīn was succeeded in 1385/1965 by his eldest son, Sayyidnā Muḥammad Burhān al-Dīn, the fifty-second and present *dāʿī muṭlaq* of the Dāʾūdī Bohras.[120] The present *dāʿī* has basically maintained the policies of his father, paying particular attention to the welfare and education of the Dāʾūdīs as well as to the increased participation of women in the affairs of the Bohra community. Currently, the Dāʾūdī Bohras are among the most highly educated communities of South Asia. In 1983, the *dāʿī* set up a branch of the Jāmiʿa Sayfiyya in Karachi. In the 1970s, the Bohra leader received broad concessions from the Egyptian government to restore the monuments of the Fāṭimid era. Subsequently, the Dāʾūdī Bohras restored a number of such monuments, including the mosques of al-Ḥākim and al-Aqmar, albeit without paying much attention to the modern principles of conservation and restoration.[121] The present *dāʿī* has also built numerous mosques for the Dāʾūdī Bohras in South Asia and several countries of the West.

No accurate information is available on the number of the Dāʾūdī Bohras, since the government of India does not publish separate census figures for various Muslim groups in the country. According to the population census of 1931, the Bohras of different religious persuasions, including the Ismāʿīlīs, Sunnīs, Hindus and Jayns who reported themselves as Bohras, numbered about 210,000 persons in India. On the basis of more recent estimates, accounting also for natural annual increases, the total Dāʾūdī population of the world by the end of the twentieth century was probably around 900,000 persons, of which four-fifths resided in India. More than half of the Dāʾūdī Bohras of India live in Gujarāt,

while the remainder are located mainly in Bombay and central India. The major urban centres of the Dāʾūdīs of India are Bombay, Dohad, Udaipur, Ujjain, Sūrat, Aḥmadābād, Sidhpūr, and other cities in Gujarāt, Madhya Pradesh and Maharashtra. Outside India, the largest number of Dāʾūdīs are to be found in Pakistan, with about 30,000 residing chiefly in Karachi. In Yaman, the Dāʾūdīs represent a small community, perhaps not exceeding 5,000 persons living in the Ḥarāz region, especially amongst the Banū Muqātil and on the Jabal Ṣaʿfān. Small trading communities of the Dāʾūdī Bohras are also settled in Sri Lanka, in various parts of the Far East, and along the southern shores of the Persian Gulf. The largest Dāʾūdī Bohra settlement outside India after Pakistan, however, is located in East Africa, where some 20,000 Dāʾūdīs currently live in Tanzania (incorporating since 1964 the island of Zanzibar and the former territory of Tanganyika on the mainland), Kenya and Uganda. The Ismāʿīlīs of East Africa have been increasingly obliged to immigrate to the West, due to the repressive anti-Asian policies of some of the local governments. Indeed, since the 1970s, important Dāʾūdī communities have been established in Europe and America.

The Dāʾūdī Bohras, along with the Nizārī Khojas, were amongst the earliest Asian immigrants to East Africa. The permanent settlement of Ismāʿīlī Bohras and Khojas in East Africa was greatly encouraged during the early decades of the nineteenth century by Sultan Sayyid Saʿīd (1220–1273/1806–1856), of the Ibāḍī Āl Bū Saʿīd dynasty of ʿUmān and Zanzibar. Sultan Saʿīd was interested in developing the commercial basis of his African dominions. In the pursuit of that objective, and benefiting from British protection, Saʿīd encouraged the immigration of Indian traders, who were accorded religious freedom, to Zanzibar. After the Khojas, the Bohras, coming mainly from the districts of Cutch and Kathiawar in Gujarāt, constituted the largest group of Indian immigrants in Zanzibar. The movement to East Africa of the Indian Ismāʿīlīs, engaged in trade, was intensified after 1256/1840, when Sultan Saʿīd transferred his capital from Muscat to Zanzibar. Subsequently, the Indian Ismāʿīlīs moved from Zanzibar to the growing urban centres of the East African coastline, notably Mombasa, Tanga and Dar es Salaam, where they acted as commercial agents for firms in Zanzibar or became petty merchants and shopkeepers. Further penetration of the Indian Ismāʿīlī settlers into the interior of East Africa followed the establishment of British and German rule in the region. Both of these European colonial powers were in need of the commercial skills and connections of the Bohras and Khojas in the territories under their rule. By the early decades of the twentieth century, however, the immigration of the Indian Ismāʿīlīs to East Africa had practically come to an end and only a few Bohra families have settled there since 1918. From the beginning, the Bohras of each town in Africa have lived in their own separate quarters, while maintaining their religious practices and social customs. Almost

all of the Ismāʿīlī Bohras of East Africa belong to the Dāʾūdī faction, with virtually no Sulaymānīs amongst them.[122]

The organization of the Dāʾūdī *daʿwa* is based on the pattern developed during the Yamanī phase of Ṭayyibī Ismāʿīlism.[123] The Dāʾūdīs are headed by a *dāʿī muṭlaq*, who is in fact a substitute for their concealed imam. The *dāʿī* is now actually considered as the hidden imam's vicegerent (*nāʾib*). The *dāʿī*, appointed through the *naṣṣ* of his predecessor, is also considered to be *maʿṣūm*, sinless and infallible, and in possession of the required religious knowledge or *ʿilm*. With absolute authority over every religious and secular aspect of the community, the *dāʿī* is the supreme head of the *daʿwa* organization and governs autocratically with the help of his personally chosen assistants. The permission (*razā*) of the *dāʿī* is, in theory, required in every matter. The *dāʿī muṭlaq* is commonly known as the Mullājī Ṣāḥib or Sayyidnā Ṣāḥib. Since the early decades of the twentieth century, he has resided in Bombay, where the administrative headquarters of the *daʿwa*, referred to by the Dāʾūdīs themselves as the *daʿwat hādiya*, are located at Badri Mahal. In both Surāt and Bombay, there are Dāʾūdī libraries with substantial collections of Ismāʿīlī manuscripts, considered as belonging to the *daʿwa* and as such under the direct control of the *dāʿī*. The private manuscript collections of deceased Dāʾūdīs are normally transferred to these officially administered libraries, especially the one at Sūrat. Unfortunately, it is almost impossible for researchers and scholars of Ismāʿīlī studies to obtain access to these treasures of Ismāʿīlī literature. In addition to preserving the Ismāʿīlī literature of earlier times, numerous Dāʾūdī scholars (including several *dāʿī*s) have also written religious works in more recent times.

The next lower ranks in the Dāʾūdī *daʿwa* hierarchy are those of *maʾdhūn* and *mukāsir*. The *dāʿī* appoints one *maʾdhūn* who acts as his chief assistant. The *maʾdhūn* is normally chosen from amongst the close relatives of the *dāʿī* and eventually succeeds to the post of *dāʿī*. The *dāʿī* also nominates one *mukāsir*, again usually a relative. The *mukāsir* assists the *maʾdhūn* and sees to the lesser details and the more routine administrative affairs of the *daʿwa*. Next, there are the *mashāyikh* (singular, *shaykh*), also known as *ḥudūd*, now hundreds in number. The *mashāyikh* are of varying ranks but all of them are addressed as Bhāʾī Ṣāḥib, the reverend brother. Each *dāʿī* selects his own *mashāyikh* from amongst the Dāʾūdīs most learned in Ismāʿīlī doctrine and in Arabic. The *mashāyikh*, who are trained at the Jāmiʿa Sayfiyya (the Sayfi Dars), officiate in the larger Dāʾūdī centres, also announcing the orders of the *dāʿī*.

Next in the *daʿwa* hierarchy comes the *ʿāmil* or agent, who is the head of any local Dāʾūdī congregation or *jamāʿat*. Addressed as Bhāʾī Ṣāḥib or Miyān Ṣāḥib, the *ʿāmil*s are selected by the *dāʿī* for every Dāʾūdī community with a population of at least one hundred. In 2006 there were some 320 *ʿāmil*s worldwide. Most

*ʿāmil*s are graduates of the Jāmiʿa Sayfiyya. The main duty of the *ʿāmil* is to lead the community under his charge in prayers and to perform the various religious ceremonies, including marriage, funeral rites and circumcision (*khatna*). Being the local representative of the *dāʿī*, no religious or communal ceremony is valid without his permission, and for every ceremony that the *ʿāmil* performs he receives a fee, the greater share of which is sent to the *dāʿī*'s treasury, while the rest is retained by him for his local expenses. The *ʿāmil* is also responsible for collecting the various religious dues and offerings for the *dāʿī*. He is usually appointed for a period of five years, and his tenure is seldom renewed, while the *dāʿī* favours the inter-communal transfers of his *ʿāmil*s. These policies are aimed at preventing the *ʿāmil*s from developing privileged positions in any particular community, which would enable them to misappropriate local funds. In important Dāʾūdī cities like Bombay and Karachi, the *ʿāmil*s are likely to be the *dāʿī*'s relatives or highly trusted individuals. In East Africa, the earliest *ʿāmil*s were despatched around the turn of the last century from Gujarāt to Zanzibar and Mombasa. At present, there are two Bhāʾī Ṣāḥibs in East Africa. One acts as the head *ʿāmil* of East Africa, and the second is the *ʿāmil* of the Dāʾūdī Bohra congregation in Nairobi. Furthermore, unlike other areas, the *ʿāmil*s of East Africa have often held their positions for long periods, sometimes exceeding two decades.

The lowest rank in the Dāʾūdī *daʿwa* organization is that of *mullā*, who is usually appointed by the *dāʿī* from amongst the qualified members of the community where he is to serve. The Dāʾūdī *mullā*s are numerous, and in the larger towns there is also the position of *wālī mullā*, who leads the communal prayers in the absence of the *ʿāmil*. The *ʿāmil*s may delegate some of their functions to the *mullā*s, who normally have some knowledge of Arabic and Ismāʿīlī rituals and who are employed as instructors at the elementary schools or *madrasa*s for the Bohra children.

A central administration headed by the *dāʿī muṭlaq* oversees the affairs of the Dāʾūdī Bohra community worldwide. The central offices of this administrative organization are located in the Badri Mahal in Bombay, where senior members of the *daʿwa* hierarchy, including the *dāʿī*'s brothers and sons, also have their offices. Every Dāʾūdī on attaining the age of fifteen takes an oath of allegiance or *mīthāq*, also known as the *ʿahd al-awliyāʾ* and the *bayʿa*, pledging loyalty to the Ṭayyibī Ismāʿīlī imams and the Dāʾūdī *dāʿī*s and agreeing to conform to Dāʾūdī beliefs and practices. Thereupon, he is officially initiated into the community as a believer (*muʾmin*). The same covenant is renewed annually by every adult Dāʾūdī on the 18th of Dhu'l-Ḥijja, celebrated by the Dāʾūdīs like other Shīʿīs as the *ʿīd Ghadīr Khumm*, which is a day of fasting for the Dāʾūdīs. The *mīthāq*, reminiscent of a custom adopted in Fāṭimid times, is administered by the *ʿāmil* of every congregation, and its present text includes a promise of unconditional

obedience to the *dāʿī muṭlaq*. The same convenant is required of anyone wishing to convert to the Dāʾūdī Ṭayyibī religion and by any dissident wishing to be readmitted into the community. The Dāʾūdīs pay a number of dues to the *dāʿī muṭlaq* which include the annual *khums*, also payable by other Shīʿīs, and *zakāt*, as well as special occasional dues like *ḥaqq al-nafs*, levied on the relatives of a deceased Dāʾūdī, and *salām*, a voluntary but customary offering to the *dāʿī*. These dues, representing substantial annual payments to the *dāʿī*'s central treasury, are regularly collected on a local basis by the *ʿāmil*s, normally once a year during the month of Ramaḍān. Sometimes, the collections are made by a special envoy of the *dāʿī*, referred to as the *ṣāḥib al-daʿwa*. These dues provide a main source of funding for a number of charitable organizations and the community's various institutions, including the Jāmiʿa Sayfiyya at Surāt and its branch in Karachi as well as numerous Bohra schools, medical facilities and loan schemes.

Amongst their more important religious practices, the Dāʾūdīs make the *ḥajj* pilgrimage to Mecca and pay equal attention to visiting the shrines of the Imams ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib and al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī, at Najaf and Karbalāʾ. They also hold elaborate mourning sessions, or *majālis*, during the first ten days of the month of Muḥarram, commemorating the martyrdom of the Imam al-Ḥusayn. On these occasions sermons and lectures are delivered by the *dāʿī* himself or other authorized individuals, especially members of the *dāʿī*'s family (Qaṣr-i ʿAlī), to large Bohra gatherings, especially in Bombay. The Dāʾūdīs observe the five daily prayers, at dawn, midday and just after sunset, in their separate mosques, found in every Dāʾūdī community. The names of their twenty-one manifest imams are repeated at the end of every prayer. The Dāʾūdīs do not participate in special communal prayers on Fridays or on religious festivals as do the Twelver Shīʿīs, and they do not recite the sermon or *khuṭba* reserved for those occasions. According to a Ṭayyibī belief developed in Yaman, such sermons could be pronounced only under a manifest imam. As a result, there are no *minbar*s or pulpits in Dāʾūdī mosques. The Dāʾūdī Bohras also have their *jamāʿat-khāna*s or assembly halls, reserved for communal and religious gatherings and ceremonies. They are managed by the committees of the leading Bohras, appointed by the *ʿāmil* of each community. The Dāʾūdī Bohras use a particular form of Gujarātī language, permeated with Arabic and some Persian words, and write in the Arabic script, designated as the *lisān al-daʿwat*.

The Dāʾūdī Bohras have retained many Hindu customs in their marriage ceremonies and other rituals. Disputes in the Dāʾūdī communities are resolved by the *ʿāmil*s or referred to the *dāʿī* in Bombay. In such cases, the *dāʿī*'s decisions are binding on all parties. In legal disputes relating to the Ismāʿīlī Bohras, the Indian courts now apply the Islamic law, especially as enunciated in al-Qāḍī al-Nuʿmān's *Daʿāʾim al-Islām*, the chief legal compendium of the Dāʾūdī and

Sulaymānī Ṭayyibīs throughout the world. The Ismāʿīlī Bohras have their own version of the Islamic lunar calendar, developed in Fāṭimid times, which is based on astronomical calculations for determining the beginning of the months.[124] This calendar is therefore fixed, and as such it may differ from the usual Muslim dating based on the sighting of the new moon by one or two days. The Dāʾūdī Bohras observe a distinctive dress code, a blend of Islamic and Indian, including a special veil (called *ridāʾ*) for women and a cap for men. A general feature of the Dāʾūdī communities in India and elsewhere is their emphasis on cultural identity and a strong inclination towards seclusion. Although such isolationist tendencies are now diminishing and the Dāʾūdīs have in recent decades experienced some modernization, though within a traditional frame, they still keep their books secret, indulge in limited contact with outsiders, and refrain from intermarrying with Hindus or with other Muslim groups.

The Sulaymānī *daʿwa* and community

In Yaman, meanwhile, the unified Ṭayyibī *daʿwa* had been succeeded mainly by the Sulaymānī *daʿwa*, which had few adherents in India. As noted, the twenty-seventh *dāʿī muṭlaq* of the Sulaymānīs, Sulaymān b. Ḥasan, was an Indian who had originally been sent to Yaman as the deputy of Dāʾūd b. ʿAjabshāh, the last Ṭayyibī *dāʿī* recognized by both the Dāʾūdīs and the Sulaymānīs. Subsequently, Sulaymān went to India to establish his claims to the supreme leadership of the Ṭayyibīs, then consisting chiefly of the Ṭayyibī Bohras. Failing to win much support amongst the Bohras, who had already acknowledged Dāʾūd b. Quṭbshāh as their new *dāʿī*, Sulaymān b. Ḥasan died at Lahore in 1005/1597, during the earliest years of the Dāʾūdī–Sulaymānī dispute. This dispute, it may be recalled, also represented a conflict of interests between the majoritarian Indian and the minoritarian Yamanī factions of the Ṭayyibī community. While the Ṭayyibī Bohras rallied to the side of Dāʾūd b. Quṭbshāh and his successors, the Yamanī Ṭayyibīs mainly supported the claims of Sulaymān b. Ḥasan, who initiated a separate line of Sulaymānī *dāʿī*s.

Sulaymān b. Ḥasan was succeeded by his minor son, Jaʿfar b. Sulaymān (1005–1050/1597–1640), who was one of the four Indian *dāʿī*s of the Sulaymānīs, along with his father, his successor and the forty-sixth *dāʿī*. Henceforth, the Sulaymānī *dāʿī*s established their headquarters in Yaman, where the great bulk of their followers lived. During the youth of Jaʿfar b. Sulaymān, Ṣafī al-Dīn Muḥammad b. al-Fahd (d. 1042/1633), belonging to the influential Makramī family of the Yamanī Ismāʿīlī tribe of Yām, ran the affairs of the Sulaymānī *daʿwa* as the *mustawdaʿ* or acting *dāʿī*. Muḥammad b. al-Fahd al-Makramī was also one of the foremost Sulaymānī authors who, in line with the main characteristic of the

Sulaymānī literature, wrote several works in refutation of the claims of Dāʾūd b. Quṭbshāh and the Dāʾūdīs.[125] With the death of the twenty-ninth *dāʿī*, ʿAlī b. Sulaymān (1050–1088/1640–1677), the leadership of the Sulaymānīs passed to Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. al-Fahd al-Makramī (1088–1094/1677–1683), and that hereditary position has remained since that time in the same Makramī family, with only a few interruptions. The Sulaymānī *dāʿī*s followed one another in Yaman, by the rule of the *naṣṣ*, without any succession disputes. Consequently, there have been no schisms in the Sulaymānī community. The Makramī *dāʿī*s established their headquarters in Najrān in northeastern Yaman. Supported by the Banū Yām, who, like the bulk of the Yamanī Ismāʿīlīs, had sided with Sulaymān b. Ḥasan and the Sulaymānī cause, the Makramī *dāʿī*s ruled Najrān, usually from Badr, independently.

The Makramī Sulaymānī *dāʿī*s had frequent conflicts with the local Zaydī imams, who belonged to the Qāsimī line of al-Qāsim al-Manṣūr (d. 1029/1620). The Zaydīs expelled the Ottoman Turks from Yaman in 1045/1635. In the earliest decades of the long *dāʿī*ship of Hibat Allāh b. Ibrāhīm al-Makramī (1109–1160/1697–1747), however, the Zaydī Imam al-Manṣūr b. al-Mutawakkil granted the *dāʿī* control over Ḥarāz, in return for the *dāʿī*'s earlier support of al-Manṣūr against rebels in his family. Subsequently, the Makramīs resisted all attempts by the Zaydīs to expel them from that region. In the middle of the 12th/18th century, the Banū Yām, led by the Makramī *dāʿī*s, penetrated into the Mikhlāf al-Sulaymānī (Ḥaly), adjoining the Red Sea, a region then under the control of the *amīr*s of the Āl Khayrāt. Later, the thirty-third *dāʿī*, Ismāʿīl b. Hibat Allāh (1160–1184/1747–1770), conquered Ḥaḍramawt in 1170/1756–1757.

Subsequently, the Makramī dynasty of the Sulaymānī *dāʿī*s endeavoured in vain to combat the rising power of the Saʿūdī family of central Arabia. In the middle of the 12th/18th century, a new era began in Arabia with the spread of the Wahhābī religious and reformist movement founded by Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb (d. 1206/1792), a Ḥanbalī Sunnī theologian from Najd who was very hostile towards Shīʿī Islam. Ibn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb acquired powerful protectors in Muḥammad b. Saʿūd (d. 1179/1765), the *amīr* of Dirʿiyya near Riyāḍ, and the Āl Saʿūd. In 1157/1744, Ibn Saʿūd and Ibn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb concluded an alliance, marking the effective beginning of a Wahhābī state in central Arabia. By 1202/1788, all of Najd had been conquered by Ibn Saʿūd's son and successor, ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz (1179–1215/1765–1801), who repelled three expeditions sent against him by the Sulaymānī *dāʿī*s. The Saʿūdīs soon expanded their territories in the Ḥijāz and in southern Arabia, alarming the Ottoman Turks into taking military action against them. It was in the aftermath of these events that the Ottomans, led by Aḥmad Mukhtār Pasha, occupied Yaman anew in 1288/1871, significantly curtailing the power of both the Qāsimī Zaydī imams and the Makramī Sulaymānī *dāʿī*s. The

Makramīs were in fact expelled from Ḥarāz in 1289/1872 by Mukhtār Pasha, who destroyed their fortress at ʿAttāra and killed the forty-first *dāʿī*, al-Ḥasan b. Ismāʿīl Āl Shibām al-Makramī (1262–1289/1846–1872). At the same time, the Banū Yām were coerced into accepting a peace settlement, and the *dāʿī*s, now divested of their military capability, retired quietly to Najrān. This marked the end of the political significance of the Makramī dynasty of Sulaymānī *dāʿī*s and their community in Yaman.

Subsequently, the Sulaymānī *dāʿī*s and their followers in Yaman had to withstand the hostilities of the Zaydī imams and the puritanical Saʿūdīs of central Arabia. In the twentieth century, the Saʿūdīs rose to prominence under ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz II (1319–1373/1902–1953), who, after becoming the ruler of the Ḥijāz and Najd, proclaimed himself the king of Saudi Arabia in 1351/1932. In 1353/1934, ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz went to war with Yaman over a boundary conflict, and easily defeated the Zaydī Imam al-Mutawakkil Yaḥyā (1322–1367/1904–1948). As a result of the ensuing truce and treaty for the demarcation of the boundaries, Najrān, the seat of the Makramīs, was apportioned to Saudi Arabia. During these eventful years, the reigning forty-fifth *dāʿī*, ʿAlī b. Muḥsin (1331–1355/1913–1936), handled his disputes with Malik Ibn Saʿūd and Imam Yaḥyā with great tact and diplomacy. The forty-seventh *dāʿī*, Sharaf al-Dīn al-Ḥusayn b. Aḥmad al-Makramī (1357–1358/1938–1939), too, attempted to protect the Yamanī Sulaymānīs in those difficult times, but he was obliged to spend his short term in office in Saudi Arabia and he died at Ṭāʾif. Under these turbulent circumstances, the future forty-sixth Sulaymānī *dāʿī*, al-Ḥājj Ghulām Ḥusayn (1355–1357/1936–1938), another Indian to occupy that office, had chosen to stay in India. Ghulām Ḥusayn had visited Yaman in 1303/1885–1886, and in 1327/1909 he was singled out by the forty-fourth *dāʿī* ʿAlī b. Hibat Allāh (1323–1331/1905–1913) to head the Sulaymānī Bohras. He was actually designated in 1333/1915, by the forty-fifth *dāʿī* as his successor. Ghulām Ḥusayn, who lived and died near Bombay, was a religious scholar and the author of numerous works in Arabic and Urdu, including an abridgement of al-Kirmānī's *Rāḥat al-ʿaql*. He also introduced al-Qāḍī al-Nuʿmān's *Daʿāʾim al-Islām* to the general Indian Ismāʿīlī public in an abridged form, in his *Sharḥ al-masāʾil*, written in both Arabic and Urdu.[126] After Ḥusām al-Dīn al-Ḥājj Ghulām Ḥusayn, the leadership of the Sulaymānīs reverted to the Makramī family. The present *dāʿī*, the fifty-first in the series, is Sayyidnā ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad al-Makramī, who succeeded to the office in 1426/2005.

Information on the Sulaymānī Ṭayyibīs of modern times is extremely scarce. The total number of Yamanī Sulaymānīs may currently be placed around 200,000–300,000 persons,[127] living mainly in the northern districts of Yaman and on the northern border region between Yaman and Saudi Arabia. Besides

the Banū Yām of Najrān, now part of Saudi Arabia, the Sulaymānīs are found in Ḥarāz, amongst the inhabitants of the Jabal Maghāriba and in Hawzan, Lahāb and ʿAttāra, as well as in the district of Hamdān and in the vicinity of Yarīm. Since the 1990s, the Sulaymānīs of Najrān have been severely persecuted by the Saudi government. In Yaman, the Sulaymānīs live in isolation from the Zaydīs and also from the less significant Dāʾūdīs. The Sulaymānī Bohra community in India has remained very small, today numbering around 4000. The Sulaymānī Bohras live mainly in Bombay, Baroda, Aḥmadābād, and Ḥaydarābād in the Deccan. There are also about 5000 Sulaymānīs in Pakistan, mostly in Sind and Panjāb.

The Sulaymānī *daʿwa* essentially retained the traditions of the post-Fāṭimid Yamanī Ṭayyibīs. The religious organization of the Sulaymānīs maintained the simplicity of the *daʿwa* organization developed during the Yamanī phase of Ṭayyibī Ismāʿīlism, in contrast to the more elaborate Dāʾūdī *daʿwa* in India. In addition, being a small community distributed over a relatively small area, the needs of the Yamanī Sulaymānīs could be adequately served by a simple *daʿwa* organization. The Sulaymānī *dāʿī muṭlaq* personally looks after the affairs of his followers, being helped by few assistants who occupy the ranks of *maʾdhūn* and *mukāsir*. He also has a few representatives, *ʿāmil*s, in the more important Sulaymānī districts of Yaman. The Sulaymānī *dāʿī*s, unlike those of the Dāʾūdīs, do not use honorific titles, being simply addressed by the designation of Sayyidnā. In the nomenclature of the Sulaymānī *daʿwa*, the *dāʿī muṭlaq* has three *jazāʾir*, or *daʿwa* regions, under his jurisdiction, viz., Yaman, Hind (India) and Sind (Pakistan). The *dāʿī* himself, known in Yaman as the *dāʿī qabāʾil Yām*, has had his headquarters in Badr, Najrān, situated in Saudi Arabia since 1936.

In India, where he is referred to as Sayyidnā Ṣāḥib, the Sulaymānī *dāʿī* has a chief representative or agent, known as the *manṣūb*. The *manṣūb* traditionally resided at Baroda (Vadodara), the headquarters of the Sulaymānī *daʿwa* in India, until recently. Today, the centre of the Sulaymānī *daʿwa* in India is located in Bombay. In Baroda, Bombay and Ḥaydarābād, the Sulaymānī *daʿwa* holds important collections of Ismāʿīlī manuscripts. Until more recent times, the *manṣūb* in India also supervised the affairs of the Sulaymānīs of Pakistan, but now a separate *manṣūb* is designated for Pakistan. Sometimes, as in recent decades, the *dāʿī* simultaneously has two *manṣūb*s in India, residing in Bombay and Ḥaydarābād. A person selected by the *dāʿī* for the position of *manṣūb* is known as *al-manṣūb al-muṭlaq*, while on actually assuming his post he is called *al-manṣūb al-mustaqill* (or *al-munfarid*). There is no rank of *shaykh* in the Sulaymānī *daʿwa* hierarchy in South Asia. The *manṣūb*s are chiefly assisted by a number of *ʿāmil*s who are generally *mullā*s residing in different Sulaymānī Bohra communities. These lesser functionaries conduct the communal prayers, perform religious ceremonies, and collect the various dues for the *dāʿī*.

In South Asia, the official language of the Sulaymānī *daʿwa* is Urdu, the language commonly used by the majority of the Muslims of India and Pakistan. The Sulaymānī Bohras also deliver their sermons in Urdu. On the other hand, Arabic is used in the correspondence between the Sulaymānī Bohras and their *dāʿī*. The official letters of the *dāʿī muṭlaq* are publicly read and translated for the Sulaymānī Bohras by the *manṣūb*, and these letters are called *musharrifāt*. The Sulaymānīs, too, are particular in secretly guarding their books. The Ismāʿīlī literature produced in the pre-Fāṭimid and Fāṭimid periods and by the Ṭayyibī Ismāʿīlīs up to the Dāʾūdī–Sulaymānī schism is accepted by all branches of Ṭayyibī Ismāʿīlism. After the schism, the Dāʾūdīs and the Sulaymānīs produced their own separate bodies of literature, devoted mainly to polemical issues and claims or counterclaims of various *dāʿī*s.[128] The Dāʾudīs and the Sulaymānīs, adhering to the same Ṭayyibī Mustaʿlian heritage and religious beliefs, disagree primarily in respect to their line of *dāʿī*s. There are few religious differences between the the two main Ṭayyibī groups. Both communities regard al-Qāḍī al-Nuʿmān's *Daʿāʾim al-Islām* as their chief authority in legal matters. But in terms of customs and social practices the Yamanī Sulaymānīs of Arab origins are distinguishable from the Dāʾūdī Bohras of South Asia who have been influenced by many Hindu traditions.

In Yaman, the Sulaymānī community has enjoyed a great degree of cohesion, partly inspired by the fact that the Sulaymānī *daʿwa* was the direct continuation of the post-Fāṭimid Ṭayyibī *daʿwa* and partly necessitated by the local environment of the Sulaymānīs, which was often under the control of their Zaydī and other opponents. Under these circumstances, the Yamanī Sulaymānīs lent full support to their Makramī *dāʿī*s, welding themselves into an effective fighting force and avoiding schisms and internal strife. In the Indian subcontinent, the small and scattered Sulaymānī Bohra community, as in the case of other Ismāʿīlīs, has been subjected to frequent persecution, often resulting in mass conversions of Ismāʿīlīs to Sunnī Islam. The Sulaymānī Bohras have also encountered the hostility of the much larger Dāʾūdī community of South Asia. On the other hand, like their Yamanī co-religionists, the Sulaymānī Bohras have not experienced any internal conflicts. Under these realities, the Sulaymānī Bohras have been increasingly inclined to cultivate friendly relations with other Muslim groups, relations that would lessen their social difficulties as one of the smallest Muslim groups of India. This explains why in the course of time the Sulaymānī Bohras, in contrast to the Dāʾūdīs, have developed closer affinities to other Muslims in terms of language, dress and behaviour. Not only have the Sulaymānī Bohras adopted Urdu instead of the special Gujarātī language used by the Dāʾūdī Bohras, but they have also abandoned the Gujarātī Bohra dress and turban and have intermarried with Sunnī Muslims. Nor are the Sulaymānīs under the strict central control of their

dāʿī and his *manṣūb*s. The Sulaymānī Bohras have also readily resorted to the Qāḍī courts of India.

In sum, while the Arab Sulaymānīs of Yaman have remained rather traditional in their ways and outlook, the Sulaymānī Bohras of South Asia have come to represent a progressive group, approving of social change and encouraging modern secular education. It is not surprising, therefore, that the small Sulaymānī Bohra community has produced, proportionately speaking, a significant number of prominent men, including India's first Muslim barrister, Badruddin Tyabji. The late Asaf A. A. Fyzee, the leading modern authority on Ismāʿīlī jurisprudence, was another prominent Sulaymānī Bohra. Indeed, numerous members of the Tyabji-Fyzee family of Bombay have distinguished themselves in legal careers and in other professions, while the ladies of the same Sulaymānī Bohra family were amongst the earliest Indian Muslims to discard the *pardah*, or the special veil worn by Muslim women.[129]

6

Nizārī Ismāʿīlī history during the Alamūt period

This chapter will cover the initial phase in the history of Nizārī Ismāʿīlism, coinciding with the so-called Alamūt period from around 483/1090 to 654/1256. Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ was operating in Persia as an Ismāʿīlī *dāʿī* and his seizure of the fortress of Alamūt in 483/1090 marked the effective foundation of what was to become the Nizārī Ismāʿīlī state of Persia and Syria. As the undisputed leader of the Persian Ismāʿīlīs, Ḥasan was already following an independent revolutionary policy against the Saljūq Turks when the Fāṭimid caliph-imam al-Mustanṣir died in 487/1094. In the dispute over al-Mustanṣir's succession, Ḥasan upheld the cause of Nizār and severed his relations with the Fāṭimid regime and the *daʿwa* headquarters in Cairo which had lent their support to al-Mustaʿlī. By this decision, Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ founded the independent Nizārī Ismāʿīlī *daʿwa* on behalf of the Nizārī imam (who was then inaccessible).

The Nizārī state, centred at Alamūt and with territories scattered in different parts of Persia and Syria, lasted for some 166 years until it collapsed in 654/1256 under the onslaught of the Mongol hordes. This initial phase in Nizārī history was marked by numerous political vicissitudes. A superb organizer, Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ designed a revolutionary strategy against the Saljūq Turks, whose rule was detested throughout Persia. He did not realize his objective, but nor did the Saljūqs succeed in uprooting the Nizārīs from their numerous mountain strongholds. But Ḥasan did manage, despite countless odds, to found and consolidate an independent Nizārī state and *daʿwa*. By around 514/1120, a stalemate had developed between the Nizārīs and the Saljūqs, and the Nizārī state survived despite the incessant hostilities of the Saljūqs and their successors until the arrival of the Mongols. At the same time, *dāʿī*s despatched from Alamūt organized an expanding Nizārī community in Syria. The Syrian Nizārīs, too, possessed a network of mountain fortresses, while pursuing complex policies towards various Muslim powers as well as the Crusaders. By 671/1273, the Mamlūk Sultan Baybars I had seized all the fortresses of the Syrian Nizārīs, who themselves were permitted to survive as a semi-autonomous community.

Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ and his next two successors at Alamūt ruled as *dāʿī*s and *ḥujja*s, or chief representatives, of the Nizārī imams (who were then inaccessible to their

followers). Subsequently, starting with the fourth ruler, Ḥasan *ʿalā dhikrihi'l-salām*, the Nizārī imams emerged at Alamūt to take charge of the affairs of their *daʿwa* and state. The Nizārīs of the Alamūt period were, thus, led by three *dāʿī*s and *ḥujja*s and five imams, who are generally referred to as the lords (*khudāwand*s) of Alamūt in the Persian sources.

Nizārī Ismāʿīlī rulers at Alamūt (483–654/1090–1256)

As *dāʿī*s and *ḥujja*s:
1. Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ (483–518/1090–1124)
2. Kiyā Buzurg-Ummīd (518–532/1124–1138)
3. Muḥammad b. Buzurg-Ummīd (532–557/1138–1162)

As imams:
4. Ḥasan *ʿalā dhikrihi'l-salām* (557–561/1162–1166)
5. Nūr al-Dīn Muḥammad (561–607/1166–1210)
6. Jalāl al-Dīn Ḥasan (607–618/1210–1221)
7. ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Muḥammad (618–653/1221–1255)
8. Rukn al-Dīn Khurshāh (653–654/1255–1256)

The circumstances of the Nizārīs of the Alamūt period were drastically different from those faced by the Ismāʿīlīs living within the Fāṭimid state. From early on, the Nizārī Ismāʿīlīs were preoccupied with their revolutionary activities and survival in an extremely hostile environment. Accordingly, they produced military commanders rather than theologians and jurists addressing different intellectual issues. Furthermore, adopting the Persian language, instead of Arabic, as the religious language of their community, the Nizārīs of Persia and adjacent eastern lands did not have ready access to the Arabic Ismāʿīlī literature produced in earlier times, although the Syrian Nizārīs using Arabic preserved a portion of the earlier texts. Nevertheless, the Nizārī Ismāʿīlīs did maintain a sophisticated intellectual outlook as well as a literary tradition, elaborating their teachings in response to the changing circumstances of the Alamūt period. Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ himself is credited with establishing an impressive library at Alamūt. Later, other major Nizārī fortresses in Persia and Syria were equipped with significant collections of manuscripts, documents and scientific instruments. The Nizārīs also extended their patronage of learning to outside scholars, including Sunnīs, Twelver Shīʿīs and even non-Muslims.

The Nizārī Ismāʿīlīs, by and large, retained a degree of cohesion and sense of mission in the face of numerous difficulties and the persistent enmity of a majority of Muslims. Indeed, in addition to intermittent military campaigns against them

during the entire Alamūt period, the Nizārīs were now targeted for a new round of polemical attacks by the ʿAbbāsid–Saljūq establishment, necessitated by the intellectual challenge of the Nizārīs as well as their political threat. Thus the Nizārī state of Persia gradually weakened as a result of prolonged struggles against too many adversaries with superior military power. The indecisive Nizārī policy towards the Mongols also contributed to the eventual collapse of the Nizārī state in the wake of the Mongol invasions of Persia. With the surrender of Alamūt to the Mongols in 654/1256, the tumultuous Alamūt period in Nizārī history was brought to an end. Deprived of their political power and prominence, henceforth the Nizārīs survived as religious minorities in many lands.

On the basis of the reigns of different lords of Alamūt as well as their teachings and religious policies, the history of Nizārī Ismāʿīlism of this period may be subdivided into three phases. During the initial phase (483–557/1090–1162), covering the reigns of the first three rulers of Alamūt, the Nizārīs succeeded in establishing and consolidating their *daʿwa* and independent state. In the second phase (557–607/1162–1210), coinciding with the reigns of the fourth and fifth lords of Alamūt who were recognized as imams, the Nizārīs symbolically turned to the realm of the 'resurrection' (*qiyāma*), which made the community spiritually and psychologically independent of the outside world, a world that was now considered spiritually irrelevant. In the third and final phase (607–654/1210–1256), concurrent with the rules of the last three lords of Alamūt, the Nizārīs, while partially retaining their inwardness and teachings emanating from the declaration of the *qiyāma*, attempted a rapprochement with the Sunnī world and also revived their political aspirations – endeavours that were terminated by the invading Mongols.

Nizārī Ismāʿīlī historiography

The study of Nizārī Ismāʿīlism during the Alamūt period presents research difficulties of its own, resulting from the loss of the bulk of the Nizārī literature of that period and the general hostility of the non-Ismāʿīlī literary sources on the subject. Living under adverse conditions and often being involved in long-drawn-out military ventures, the Persian Nizārīs evidently did not produce any voluminous religious literature during the Alamūt period.[1] The bulk of what they did produce was either destroyed in the Mongol invasions, which resulted in the burning of the famous library at Alamūt, or perished soon afterwards during the Īlkhānid period. Indeed, only a handful of Nizārī doctrinal works have survived directly from that period, including an anonymous treatise, *Haft bāb-i Bābā Sayyidnā*, written around 596/1199–1200, and a few Ismāʿīlī works produced during the

final decades of the Alamūt period and attributed to Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī (d. 672/1274). Also, excerpts from some non-extant Nizārī works, such as Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ's biography and doctrinal writings as well as the epistles (*fuṣūl*) of the lords of Alamūt, are preserved by al-Shahrastānī as well as in some post-Alamūt Nizārī treatises and in a few Persian historical sources. This extant Nizārī literature, despite its meagreness and fragmentary nature, does shed valuable light on important aspects of the doctrines propounded by the Persian Nizārīs. The Persian Nizārīs also maintained a historiographical tradition. As noted in Chapter 1, they compiled chronicles in the Persian language recording the events of their state and community according to the reigns of the successive lords of Alamūt.[2] These chronicles, retained at Alamūt and other fortresses, have not survived, but some later Persian historians had access to them. The accounts of these historians, indeed, provide our chief sources on the history of the Persian Nizārīs of the Alamūt period. During the post-Alamūt period, the various Nizārī communities, notably those of Persia, Syria, Badakhshan and India, developed independently of one another, and none of them produced any reliable and continuous account of Nizārī Ismāʿīlism of the Alamūt period.

The non-literary sources on the Nizārīs of Persia are rather insignificant. The Mongols demolished most of the Nizārī castles in Persia, which might have yielded valuable archaeological evidence. The remains of the main Persian Nizārī fortresses, whose exact locations have now been identified, and their vicinities, have not been subjected to systematic archaeological study and excavation in modern times. Indeed, no Persian epigraphic evidence remains from that period, while only a few Nizārī coins, minted at Alamūt and elsewhere, have been recovered.[3] In sum, the limited non-literary evidence has not significantly augmented our knowledge of the Persian Nizārīs of the Alamūt period, though the ruins of the rock fortresses have provided valuable details of the ingenious methods adopted by the Persian Nizārī community, notably those underlying their water supply systems, for coping with highly difficult living conditions.[4]

Three celebrated Persian historians of the Īlkhānid period (654–756/1256–1355) are our chief authorities for the history of the Nizārī state in Persia. They had access to Nizārī works of the Alamūt period, including especially the chronicles, as well as other documents which have not survived. Amongst these Persian historians, ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn ʿAṭā-Mālik b. Muḥammad Juwaynī is the earliest chronicler of the Mongol invasions. Juwaynī entered the service of the Mongols in his youth, and later, upon the arrival of Hülegü in Khurāsān early in 654/1256, he joined the entourage of the Mongol conqueror and accompanied him on his military campaigns against the Nizārīs. Juwaynī was with the Mongols when they converged on Alamūt and other Nizārī castles in Daylam later in 654 AH. Having also taken part in the peace negotiations between Hülegü and Rukn al-Dīn

Khurshāh, it was Juwaynī who drew up the actual terms of surrender of the last Nizārī ruler in Persia. He was also responsible for writing the *Fatḥ-nāma*, or proclamation of victory, declaring the final victory of the Mongols. Having personally witnessed many of the events marking the downfall of the Persian Nizārī state, Juwaynī relates how, with Hülegü's permission, he examined the Ismāʿīlī library at Alamūt, wherefrom he selected many 'choice books', while consigning to the flames those which, according to him, related to the heresy and error of the Nizārīs. Of the latter category, however, he preserved a work known as the *Sargudhasht-i Sayyidnā*, containing Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ's biography, which he quotes extensively. This was, in fact, the earliest of the Nizārī chronicles covering the life and career of the first lord of Alamūt.

Juwaynī, who began writing his history of the Mongols around 650/1252 and stopped working on it in 658/1260, composed his account of the Ismāʿīlīs soon after the fall of Alamūt, adding it to the end of the third and final volume of his history. This account is a detailed history of Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ and his seven successors as rulers of the Nizārī state, based on the Nizārī chronicles and other texts and records which Juwaynī found at Alamūt and elsewhere, and which have not survived. Juwaynī's account of the Persian Nizārīs is preceded by sections relating to the earlier history of the Ismāʿīlīs and the Fāṭimid caliph-imams, a pattern adopted by later Persian historians. After the collapse of the Nizārī state, Juwaynī accompanied Hülegü to Baghdad, where the Mongols proceeded to overthrow the ʿAbbāsid caliphate. In 657/1259, Hülegü appointed Juwaynī to the governorship of Baghdad and its dependencies. Juwaynī maintained this position for more than twenty years, with the exception of a brief period of dismissal and imprisonment, until his death in 681/1283. As already noted, the renowned Persian scholar Mīrzā Muḥammad Qazvīnī (1877–1949) undertook, for the E. J. W. Gibb Memorial Series, the monumental edition of the Persian text of Juwaynī's *Taʾrīkh-i jahān-gushā*, and Professor John Andrew Boyle (1916–1978), a leading authority on the history of the Mongols and its sources, produced an English translation of this work, the first complete translation in a Western language.[5]

The second of our chief Persian authorities on the Nizārīs is the slightly later historian, physician and statesman, Rashīd al-Dīn Faḍl Allāh, often referred to by his contemporaries as Rashīd al-Dīn Ṭabīb. Being of Jewish origin, Rashīd al-Dīn converted to Islam and rose in the service of the Mongol Īlkhāns of Persia to the rank of vizier, a position he held for almost twenty years until his execution in 718/1318. In 694/1295, the Īlkhān Ghāzān (694–703/1295–1304) commissioned Rashīd al-Dīn, initially his personal physician and later his vizier, to compile a detailed history of the Mongols. It was at the request of Ghāzān's brother and successor Öljeytü (703–716/1304–1316) that Rashīd al-Dīn subsequently added

to his already voluminous work the histories of all the important Eurasian peoples with whom the Mongols had come into contact during their conquests. Thus, on its completion in 710/1310, Rashīd al-Dīn's vast *Jāmiʿ al-tawārīkh* (*Collection of Histories*) had acquired the form in which we know it today, with the distinction of being the very first history of the world written in any language. Rashīd al-Dīn's section on the Ismāʿīlīs, Nizārī and pre-Nizārī, is contained in the second volume of the *Jāmiʿ al-tawārīkh*, the volume which is in fact the first universal history. This Ismāʿīlī section, more detailed than Juwaynī's account, is now available in print.[6]

In writing his own history of the Ismāʿīlīs, Rashīd al-Dīn undoubtedly made use of Juwaynī's work, which he quotes verbatim at some points. In addition, Rashīd al-Dīn seems to have had direct access to the Ismāʿīlī sources available to his predecessor, along with some other items which he names, whilst also making greater independent use of the Sunnī sources existing in his time. As a result, Rashīd al-Dīn's account of the Ismāʿīlīs is significantly fuller than Juwaynī's. Omitting very little which is found in Juwaynī except the invectives, Rashīd al-Dīn quotes more extensively from the Nizārī chronicles and preserves many details ignored by his predecessor. Furthermore, Rashīd al-Dīn, who displays a sense of objectivity not found in other Sunnī historians writing about the Ismāʿīlīs, seems to have utilized his Nizārī texts in the form in which he had found them. By contrast, Juwaynī wrote with a distinctly anti-Ismāʿīlī bias, often manifesting itself in their outright condemnation, a position not incomprehensible for a Sunnī historian aiming to please a master who had almost exterminated the Nizārī Ismāʿīlīs of Persia.

Rashīd al-Dīn's closer and fuller treatment of the Ismāʿīlī sources, in contrast to Juwaynī's, has continued to puzzle some scholars, since Juwaynī ordered the destruction of the library at Alamūt which he alone apparently utilized for his history. It has also been suggested that perhaps Rashīd al-Dīn used an earlier, fuller draft of Juwaynī's history, which is no longer extant. It is more reasonable to assume, however, that Rashīd al-Dīn had direct access to some of the Ismāʿīlī books which originally belonged to the collections held at fortresses other than Alamūt, or which were possessed by individual Nizārīs, books which had somehow survived the Mongol débâcle. It is also possible, as it was one of the methods adopted in compiling the *Jāmiʿ al-tawārīkh*, that Rashīd al-Dīn had personal contact with some Nizārīs who possessed such manuscripts. In this connection, it should be added that Rashīd al-Dīn's grandfather, Muwaffaq al-Dawla ʿAlī, had been at Alamūt for some time as a guest when that fortress surrendered to Hülegü. It is, therefore, not unlikely that Muwaffaq al-Dawla, who was received into Hülegü's service, might have come into the possession of some Ismāʿīlī books, in addition to developing friendly relations with the Nizārīs.

Chronologically, our third major authority on the Nizārīs from amongst the Persian historians of the Mongol period is Jamāl al-Dīn Abu'l-Qāsim ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAlī Kāshānī (al-Qāshānī), a relatively unknown chronicler belonging to the Abū Ṭāhir family of leading potters from Kāshān. Few details are known about the life of this Persian Imāmī Shīʿī historian who also held official posts in Īlkhānid administration. Having served Öljeytü, Kāshānī worked as a secretary in the court of Öljeytü's son and successor Abū Saʿīd (717–736/1317–1335), the last effective member of his dynasty, who ordered the execution of Rashīd al-Dīn. It is known that Kāshānī was associated with Rashīd al-Dīn and most probably worked, under his supervision, on parts of the *Jāmiʿ al-tawārīkh*. Kāshānī in fact claims that he himself was the real author of that work.[7] He died around 738/1337–1338. He produced a chronicle of Öljeytü's reign and a general history of the Muslim world down to the fall of the ʿAbbāsid caliphate, entitled the *Zubdat al-tawārīkh*. The latter history, dedicated to Öljeytü and still unpublished, contains a section on the Ismāʿīlīs, following the model of Juwaynī and Rashīd al-Dīn. Kāshānī's history of the Ismāʿīlīs is very similar to Rashīd al-Dīn's account and is related to it, especially considering the fact that Kāshānī most probably participated in the compilation of the *Jāmiʿ al-tawārīkh*.[8] The two versions, however, differ at some points, and Kāshānī mentions details missing in both Juwaynī and Rashīd al-Dīn.

Later Persian historians produced summary accounts of Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ and his successors at Alamūt, based mainly on Juwaynī and Rashīd al-Dīn, but also occasionally drawing on sources of legendary origins. Amongst such later Persian authors writing general histories, with a separate section devoted to the Ismāʿīlīs, the earliest and perhaps the most famous one is Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī Qazwīnī. He was appointed financial director of his native town of Qazwīn and of several neighbouring districts by the vizier Rashīd al-Dīn, his master and patron, who encouraged his historical studies. Ḥamd Allāh used Juwaynī, Kāshānī, and especially Rashīd al-Dīn, amongst other authorities mentioned by him, in compiling his *Taʾrīkh-i guzīda*, a general history of Islam and the Islamic dynasties of Persia.[9] This work, completed in 730/1330, was dedicated to Ghiyāth al-Dīn Muḥammad, the son and successor of Rashīd al-Dīn. Ḥamd Allāh died after 740/1339–1340, the year in which he composed, at least partially, his *Nuzhat al-qulūb*, a manual of cosmography and geography. Ḥamd Allāh's contemporary al-Shabānkāraʾī also included a short and hostile account of Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ and his successors in his concise general history.[10] This work, too, originally completed in 736/1335–1336, was dedicated to the vizier Ghiyāth al-Dīn Muḥammad. Upon the vizier's death and the pillaging of his house in 736 AH, however, this history was lost and the author, also a panegyrist at the court of Abū Saʿīd, rewrote it in 743/1342–1343.

Amongst later Persian chroniclers writing on the Ismāʿīlīs, a special place is occupied by ʿAbd Allāh b. Luṭf Allāh b. ʿAbd al-Rashīd al-Bihdādīnī, better known

under his *laqab* of Ḥāfiẓ Abrū (d. 833/1430). This Sunnī historian of the Tīmūrid period, who joined the suite of Tīmūr and became the court historian of Tīmūr's son and successor Shāhrukh (807–850/1405–1447), produced several historical and geographical works, based mainly on earlier authorities. In 826/1423, at the request of Bāysunghur (d. 837/1433), Shāhrukh's son and a noteworthy patron of the arts, Ḥāfiẓ Abrū began to compile a vast universal history in four volumes. In the third volume of his *Majmaʿ al-tawārīkh*, Ḥāfiẓ Abrū devotes an extensive section to the Fāṭimid caliphs and the Persian Nizārī state, following closely, with certain omissions, the account of Rashīd al-Dīn.[11] Amongst subsequent Persian chroniclers who produced relatively detailed accounts of the Fāṭimids and the Persian Nizārī rulers, though still less detailed than that of Ḥāfiẓ Abrū, one of the more noteworthy ones, whose general history has been published in numerous extracts in Europe since the earlier decades of the nineteenth century, is Muḥammad b. Khwāndshāh, known as Mīrkhwānd (d. 903/1498).[12] The latter's grandson, Ghiyāth al-Dīn b. Humām al-Dīn Muḥammad, surnamed Khwānd Amīr (d. 942/1535–1536), also included a section on the Ismāʿīlīs in his own general history, completed in 930/1524.[13] The Fāṭimids and the Nizārī rulers of Alamūt continued to be treated, to various extents, in the general Persian histories of subsequent times.[14] It should be noted that when discussing the Nizārīs, these Persian historians concern themselves almost exclusively with the history of the Nizārī state in Persia, making only minor references to the Syrian Nizārīs.

There are other historical sources on the Persian Nizārīs of the Alamūt period. Numerous accounts of events and other relevant details are contained in the contemporary and near contemporary chronicles of the Saljūq empire. The earliest Saljūq history with references to the Nizārīs, is the already-noted *Nuṣrat al-fatra*, written in 579/1183 by ʿImād al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Kātib al-Iṣfahānī (d. 597/1201), now extant only in an abridgement, *Zubdat al-nuṣra*, compiled in 623/1226 by al-Bundārī. There are, too, the *Saljūq-nāma* of Ẓahīr al-Dīn Nīshāpūrī, composed around 580/1184 and used by most later chroniclers, a work written around 622/1225 and ascribed to Ṣadr al-Dīn ʿAlī al-Ḥusaynī;[15] and especially Najm al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Rāwandī's *Rāḥat al-ṣudūr*, an important history of the Great Saljūqs completed in 603/1206–1207 and containing many references to the Persian Nizārīs. The medieval local histories of the Caspian provinces, starting with Ibn Isfandiyār's *Taʾrīkh-i Ṭabaristān*, written at least partly in 613/1216–1217, provide another category of historical sources on the Nizārīs of northern Persia during the Alamūt and early post-Alamūt periods. Finally, the Persian Nizārīs are mentioned in many of the general histories of the Arab authors, amongst which the most comprehensive is that of Ibn al-Athīr (d. 630/1233). This chronicle contains much relevant information on the Persian and Syrian Nizārīs.

The different primary sources of information on the Syrian Nizārīs have been fully discussed by Bernard Lewis.[16] The Nizārīs of Syria produced their own religious literature in Arabic during the earliest centuries of their history and they also preserved many of the Fāṭimid Ismāʿīlī treatises, including some of the works of al-Qāḍī al-Nuʿmān and Jaʿfar b. Manṣūr al-Yaman. The Persian Nizārī works of the Alamūt period were evidently not translated into Arabic in Syria, and similarly, the Ismāʿīlī literature originating in Syria was not rendered into Persian. Furthermore, there is no evidence that the Syrian Nizārīs kept chronicles similar to those maintained by their Persian co-religionists, and which were cited by Juwaynī, Rashīd al-Dīn and Kāshānī. Most of what the Syrian Nizārī authors produced independently of the Persian sources, however, has not survived, even though the Nizārīs in Syria were spared the Mongol catastrophe. The literature of the Syrian Nizārīs has been destroyed throughout the centuries during constant entanglements with neighbouring communities, especially the Nuṣayrīs. Amongst the few surviving Nizārī works of Syrian provenance,[17] a significant place is occupied by the hagiographic and legendary biography of Rāshid al-Dīn Sinān, the most famous leader of the Syrian Nizārīs. The surviving archaeological evidence and especially the epigraphic inscriptions at Maṣyāf and other Nizārī castles in the Jabal Bahrāʾ have also yielded some valuable historical information.[18]

The main literary sources on the history of the Syrian Nizārīs, from the arrival of the first emissaries of Alamūt in Aleppo around the earliest years of the twelfth century AD until the complete subjugation of the Nizārī fortresses by the Mamlūks in 671/1273, are the regional histories of Syria and the general Arabic chronicles.[19] Unfortunately however, many of the relevant regional histories have not survived directly or still remain unpublished, and only a few have been critically edited. Amongst such authorities whose works are extant, the chief ones are Ibn al-Qalānisī (d. 555/1160), utilized by most later chroniclers, Ibn al-ʿAdīm (d. 660/1262),[20] the historian of Aleppo, Ibn al-Athīr, who uses several sources no longer extant, and the historian Ibn al-Jawzī's grandson known as Sibṭ Ibn al-Jawzī (d. 654/1256).[21] There are also some works by lesser-known historians such as Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Tanūkhī, known as al-ʿAẓīmī (d. after 556/1161),[22] a chronicler of Aleppo, as well as the anonymous *Bustān al-jāmiʿ*, written in the 6th/12th century.[23] As we shall see, Ibn al-ʿAdīm is a valuable source also for the biography of Rāshid al-Dīn Sinān, who led the Syrian Nizārīs to the zenith of their power during the period 557–589/1162–1193. For these years, Ibn Shaddād (d. 632/1235), the biographer of Saladin, is another important primary authority. For the subsequent period, until the accession of Baybars I in 658/1260, aside from Ibn al-ʿAdīm, Ibn al-Athīr and Sibṭ Ibn al-Jawzī, other authorities are Abū Shāma (d. 665/1267) and Ibn Wāṣil (d. 697/1298). These Sunnī historians, writing

mainly during the Ayyūbid and Mamlūk periods in Syria, are generally hostile towards the Ismāʿīlīs. The Syrian Nizārīs are also mentioned in certain biographical works, memoirs and travel accounts, amongst other types of non-historical sources. In addition, most of the occidental chroniclers of the Crusaders make some reference to the Syrian Nizārīs. Amongst such writers, William of Tyre was the earliest to have produced a general account of the Syrian Nizārīs, setting the pattern for later descriptions by Europeans.

We have already traced the main steps in the development of modern Nizārī studies. As a result of the recovery and study of the meagre Nizārī literature dating from the Alamūt period and the post-Alamūt works quoting earlier texts, as well as the evidence preserved by the Persian and Arabic chronicles, we now possess a much better knowledge of the history and doctrines of the Nizārīs during the Alamūt period. More than anyone else, W. Ivanow has been responsible in modern times for the re-evaluation of the Nizārīs and our understanding of Nizārī Ismāʿīlism of the Alamūt period. He is undoubtedly the founder of modern Nizārī studies. Besides Ivanow, only a very few modern Islamicists and Ismāʿīlī specialists have produced any major work on the Nizārīs. The chief contributor here was the late Marshall G. S. Hodgson, who wrote what served for several decades as the standard book on the history and doctrines of the Persian Nizārīs during the Alamūt period, with a shorter treatment of the Syrian Nizārīs.[24] Subsequently, Bernard Lewis, known particularly for his studies of the Syrian Nizārīs, and Pio Filippani-Ronconi produced scholarly though less detailed monographs on the Nizārīs.[25] In Russia, after the earlier studies and with the major recent exception of Lyudmila V. Stroeva (1910–1993), who devoted a book to the Nizārī state of the Alamūt period set within Marxist class-conflict perspectives,[26] the Nizārīs have not received much attention. In more recent decades, there have appeared a number of rather popular books on the Nizārīs of the Alamūt period.[27]

Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ and the struggle of the Persian Ismāʿīlīs

By the final decades of al-Mustanṣir's imamate, the Ismāʿīlīs of Persia and elsewhere in the Muslim East had by and large rallied to the side of the Fāṭimid *daʿwa*, centrally directed from Cairo. The success of Fāṭimid Ismāʿīlism in the eastern lands had come about as a result of the activities of numerous *dāʿī*s operating in those regions over a long period, while at the same time dissident Ismāʿīlism of the Qarmaṭī kind had rapidly begun to lose its appeal due to the declining fortunes of the Qarmaṭīs of Baḥrayn and southern ʿIrāq. Even though the Fāṭimid caliphate was now beset by numerous difficulties, the Fāṭimid Ismāʿīlī *daʿwa* had not ceased in Persia, as the Turkish Sunnī Saljūqs replaced the various local

dynasties from Būyid times. In fact, the Ismāʿīlī movement had continued to be strong in Persia, with a growing number of converts in different towns as well as amongst the soldiery and the inhabitants of the northern highlands supporting the Fāṭimid Ismāʿīlī *daʿwa* and acknowledging al-Mustanṣir as the rightful imam of the time. Few details are available on the specific ideas preached at the time in Persia and the adjacent regions by the Ismāʿīlī *dāʿī*s, who maintained their close contacts with the *daʿwa* headquarters in Cairo. It seems that the *dāʿī*s emphasized existing social injustices while also capitalizing, in a general sense, on the dislike of the Persians for their new Turkish rulers.

The eastern Ismāʿīlīs were not unaware of the declining power of the Fāṭimid caliphate, and consequently they did not expect to rely on the continued central leadership of the *daʿwa* headquarters in Cairo. For some time prior to the Nizārī–Mustaʿlī schism, the Persian Ismāʿīlīs in the Saljūq territories seem to have owned the authority of a single chief *dāʿī* who had his headquarters at Iṣfahān, the main Saljūq capital. At least by the early 460s/1070s, the *dāʿī* at Iṣfahān was ʿAbd al-Malik b. ʿAṭṭāsh, who headed the Ismāʿīlī movement throughout the central and western regions of Persia, from Kirmān to Ādharbayjān. He may have been responsible for the *daʿwa* activities in some other regions as well. It is not known with certainty, however, whether he provided overall supervision for the *dāʿī*s operating in Khurāsān, Quhistān (Persian, Kūhistān), and ʿIrāq. Ibn ʿAṭṭāsh himself evidently received his general instructions from Cairo where the *dāʿī al-duʿāt* then was Badr al-Jamālī, who had succeeded to that position in 470/1078 after al-Muʾayyad al-Shīrāzī. Few details are known about Ibn ʿAṭṭāsh, a learned man who seems to have been respected for his learning even in Sunnī circles. As the *dāʿī* at Iṣfahān, he came to be behind the renewed Ismāʿīlī activities in many parts of the Saljūq dominions and, significantly enough, he was also responsible for launching the career of Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ in the service of the Ismāʿīlī *daʿwa*.[28]

On Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ, as noted, we have fragments of an Ismāʿīlī biography, preserved by later Persian historians, the first part of which seems to have been based on his lost autobiography. According to these quotations from the anonymous *Sargudhasht-i Sayyidnā*,[29] Ḥasan was born in the mid-440s/1050s in Qumm into a Twelver Shīʿī family. His father, ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar b. al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad b. al-Ṣabbāḥ al-Ḥimyarī, a Kūfan Arab claiming Yamanī origins, had migrated from the Sawād of Kūfa to the traditionally Shīʿī town of Qumm in Persia. Subsequently, the Ṣabbāḥ family had moved to the nearby city of Rayy, where the youthful Ḥasan received his early religious education as a Twelver Shīʿī. It was at Rayy, the centre of the Ismāʿīlī *daʿwa* in the Jibāl, that soon after the age of seventeen Ḥasan was introduced to Ismāʿīlī doctrines by a certain Amīra Ḍarrāb, one of the several local Ismāʿīlī *dāʿī*s. Until then, Ḥasan had thought of Ismāʿīlism as 'heretical philosophy', not deserving serious consideration.

However, on reading some Ismāʿīlī books and receiving gradual instruction from Amīra Ḍarrāb and other Ismāʿīlī *dāʿī*s at Rayy, Ḥasan became convinced of the legitimacy of the imamate of Ismāʿīl b. Jaʿfar and his successors and was won over by the Fāṭimid Ismāʿīlī *daʿwa*. Thus, he was initiated and took the oath of allegiance (*ʿahd*) to al-Mustanṣir, whom he had now come to regard as the rightful imam of the time. Soon afterwards, in Ramaḍān 464/May–June 1072, the initiated Ḥasan was brought to the attention of the *dāʿī* Ibn ʿAṭṭāsh, who was then visiting Rayy. Ibn ʿAṭṭāsh approved of Ḥasan and evidently recognized his capabilities, appointing him to a post in the *daʿwa* organization. At the same time, Ibn ʿAṭṭāsh urged Ḥasan to proceed to Cairo to further his training as Nāṣir-i Khusraw had done three decades earlier. A few years had to pass, however, before Ḥasan could embark on his journey to Fāṭimid Egypt.

The *Sargudhasht-i Sayyidnā* also contains a colourful legend about a schoolfellow vow exchanged by Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ, Niẓām al-Mulk, and ʿUmar Khayyām. This tale was first quoted by Rashīd al-Dīn and then repeated by several later Persian historians.[30] In modern times, the tale was introduced into the West by Edward FitzGerald (1809–1883) in the introduction to his English rendition of Khayyām's quatrains.[31] It should be added, however, that FitzGerald evidently derived the tale from Mirkhwānd, who had recounted a different version of it based on a spurious work, the *Waṣāyā*, attributed to Niẓām al-Mulk.[32] According to this tale of the three schoolfellows, Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ, Niẓām al-Mulk, and the astronomer-poet ʿUmar Khayyām had been in their youth students of the same master at Nīshāpūr. They made a pact that whichever of them rose to a high position first would help the other two. In due time, Niẓām al-Mulk succeeded to the vizierate in the Saljūq empire, and his schoolfellows now came forth with their claims. Niẓām al-Mulk offered them provincial governorships, which they both refused for different reasons. Khayyām, not desiring public office, contented himself with receiving a regular stipend from the vizier. But the ambitious Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ sought a higher post at the Saljūq court. Ḥasan's wish was granted, and soon he became a serious rival to Niẓām al-Mulk. Consequently, Niẓām al-Mulk plotted against Ḥasan and eventually succeeded in disgracing him before the sultan. Ḥasan fled to Rayy and then to Egypt, while contemplating his revenge. Suffice it to say that on account of the discrepancies in age of its protagonists, who were also raised in different towns in their youth, most modern scholars have dismissed this story as a fable.

In 467/1074–1075 Ibn ʿAṭṭāsh returned to his secret headquarters at Iṣfahān, taking Ḥasan with him. Subsequently in 469/1076, when al-Muʾayyad was still the chief *dāʿī* at Cairo, Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ finally set off from Iṣfahān for Egypt with Ibn ʿAṭṭāsh's permission and help. First he travelled north to Ādharbayjān and thence to Mayyāfāriqīn. There, he held religious disputations, refuting the

authority of the Sunnī *ʿulamāʾ* and asserting the exclusive right of the imam to interpret religion. He was expelled by the town's Sunnī *qāḍī*. Ḥasan then proceeded to Mawṣil and Damascus. In Syria, he found that the land route to Egypt was blocked by the military operations of Atsiz, who had revolted against the Fāṭimids. Ḥasan was therefore obliged to turn to the coast, and travelling first through Beirut, Sidon, Tyre, Acre and Caesarea he then sailed to Egypt. He arrived in Cairo in Ṣafar 471/August 1078, when Badr al-Jamālī had already succeeded al-Muʾayyad al-Shīrāzī as chief *dāʿī* in addition to holding other important posts. Almost nothing is known about Ḥasan's experiences in Fāṭimid Egypt, where he stayed for about three years, first in Cairo and then in Alexandria. He did not, however, see al-Mustanṣir. According to later Nizārī sources used by Juwaynī and Rashīd al-Dīn, whilst in Egypt Ḥasan incurred the jealousy of the vizier Badr al-Jamālī, because of his support for Nizār. According to another anachronistic detail of the later sources, cited also by Ibn al-Athīr, al-Mustanṣir personally revealed to Ḥasan that his successor would be Nizār.[33] It is certain that Ḥasan came into conflict with Badr al-Jamālī, which may also explain Ḥasan's stay in Alexandria, a base of opposition to Badr al-Jamālī. According to Nizārī sources used by our Persian historians, Ḥasan's conflict with Badr revolved around Nizār whose cause he upheld in due course. Eventually Ḥasan seems to have been banished from Egypt to North Africa, but the ship on which he was travelling was wrecked and he was saved and taken to Syria. On his return journey, Ḥasan travelled through Aleppo, Baghdad and Khūzistān, and finally arrived in Iṣfahān in Dhu'l-Ḥijja 473/June 1081.[34]

Ḥasan seems to have learned important lessons in Egypt. By that time, the Persian Ismāʿīlīs were already aware of the declining power of the Fāṭimid regime, and the shrewd Ḥasan had personally witnessed the difficulties of al-Mustanṣir at the very centre of the Fāṭimid state. He must have realized that the Fāṭimid regime, then under the effective control of Badr al-Jamālī, lacked both the means and the resolve to assist the Persian Ismāʿīlīs in their struggle against the Saljūqs. It was in recognition of these realities that Ḥasan eventually chartered an independent course of action.

Upon returning to Persia, Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ travelled extensively in the service of the *daʿwa* for nine years. It was during this crucial period that Ḥasan formulated his revolutionary strategy and evaluated the military strength of the Saljūqs in different parts of Persia. Initially, he went to Kirmān and Yazd, where he preached Ismāʿīlism for a while. Then, he spent three months in Khūzistān before going to Dāmghān, where he stayed for three years. Gradually Ḥasan had come to realize the difficulties of achieving success in the central and western parts of the country, the centres of Saljūq power. He now concentrated his attention on the Caspian provinces and the northern highlands of Persia, the general region of Daylam

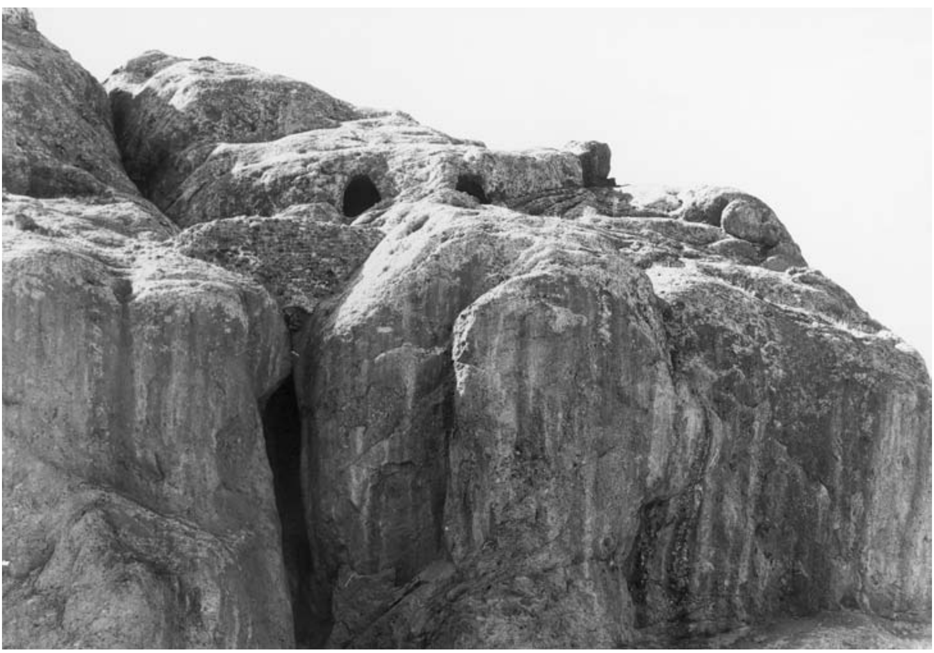
which had traditionally been a safe refuge for ʿAlids. Daylam, a stronghold of Zaydī Shīʿism, was not only out of the reach of the Saljūqs, but it had also been penetrated by the Ismāʿīlī *daʿwa*. Ḥasan began planning a major revolt and searching for a suitable site to establish his headquarters. At the time, the *daʿwa* in Persia was still under the overall direction of ʿAbd al-Malik b. ʿAṭṭāsh.

By around 480/1087, Ḥasan seems to have chosen the remote and inaccessible castle of Alamūt in Daylamān as the best possible stronghold to serve as the base of operations for his activities. From his initial base at Dāmghān, and then from Shahriyārkūh in Māzandarān, he despatched a number of *dāʿī*s, including Ismāʿīl Qazwīnī, Muḥammad Jamāl Rāzī and Kiyā Abu'l-Qāsim Lārījānī, to various districts around Alamūt to convert the local inhabitants. Ḥasan, who was eventually appointed *dāʿī* of Daylam, was indeed now reinvigorating the Ismāʿīlī *daʿwa* in Persia, and his activities did not escape the attention of Niẓām al-Mulk who nurtured a deep hatred towards the Ismāʿīlīs. He ordered Abū Muslim, the governor of Rayy and his son-in-law, to arrest Ḥasan. (Abū Muslim, it may be noted, was assassinated in 488/1095 by a Persian Ismāʿīlī.) But Ḥasan managed to remain in hiding, and, having carefully planned the seizure of Alamūt, he proceeded in due time to Daylamān. Choosing a mountainous route to avoid the authorities at Rayy, he first spent some time at Qazwīn.

At the time of Ḥasan's arrival at Qazwīn, the castle of Alamūt was in the hands of a certain Zaydī ʿAlid called Mahdī, who held it from Sultan Malikshāh. He was a descendant of al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī al-Uṭrūsh (d. 304/917), one of the ʿAlid rulers of Ṭabaristān and a Zaydī imam better known under his title of al-Nāṣir li'l-Ḥaqq, who founded the separate Zaydī community of the Nāṣiriyya in the Caspian region.[35] Some of the soldiers under Mahdī's command had already been secretly converted to Ismāʿīlism by Ḥasan's emissaries, notably Ḥusayn Qāʾinī, and Mahdī, aiming to dispose of the converts in his garrison, pretended to have accepted the *daʿwa*. From Qazwīn, Ḥasan sent yet another *dāʿī* to Alamūt, who won more converts. Ḥasan also infiltrated the Alamūt area with Ismāʿīlīs from elsewhere. The final preparations were completed by the early months of the year 483 AH, and thereupon Ḥasan moved closer to his target, going to Ashkawar and then Anjirūd, adjacent to Alamūt. On the eve of Wednesday 6 Rajab 483/4 September 1090, Ḥasan secretly entered the castle of Alamūt. He lived there for a while in disguise, calling himself Dihkhudā and instructing the children of the garrison as a teacher. In due time, Mahdī learnt of Ḥasan's presence in the castle, realizing that he had been tricked. The bulk of Alamūt's garrison and many of the inhabitants of the surrounding districts had already embraced Ismāʿīlism, rendering Mahdī powerless to defend his position. Ḥasan permitted Mahdī to leave peacefully and, according to our Persian chroniclers, gave him a draft for 3000 gold dinars as the price of the castle. The draft, drawn on the *raʾīs* Muẓaffar,



4. The rock of Alamūt



5. Some fortifications on the rock of Alamūt

the future governor of Girdkūh and Dāmghān and a secret convert to Ismāʿīlism, was honoured in due time, to Mahdī's astonishment.[36]

The seizure of Alamūt in 483/1090, marking the effective foundation of what was to become the Nizārī state, initiated a new phase in the activities of the Persian Ismāʿīlīs who had hitherto operated clandestinely. Henceforth, the *daʿwa* in Persia adopted a new policy of open revolt aimed at the heart of the Saljūq regime, and the capture of Alamūt represented the first blow in that Ismāʿīlī revolt. Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ seems to have had a complex set of religio-political motives for his struggle against the Saljūqs. As an Ismāʿīlī Shīʿī, he clearly could not tolerate the anti-Shīʿī policies of the Saljūqs, who as the new champions of Sunnī Islam had also sworn to uproot Fāṭimid Ismāʿīlī rule. Less conspicuously, Ḥasan's revolt was an expression of Persian 'national' sentiment – a factor that accounts for its early popular appeal and widespread success in Persia. The trend towards the Turkish domination of the Iranian lands, initiated by the establishment of the Ghaznawid and Qarakhānid dynasties, had reached a climax under the Saljūqs, who threatened the revival of Persian culture and sentiment. This revival of a specifically Persianized Islamic culture had been based on the sentiment of the Islamicized Persians, who remained conscious of their Persian identity and cultural heritage in spite of centuries of Arab domination. This process, pioneered by the Ṣaffārids and maintained by the Sāmānids and the Būyids, had become irrevocable by the time of the Saljūqs, when the conversion of Persians to Islam was finally completed.[37] The Saljūq Turks were aliens in Persia and their rule was intensely detested by various social classes there. Anti-Saljūq sentiment was further aggravated by the anarchy and depredation visited on towns and villages by the Turks and their unruly soldiers, who were continuously drawn to Persia in new waves from Central Asia through Saljūq victories. Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ himself openly resented the Turks and their rule. He referred to the Saljūq sultan as a mere ignorant Turk,[38] and he is also reported to have said that the Turks were *jinn* not human beings.[39] It is also significant that Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ, as an expression of his Persian identity and in spite of his intense Islamic piety, adopted Persian in place of Arabic as the religious language of the Ismāʿīlīs of Persia. This was indeed the first time that a major Muslim community had chosen Persian as its religious language. It also explains why the Persian-speaking Nizārī Ismāʿīlī communities of Persia, Afghanistan and Central Asia produced their literature entirely in Persian during the Alamūt period and later times.

The early success of Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ's revolt in Persia was also rooted in certain economic grievances shared by the country's landless villagers and highlanders, as well as artisans and craftsmen, representing largely underprivileged social classes in Saljūq dominions. In Daylam, Quhistān and elsewhere, these masses were subject to the oppressive rule of numerous Saljūq *amīr*s who held and administered

different localities as their *iqṭāʿ*, or alloted land, on behalf of the sultan. The *amīr*s levied taxes on people who cultivated the land or lived under their jurisdiction, and maintained local armies to assist the sultan as required. To all intents and purposes, the Saljūq institution of *iqṭāʿ* led to the virtual subjugation of the Persian peasantry by the alien Turks. A variety of townspeople, too, including especially artisans and the dispossessed lower classes, were dissatisfied with the social order under the Saljūqs and their excessive taxes levied in urban areas. By contrast, those who became incorporated into Ismāʿīlī territories in Persia were treated more equitably in a society dedicated to the ideal of social justice. No details are available on the actual tax system and the nature of the religious dues within the Ismāʿīlī territories of Persia. But it is known that the booty acquired in Ismāʿīlī campaigns was distributed equally among all. Also, the Ismāʿīlīs viewed their participation in collective projects, such as improving the irrigation system of particular localities or the construction of castles, as public activities beneficial to the entire community. It is also noteworthy that strict class strata and distinctions of the sort developed under the Saljūqs did not exist among the Persian Ismāʿīlīs, who referred to one another as *rafīq* or comrade, as is fitting in a revolutionary movement. Any capable individual could rise to a leadership position as governor of a stronghold or chief *dāʿī* in a region. Most Nizārī leaders, in fact, came from modest social backgrounds. Moreover, Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ by his own austere lifestyle set an example for the other Ismāʿīlī leaders, who were not accorded particular privileges such as those enjoyed by Saljūq *amīr*s. Together with the fact that Ismāʿīlī territories were not subject to the alien rule of Turks, all this contributed to the early success and popularity of the struggle of the Persian Ismāʿīlīs against the Saljūq Turks.

The widespread support extended to the Ismāʿīlīs was initially concentrated in rural areas. They also received help, in both towns and rural areas, from large numbers who may not have been necessarily Ismāʿīlī but sympathized with the Ismāʿīlī revolt for a variety of socio-economic as well as political grievances against the Saljūq order. Without such broad support, the Persian Ismāʿīlīs might not have been able to sustain their struggle against the Saljūqs, with their superior military power, for as long as they did. It was to the ultimate goal of uprooting Saljūq rule that Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ dedicated himself and organized the Persian Ismāʿīlīs into a formidable and highly disciplined revolutionary force.

The fortress of Alamūt in Daylamān was situated about thirty-five kilometres northeast of Qazwīn in the region of Rūdbār, named after the river Shāhrūd flowing through it. The region, as noted earlier, was the traditional seat of the Justānid rulers of Daylam, one of whom is said to have constructed the castle of Alamūt in 246/860. Subsequently, the area came under the influence of the Musāfirids and the castle was held for some time by Zaydī ʿAlids until its capture

by the Ismāʿīlīs. According to legend, an eagle had indicated the site to a Daylamī ruler, whence its name of Alamūt in the Daylamī dialect, derived from *āluh* (eagle) and *āmū(kh)t* (taught).[40] The fortress itself, constructed on top of a high jagged rock in front of the massive Hawdigān range in the central Alburz mountains, dominated a fertile valley surrounded by mountains on all sides. Access to the fortress was evidently possible only through a narrow, steep and winding path on the northern face of the Alamūt rock. The fortress was truly impregnable and it was apparently never taken by force. Ḥasan immediately embarked on the task of renovating the castle, which was in great need of repair, improving its fortifications, storage facilities and water supply. He also improved and extended the systems of irrigation and cultivation of crops in the Alamūt valley, where many trees were also planted.[41]

Once Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ was firmly established at Alamūt, he despatched *dāʿīs* and agents in various directions to spread the *daʿwa*. His immediate objectives, however, were to convert the rest of Rūdbār and adjacent areas in Daylam, and to gain possession of more castles in the neighbourhood of his headquarters. He exerted every effort to capture, by conversion or assault, the places adjacent to Alamūt or in its vicinity, taking such castles as he could and, further, wherever he found a suitable rock he built a castle upon it. Ḥasan's religio-political message soon evoked popular support among the Daylamīs, highlanders and villagers who were already familiar with different forms of Shīʿism, including Ismāʿīlism. Ḥasan also attracted at least some of the Khurramiyya in Ādharbayjān and elsewhere who, as an expression of their own Persian sentiments, referred to themselves as Pārsiyān.[42] The Khurramiyya, it may be recalled, had remained active in different parts of the Iranian world throughout ʿAbbāsid times, manifesting anti-Arab and anti-Turkish sentiments.

Soon Ḥasan's headquarters were raided by Saljūq forces under the command of the nearest military lord, a certain *amīr* Yūrun Tāsh, who held the district of Alamūt as his *iqṭāʿ* granted by the Saljūq sultan. He constantly attacked the foot of Alamūt and massacred the Ismāʿīlīs of the area. As the store of provisions was still inadequate in Alamūt, its occupants were reduced to great distress and they suggested abandoning the fortress. Ḥasan, however, persuaded the garrison to continue resisting, claiming to have received a special message from the Imam al-Mustanṣir, who promised them good fortune. For this reason, Alamūt was to be called the *baldat al-iqbāl*, or the 'city of good fortune'.

Meanwhile, in 484/1091–1092, Ḥasan sent Ḥusayn Qāʾinī, a capable *dāʿī* who had played a prominent role in the capture of Alamūt, to his native Quhistān to organize activities there. Quhistān, a barren region in southeastern Khurāsān, was to become another major area of Ismāʿīlī activity in Persia. There, the situation

was even more favourable. The Quhistānīs were highly discontented with the oppressive rule of a local Saljūq *amīr*. Consequently, the Ismāʿīlī penetration of Quhistān did not merely unfold in terms of a secret conversion of the populace and the capture of the existing castles, but it erupted into what amounted to a popular uprising against the Saljūqs. Thus in Quhistān the Ismāʿīlī call met with immediate success, and in many parts of that region the Ismāʿīlīs seized control of main towns, such as Tūn, Ṭabas, Qāʾin and Zūzan. In eastern Quhistān, as in Rūdbār, the Ismāʿīlīs had thus succeeded in asserting their local independence from the Saljūqs. The Ismāʿīlīs of Quhistān were placed under the authority of a chief local leader designated from Alamūt and known as *muḥtasham*.[43] The Persian Ismāʿīlīs had now virtually founded an independent territorial state of their own in two regions.

Upon realizing that the local Saljūq agents could not check the Ismāʿīlīs, Malikshāh decided early in 485/1092, doubtless on the advice of his vizier Niẓām al-Mulk, to send armies against the Ismāʿīlīs of both Rūdbār and Quhistān. Henceforth, Persian Ismāʿīlīs were drawn into an endless series of military encounters with the Saljūqs.[44] Meanwhile, the Rūdbār expedition, led by the *amīr* Arslān Tāsh, reached Alamūt in Jumādā I 485 AH. At the time, Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ had with him only about seventy men with limited supplies. Besieged by the Saljūq forces, he appealed for help to one of his *dāʿī*s, a certain Dihdār Abū ʿAlī Ardistānī, who resided in Qazwīn and had converted many people there, as well as in Ṭāliqān, Rayy and elsewhere. The *dāʿī* gathered a force of 300 Ismāʿīlīs who broke through the siege lines into Alamūt, bringing the needed supplies. The reinforced Alamūt garrison, supported by some of the local converts in Rūdbār, made a surprise attack one evening at the end of Shaʿban 485/September–October 1092, and routed the army of Arslān Tāsh, forcing the Saljūqs to withdraw. Meanwhile, the Quhistān expedition under Qizil Sāriq, supported by extra troops from Khurāsān to the north and from Sīstān to the south, had apparently concentrated its attacks on the Ismāʿīlī castle of Dara, one of the dependencies of Muʾminābād and close to the border of Sīstān.[45] While the Saljūqs were contemplating further plans against Rūdbār, Niẓām al-Mulk was assassinated on 10 Ramaḍān 485/14 October 1092, near Ṣiḥna in western Persia as he was accompanying Malikshāh to Baghdad. Abū ʿAlī al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī al-Ṭūsī, carrying the honorific title of Niẓām al-Mulk, was a sworn enemy of the Ismāʿīlīs, and his murderer, a certain Abū Ṭāhir Arrānī, is generally thought to have been despatched by Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ. However, contemporaries seem to have considered Malikshāh, who had grown wary of his powerful vizier, as well as the sultan's wife Terken Khātūn, the instigators of this murder – a view endorsed increasingly also by modern scholarship on the subject.[46]

At any rate, when Malikshāh himself died shortly afterwards in Shawwāl 485/November 1092, the pending Saljūq plans for renewed action against Alamūt were abandoned. At the same time, on receiving the news of the sultan's death, the Quhistān expedition, which had failed to take Dara from the Ismāʿīlīs, dispersed, as the Saljūq forces traditionally owed their allegiance to the person of the ruler. On Malikshāh's death, the Saljūq empire was thrown into civil war and internal confusion, which lasted for more than a decade, marked by disunity among Malikshāh's sons and the constant shifting of alliances among the Saljūq *amīr*s who controlled various provinces in an independent fashion. Now there were rival claimants to the Saljūq sultanate, of whom the most prominent one was Malikshāh's eldest son Barkiyāruq. Although Maḥmūd, the four-year-old son of Malikshāh and Terken Khātūn, had immediately been proclaimed as sultan, Barkiyāruq, who initially enjoyed the support of the rival party of the Niẓāmiyya, consisting of the murdered vizier's relatives and partisans, was taken to Rayy where he was placed on the throne. Maḥmūd died in 487/1094, and Barkiyāruq was recognized by the new ʿAbbāsid caliph al-Mustaẓhir in Baghdad, the caliphal arbitration having already become a significant factor in the succession to the Saljūq sultanate. Now Barkiyāruq's chief rivals were his uncle Tutush, who held Syria as his appanage, and his half-brother Muhammad Tapar. Tutush was soon killed in battle at Rayy in 488/1095, while Barkiyāruq, whose seat of power was in western Persia and ʿIrāq, fought a series of indecisive battles with Muḥammad Tapar, who received much help from his brother Sanjar, the ruler of Khurāsān and Tukhāristān from 490/1097 onwards. On occasions when his fortunes were low, Barkiyāruq, who never enjoyed the reputation of being a strong defender of Sunnī Islam, accepted Ismāʿīlīs in his army. On one such occasion in 493/1100, when he was fighting his half-brother, Barkiyāruq is said to have received 5000 Ismāʿīlīs into his army. However, Barkiyāruq eventually purged the Ismāʿīlīs from his forces, and, towards the end of his reign, even encouraged the persecution of the Ismāʿīlīs in his territories. Peace was restored to the Saljūq dominion only on Barkiyāruq's death in 498/1105, when Muḥammad Tapar became the undisputed sultan and Sanjar remained at Balkh as his viceroy in the east.

During this period of civil war, when the Saljūq armies were quarrelling among themselves, the Ismāʿīlīs of Persia took advantage of the prevailing disorders to consolidate and extend their position, perhaps now finding even more sympathy for their message of resistance against the alien and oppressive Turkish rulers. The Ismāʿīlīs already held a number of fortresses in Daylam besides Alamūt, and controlled a group of towns and castles in Quhistān. They now began to seize more fortresses in widely scattered but still relatively inaccessible places. They extended their activities from the western to the central and eastern parts of the Alburz range, taking the fortresses of Manṣūrakūh and probably also

Mihrīn (Mihrnigār) to the north of Dāmghān, and Ustūnāwand in the district of Damāwand.[47] Around the same time, the Ismāʿīlīs took possession of one of their most important strongholds, Girdkūh, in this same medieval province of Qūmis. The fortress, built on a high rock, some fifteen kilometres northwest of Dāmghān, was situated strategically in the Alburz chain along the main route between western Persia and Khurāsān. The *raʾīs* Muʾayyad al-Dīn Muẓaffar b. Aḥmad al-Mustawfī, who had good connections among the Saljūq officers at Iṣfahān and who had been secretly converted to Ismāʿīlism by ʿAbd al-Malik b. ʿAṭṭāsh, persuaded his superior the Saljūq *amīr* Amīrdād Ḥabashī to acquire Girdkūh from Barkiyāruq and to install him there as his lieutenant. The sultan granted the request, and Ḥabashī acquired the castle, after forcing its reluctant Saljūq commandant to surrender in 489/1096. Thereupon, Ḥabashī appointed the *raʾīs* Muẓaffar as his lieutenant in Girdkūh. Muẓaffar, who still posed as a loyal Saljūq officer, immediately proceeded to make Girdkūh as self-sufficient as possible. It is reported that he had an extremely deep well dug in the solid rock of Girdkūh without reaching water, although years later, after an earthquake, a spring gushed out of it. It was near Girdkūh that Muẓaffar, with 5000 Ismāʿīlīs coming from Quhistān and other places, fought on the side of Ḥabashī and Barkiyāruq against the forces of Sanjar in 493/1100. However the Ismāʿīlīs failed to win the day for Barkiyāruq and Muẓaffar's patron, Ḥabashī, was killed in battle. Nevertheless, Muẓaffar succeeded in transferring Ḥabashī's treasure to Girdkūh, and some time later, having completed the fortification of the castle, openly declared himself an Ismāʿīlī. He stayed in Girdkūh a long time, taking orders from Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ and rendering valuable service to the Ismāʿīlī cause in Persia. The *raʾīs* Muẓaffar was succeeded in Girdkūh by his son, Sharaf al-Dīn Muḥammad, a learned man who had earlier spent some time in Alamūt.[48]

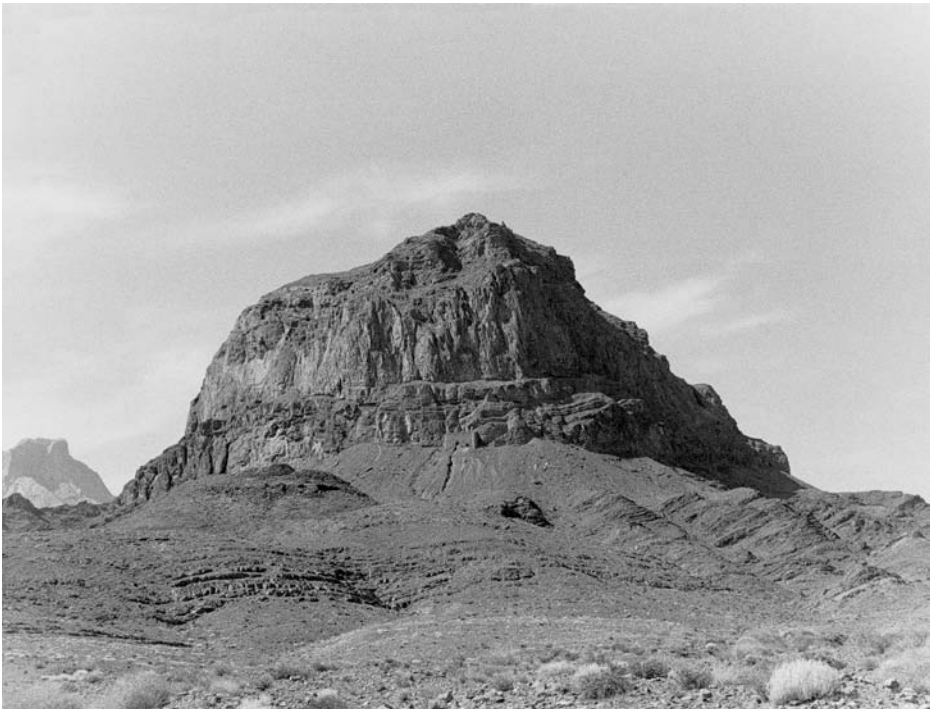
The Ismāʿīlīs had now also come to direct their attention to a new area in the Zagros range, the border region between the provinces of Khūzistān and Fārs in southwestern Persia. The Ismāʿīlī leader in this mountainous area was the *dāʿī* Abū Ḥamza, a shoemaker from Arrajān who, like Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ, had spent some time in Egypt. He seized at least two fortresses near the town of Arrajān and used them as bases for further Ismāʿīlī activity.[49] The Ismāʿīlī *daʿwa* spread to many towns and regions in the Saljūq empire, often with the temporary support of various Turkish *amīr*s. The Nizārīs achieved particular success in Kirmān, for instance, and even managed to win the local Saljūq ruler Bahāʾ al-Dawla Īrānshāh b. Tūrānshāh (490–494/1097–1101), to their side. But the Sunnī *ʿulamāʾ* of Kirmān soon aroused the townspeople against Īrānshāh and had him deposed and executed.[50] In 488/1095, a Saljūq vizier, al-Balāsānī, who himself adhered to Imāmī Shīʿism, entrusted the town of Takrīt on the Tigris north of Baghdad to an Ismāʿīlī officer, Kayqubād Daylamī. The Ismāʿīlīs held the citadel



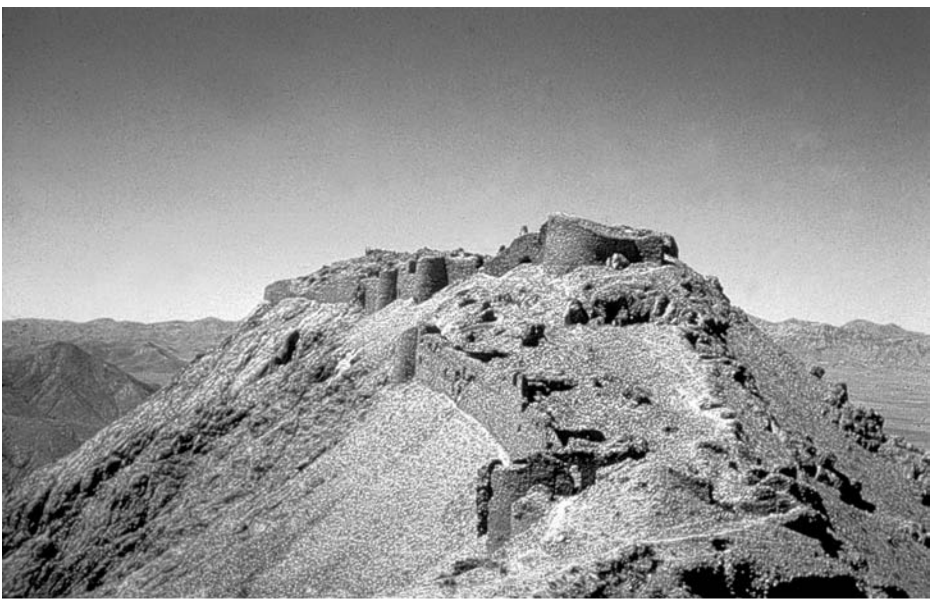
6. General view of the rock and castle of Lamasar



7. The castle of Shamīrān



8. The rock of Girdkūh



9. The castle of Qāʾin

of Takrīt, one of their few open strongholds, for twelve years, while the vizier who had given it to them was later accused of Ismāʿīlism and lynched by the Saljūq officers.[51]

Meanwhile, in Rūdbār, where the centre of their power was located, the Ismāʿīlīs were rapidly consolidating their position, benefiting from the continuing Saljūq quarrels. Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ systematically made Alamūt as impregnable as possible, ready to withstand an indefinite siege, while capturing several other fortresses in Rūdbār, often with the cooperation of the local leaders, who were assisted by the Ismāʿīlīs against domination from Rayy or Qazwīn. In 486/1093, the Ismāʿīlīs took the village of Anjirūd, repelling a force gathered there against them. In the same year, they defeated in Ṭāliqān an army of 10,000, consisting mainly of the Sunnī inhabitants of Rayy, led by Abū Muḥammad Zaʿfarānī, a leading Ḥanafī scholar from Rayy.[52] Soon afterwards, the Ismāʿīlīs of Rūdbār repelled another raid led by the *amīr* Nūshtagīn. With these Ismāʿīlī victories, the local chiefs in Daylam gradually submitted themselves to Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ and received his help in time of need. Ḥasan thus prepared the way for seizing Lamasar, also called Lambasar and Lanbasar, in the Rūdbār district of the upper Shāhrūd, tributary of the Safīdrūd, about forty kilometres northeast of Qazwīn and west of Alamūt. Lamasar was then held by a certain Rasāmūj and his relatives who, after submitting to Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ, had rebelled and repudiated their agreement with the Ismāʿīlīs, now wanting to entrust the castle to the Saljūq *amīr* Nūshtagīn. Ḥasan sent Kiyā Buzurg-Ummīd along with three other Ismāʿīlī chiefs, Kiyā Abū Jaʿfar, Kiyā Abū ʿAlī and Kiyā Garshāsb, to Lamasar. They assaulted the castle in Dhu'l-Qaʿda 489/November 1096, or in 495/1102 according to Juwaynī. Ḥasan appointed Buzurg-Ummīd as the governor of Lamasar, the largest castle held by the Nizārīs in Daylamān. Using local labour, Buzurg-Ummīd rebuilt Lamasar into a major stronghold, equipping it with ample water resources and cisterns, which are still in existence, and fine buildings and gardens. Lamasar's position guarded the western approaches to Alamūt from the Shāhrūd valley and it considerably enhanced the power of the Ismāʿīlīs in the Rūdbār area. Buzurg-Ummīd stayed at Lamasar, the second most important unit in the network of the Nizārī castles in Daylam, for more than twenty years until he was summoned to Alamūt by Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ to succeed him.[53]

In the meantime, as the Ismāʿīlī revolt was successfully unfolding in Persia, Ismāʿīlism suffered its greatest internal conflict. In 487/1094, the caliph-imam al-Mustanṣir died in Cairo after a long and eventful reign, leaving a disputed succession. The vizier al-Afḍal moved quickly and placed the youthful al-Mustaʿlī on the Fāṭimid throne, depriving his elder brother Nizār of his succession rights. Al-Mustanṣir, as we have seen, had originally designated Nizār as heir and had not subsequently revoked his *naṣṣ* for him. Al-Mustaʿlī was acknowledged as

his father's successor by the Egyptian Ismāʿīlīs, a good portion of the Syrian Ismāʿīlīs, as well as the Ismāʿīlī communities in Yaman and western India, that is, by those Ismāʿīlīs under the direct influence of the Fāṭimid regime. By contrast, the Ismāʿīlīs of the Saljūq dominions, notably those of Persia and ʿIrāq and a faction of the Syrian Ismāʿīlīs, refused to recognize al-Mustaʿlī's imamate. Upholding al-Mustanṣir's initial *naṣṣ*, they acknowledged Nizār as their nineteenth imam. The Persian Ismāʿīlīs in particular, who had already revolted against the Saljūqs and had weakened their relations with the Fāṭimid regime, now completely severed their ties with the *daʿwa* headquarters in Cairo.

These eastern Ismāʿīlīs under Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ's leadership had now in effect founded the independent Nizārī *daʿwa*. By that time, Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ had already succeeded ʿAbd al-Malik b. ʿAṭṭāsh as the leader of the Ismāʿīlī *daʿwa* within the Saljūq realm. Indeed, Ḥasan lent his unconditional support to Nizār's cause and refused to recognize the authority of the *daʿwa* headquarters in Cairo, which were now serving the Mustaʿlian *daʿwa*. His decision was supported by all the Persian Ismāʿīlīs without any dissent, indicating the community's obedience to him. The Nizārī *daʿwa* seems to have been largely restricted to the Saljūq domains, having succeeded the Fāṭimid *daʿwa* in those regions. The farthest eastern regions in the Ismāʿīlī world, notably Ghazna and the Oxus valley, where relatively independent *dāʿī*s like Nāṣir-i Khusraw had been active in al-Mustanṣir's time, seem to have remained outside the Nizārī–Mustaʿlī disputation for a while. They also remained outside the sphere of influence of the Nizārī *daʿwa* until much later in the Alamūt period. In Syria, both the Nizārī and the Mustaʿlian factions continued for some time to be present in rivalry with one another. Tutush's son Riḍwān, the Saljūq ruler of Aleppo, originally accepted the suzerainty of al-Mustaʿlī and we have evidence, in such works as al-Āmir's *al-Hidāya*, about the disputations between the Nizārīs and the Mustaʿlians of Damascus. However, the Nizārī *daʿwa* soon gained the upper hand in Syria, especially in Aleppo and in the Jazr area with its group of towns in northern Syria. By the time of al-Āmir's death in 524/1130, the Syrian Ismāʿīlīs had by and large acknowledged the Nizārī *daʿwa*, and the Mustaʿlian Ismāʿīlīs, who themselves were soon afterwards subdivided into the Ṭayyibiyya and the Ḥāfiẓiyya, had become insignificant there. In the eastern lands, the more active Nizārī *daʿwa* with its revolutionary ideals had greater success than the conservative Mustaʿlian *daʿwa* of the remote and the then rapidly declining Fāṭimid regime.

The Nizārīs soon came to confront a major difficulty, like the Mustaʿlians of a generation later. They had acknowledged Nizār as their imam after al-Mustanṣir. But a year later, by the end of 488/1095, Nizār's revolt had been crushed in Egypt and he was immured in a Cairo prison. It is a historical fact that Nizār did have male progeny. Some of these Nizārids even launched unsuccessful revolts against

the later Fāṭimids, claiming the caliphate.[54] The last of these revolts was led in 556/1161 by a grandson of Nizār. However, Nizār himself does not seem to have designated any of his sons as his successor. As a result, about a year after al-Mustanṣir's death, the Nizārīs were left without an accessible imam as their leader. Doubtless, many Nizārīs must have wondered about the identity of their imam after Nizār. It is possible that the Ismāʿīlīs of Persia remained uninformed for some time of Nizār's tragic fate and continued to await his reappearance. As no Nizārī sources have survived from that early period, perceptions of contemporary Persian Ismāʿīlīs on this matter remain obscure. However, numismatic evidence from the early Alamūt period indicates that Nizār's own name and caliphal title, al-Muṣṭafā li-Dīn Allāh, continued to be stamped on coins minted at *Kursī al-Daylam*, i.e. Alamūt, for about seventy years after his death in 488/1095 and through the reign of the third lord of Alamūt, Muḥammad b. Buzurg-Ummīd (532–557/1138–1162). In the inscriptions of these rare coins, Nizār's progeny are generally blessed anonymously.

As related by our Persian historians, already in Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ's time many Nizārīs had come to hold the belief that a son or grandson of Nizār had been smuggled from Egypt to Alamūt and kept there secretly, while al-Āmir's polemical epistle *al-Hidāya al-Āmiriyya*, sent to the Mustaʿlians of Syria, ridicules this idea.[55] Certainly, Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ and his next two successors at Alamūt did not name any imams after Nizār. In the absence of a manifest imam, it seems that Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ, as the head of the Nizārī *daʿwa*, was eventually recognized as the *ḥujja* of the imam. The term *ḥujja*, or proof, had already been used as a high-ranking position in the Fāṭimid Ismāʿīlī *daʿwa* organization, while the bulk of the early Ismāʿīlīs had regarded the central leaders of the Ismāʿīlī movement as the *ḥujja*s of the concealed Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl, who was to reappear as their expected Qāʾim. On the basis of this tradition, it was held that in the time of *dawr al-satr*, when the imam was concealed and inaccessible, his *ḥujja* would represent him amongst his followers. In line with this usage, and as the Nizārīs were now experiencing another *dawr al-satr*, Ḥasan came to be regarded as the imam's full representative and living proof or *ḥujja* in the Nizārī community, acting as the custodian of the Nizārī *daʿwa* until the time of the imam's reappearance, when Ḥasan was expected to identify the imam for the faithful. Indeed, in the earliest extant Nizārī treatise, written around 596 AH by an anonymous author, Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ is said to have predicted the imminent coming of the *imām-qāʾim*, while he himself is given the rank of *ḥujja* of the *qāʾim*.[56]

The struggle of the Persian Ismāʿīlīs had, from the very beginning, its own distinctive patterns and methods.[57] Many Islamic movements, both Shīʿī and non-Shīʿī, adopted as their model the Prophet's emigration from Mecca to Medina and set up in a similar fashion a *dār al-hijra*, a place of emigration or refuge

as headquarters for their campaign from which to return victoriously into the Muslim society at large. For instance, Khurāsān provided such a *dār al-hijra* for the ʿAbbāsids against the Umayyad regime, while the early Ismāʿīlīs had established *dār al-hijra*s of their own, for more limited purposes, in ʿIrāq, Baḥrayn, Yaman and the Maghrib. Under the changed circumstances of the Saljūq period, however, the Nizārīs realistically aimed at acquiring a score of *dār al-hijra*s, rather than a single fixed base of operation. Every stronghold which could be seized by local Ismāʿīlī groups would become a *dār al-hijra* for the Ismāʿīlīs of the Saljūq lands. But the multiplicity of such places in effect formed a single coherent society unified in its ultimate purposes and ideology: if one of them was lost to the enemy, its occupants could readily find refuge in another *dār al-hijra*. In this network, each stronghold was at once a defensible place of refuge and headquarters for conducting local operations, serving as a nucleus for the armed groups of Ismāʿīlīs who could operate in the surrounding lands. The very leadership of the Ismāʿīlī revolt in the Saljūq domains, at least in its initial phase, seems to have been as decentralized as the sites of the revolt. For instance, after Ibn ʿAṭṭāsh's death, the *dāʿī* of Iṣfahān, originally the supreme leader of the Ismāʿīlī movement in the greater part of the Saljūq realm, does not seem to have had any precedence over the *dāʿī* of Daylam. But the *dāʿī*s operating somewhat independently in different regions did cooperate with one another. The Nizārī revolt soon acquired its distinctive pattern, marked precisely by its coordinated decentralization, which was very appropriate to the times.

After Malikshāh, there was no longer a single all-powerful Saljūq ruler to be overthrown by a strong army, even if such an army could be mobilized by the Ismāʿīlīs. Even before Malikshāh's death, when the central Saljūq regime was still essentially intact, socio-political power in the Saljūq empire had come to be increasingly localized in the hands of numerous military and religious leaders, who were virtually equal and autonomous as loyal but independent Saljūq vassals. Under these circumstances, when the central Saljūq bureaucracy was decaying and losing control over innumerable areas which had been parcelled out as *iqṭāʿ* assignments to individual *amīr*s and commanders of garrisons, the strategy best suited to the objectives of a revolutionary movement had also to be decentralized. The Persian Ismāʿīlīs adopted precisely such a piecemeal strategy in their efforts to undermine Saljūq rule, locality by locality, stronghold by stronghold, and leader by leader. In the regime of the many *amīr*s, there scarcely existed a major or central target for military conquest by a regularly recruited army as had been the case in the Fāṭimid conquest of Ifrīqiya and Egypt. Consequently, the Nizārī strategy was based on the seizure of a host of strongholds from where a multiplicity of simultaneous risings could be launched throughout the Saljūq realm, so as to overwhelm the existing decentralized socio-political structure

from within. These coordinated local efforts of the Ismāʿīlīs would ultimately free the whole society from the unjust and detested rule of the Turks and prepare the way for the rule of the Ismāʿīlī imam, the legitimate leader (as the Ismāʿīlīs saw him) of mankind. There were Ismāʿīlī cells in many towns and localities of the Saljūq empire even before the Nizārī–Mustaʿlī schism. These cells often served as nuclei for armed groups which seized key mountain fortresses as *dār al-hijra*s and bases for further operations. In some cases, however, the fortresses were acquired through the submission of their commandants who needed the assistance of the Ismāʿīlīs in their own factional conflicts. Indeed, if circumstances required, the Ismāʿīlīs openly helped one Saljūq *amīr* against another, always considering the overall benefits of such alliances in the cause of their own revolt.

The same atomization of established power suggested to the Nizārī Ismāʿīlīs the use of an important auxiliary technique for achieving military and political aims: the technique of assassination, in connection with which so many anti-Nizārī legends have circulated throughout the centuries. Many earlier Muslim groups, including the Khārijīs and some Shīʿī *ghulāt* like the Mughīriyya and the Manṣūriyya, had used assassination as a technique in their struggle against religio-political opponents. And at the time of the Nizārī revolt, when authority was distributed locally and on a personal basis, assassination was commonly resorted to by all factions, including the Saljūqs themselves and the Christian Crusaders. But it was the Nizārīs who assigned to targeted assassinations a major political role in their strategy of struggle against an enemy with vastly superior military power. As a result, soon any assassination of any importance in the central lands of Islam were readily attributed to the Nizārīs.

Accepting a mission to kill a notorious military or civilian figure normally surrounded by guards, and with very slim chances of surviving, was glorified as heroic by the Nizārīs. The Nizārīs praised the courage and devotion of their *fidāʾī*s, the young self-sacrificing devotees of their community who offered themselves for such dangerous missions,[58] and evidently rolls of honour of their names and missions were kept at Alamūt and other fortresses.[59] The assassination of single prominent individuals who caused the Nizārīs special damage often served to eliminate bloodshed among many ordinary men on the battlefield. Consequently, the Nizārīs presumably saw a humane justification in this method of struggle. The actual Nizārī missions were performed in as public a setting as possible, since part of the purpose was to intimidate other enemies.

Few details are known about the selection and training of the Nizārī *fidāʾī*s. However, contrary to the medieval Assassin legends, fabricated by uninformed Crusader circles and their occidental chroniclers, there is no evidence that *ḥashīsh* was used for motivating the *fidāʾī*s, who displayed a strong group sentiment and solidarity. It is doubtful whether the *fidāʾī*s formed a special corps at the

beginning, although towards the end of the Nizārī state in Persia they probably did.[60] All the ordinary Persian Ismāʿīlīs, who referred to one another as *rafīq* (plural, *rafīqān*) or comrade, were presumably ready in principle to perform any task in the cause of their community. Furthermore, the *fidāʾī*s do not seem to have received special training in for example languages, as suggested in the Assassin legends developed by some occidental chroniclers of the Crusaders and later European authors. At some point in the history of the Nizārī state, however, the limited practice apparently arose of selectively sending the *fidāʾī*s to insinuate themselves into the households of certain dignitaries as servants. These undercover *fidāʾī*s would be in an ideal position to carry out their missions if and when the necessity arose. The Nizārīs targeted those military or civilian men who had clearly acted against their *dār al-hijra*s or had in some way posed serious threats to the success of the Nizārī *daʿwa* and the survival of the community in specific localities.

The assassinations, whatever their real source, often triggered massacres of the Ismāʿīlīs. The assassination of a Saljūq *amīr* or a Sunnī *qāḍī*, who had initiated action against the Ismāʿīlīs, would often rouse the Sunnī population of a town to gather all those suspected, or accused by private enemies, of being Ismāʿīlīs, and to kill them. Around 486/1093, the people of Iṣfahān, for instance, moved by a dubious report that a certain Ismāʿīlī couple had been luring passers-by into their house and torturing them to death, rounded up all the suspected Ismāʿīlīs and threw them alive into a large bonfire in the centre of the town.[61] And in 494/1101, Barkiyāruq and Sanjar came to an agreement about eliminating all the Ismāʿīlīs of their respective regions. Sanjar sent the *amīr* Bazghash against the Ismāʿīlīs of Quhistān. This expedition caused much devastation, and three years later, another Saljūq expedition destroyed Ṭabas, killing many Ismāʿīlīs in the region.[62] However, the Ismāʿīlīs of Quhistān maintained their position, and in 498/1104–1105 the Ismāʿīlīs of Turshīz were even able to undertake operations as far west as Rayy. At the same time, Barkiyāruq ordered a second massacre of the Ismāʿīlīs of Iṣfahān in 494 AH.

Despite the repressions and massacres, the Nizārī fortunes continued to rise in Persia during the turbulent years of Barkiyāruq's reign, especially after 489/1096. Not only were the Nizārīs seizing strongholds and consolidating their position in Rūdbār, Qūmis and Quhistān, as well as in many other mountainous areas, but they were spreading the *daʿwa* in numerous towns and had begun to intervene directly in Saljūq affairs. Encouraged by their success, the Nizārīs now directed their attention closer to the seat of Saljūq power: Iṣfahān. The Ismāʿīlī *dāʿī*s had been at work in Iṣfahān for several decades, and, as noted, ʿAbd al-Malik b. ʿAṭṭāsh, the chief *dāʿī* in western Persia and ʿIrāq, had established his headquarters there. Taking advantage of the factional fights amongst the Saljūqs, they now intensified their activities in and around Iṣfahān. In this area, the Nizārīs,

under the leadership of Aḥmad Ibn ʿAṭṭāsh, the son of ʿAbd al-Malik, achieved their greatest success by seizing the important fortress of Shāhdiz, situated on a mountain about eight kilometres to the south of Iṣfahān.[63] Aḥmad, who eventually succeeded his father as the *dāʿī* of Iṣfahān, had been secretly propagating the Ismāʿīlī *daʿwa* in the very centre of the Saljūq sultanate in Persia. According to Saljūq chroniclers, Aḥmad set himself up as a schoolmaster for the children of the garrison of Shāhdiz, which was composed mostly of Daylamī soldiers with Shīʿī tendencies. Shāhdiz, which was evidently called Dizkūh in earlier times, had been rebuilt by Malikshāh as a key military fortress for guarding the routes to the Saljūq capital. Aḥmad gradually converted the Shāhdiz garrison, and by 494/1100 gained possession of the fortress. It is reported that Aḥmad, who had set up a mission house (*daʿwat-khāna*) near Iṣfahān, managed to convert some 30,000 people in the Iṣfahān area. Be that as it may, the Nizārīs soon began to collect taxes in districts around Shāhdiz, to the detriment of the Saljūq treasury. The capture of Shāhdiz was indeed a serious blow to the power and prestige of the Saljūqs. The Nizārīs then seized a second fortress, Khānlanjān (Khālanjān), about thirty kilometres south of Iṣfahān. According to some unreliable reports, the *dāʿī* ʿAbd al-Malik himself had by now left Iṣfahān for Alamūt, where he spent his final years under Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ's protection. There are no reliable details on the final phase of this *dāʿī*'s career, but it is safe to assume that by 494 AH he was no longer active in Iṣfahān, having been succeeded in a much more limited capacity by his son Aḥmad.

With the capture of Shāhdiz, which was fortified like other Nizārī castles, the Nizārīs became bolder in their ventures. The *daʿwa* was now successfully infiltrating Barkiyāruq's own court and armies. So large was the number of Barkiyāruq's *amīr*s and soldiers converted to Ismāʿīlism that, according to Ibn al-Athīr, some Saljūq officers asked the sultan for permission to appear before him in armour, for fear of attack by their own Ismāʿīlī soldiers.[64] Meanwhile, the Saljūq factions opposed to Barkiyāruq were accusing all of the sultan's soldiery of Ismāʿīlism, in addition to blaming the sultan himself for the Nizārī attacks on those officers opposing him, although attempts had been made on Barkiyāruq's own life. The growing power of the Nizārīs finally forced Barkiyāruq to move against them. Barkiyāruq in western Persia and Sanjar in Khurāsān agreed in 494/1101 to take combined action against them, who were now posing a serious threat to Saljūq power in general. Accordingly, Barkiyāruq sanctioned the massacre of Nizārīs in Iṣfahān and Baghdad, as well as many of the Saljūq officers suspected of conversion, while Sanjar had many Nizārīs killed or enslaved in Quhistān. Nevertheless, they did not lose any of their strongholds to the Saljūqs and managed to retain their overall position in Persia. The Nizārī revolt, despite occasional setbacks, was

still continuing vigorously when Barkiyāruq died in 498/1105 and was succeeded by Muḥammad Tapar.

Commencement of Nizārī activities in Syria

It was during the opening years of the twelfth century AD, or a few years earlier, that the Persian Nizārīs began to extend their activities to Syria. A number of *dāʿī*s from Alamūt began to be despatched to Syria to organize the Syrian Nizārīs and to win new converts. The political fragmentation of Syria at the time as well as its religious traditions were significant factors favouring the spread of the Nizārī Ismāʿīlī *daʿwa* there. The first Turkoman bands, as noted, had entered Syria as early as 447/1055, and the country was subsequently invaded by the regular Saljūq armies. By 471/1078, the whole of Syria, apart from a coastal strip retained by the Fāṭimids, was either under Saljūq direct rule or suzerainty. Tutush, the brother of the Great Sultan Malikshāh, had come to be recognized as the Saljūq overlord of Syria. As in Persia, Saljūq rule in Syria had caused many problems and was resented by the Syrians — who were divided amongst themselves and incapable of expelling the Turks. With Malikshāh's death and the ensuing factional quarrels among the Saljūqs, the relative political stability of Syria too was disrupted. Soon after, when Tutush was killed in Persia in 488/1095, political confusion became openly manifest in Syria and Tutush's kingdom was broken into a number of smaller states. Syria now became the scene of rivalry among different Saljūq princes and *amīr*s, each one claiming a part, while various minor local dynasties were at the same time attempting to assert their independence. The political fragmentation of Syria became more pronounced with the appearance of the Crusaders in 490/1097. Starting from Antioch, they advanced swiftly along the Syrian coast and settled in their conquered territories, establishing four Latin states based in Edessa, Antioch, Tripoli and Jerusalem. The Frankish encroachment on Syria naturally added to the apprehensions of the local population, complicating the Saljūq quarrels. In these troubled times, the most important Saljūq rulers of Syria were Tutush's sons Riḍwān (488–507/1095–1113) and Duqāq (488–497/1095–1104), who ruled respectively from Aleppo and Damascus.

The emissaries of Alamūt took advantage of Syria's political disarray and capitalized on the fears and grievances of the local population. The religious background of the region was also favourable to the propagation of the Nizārī *daʿwa*. The Syrians adhered to many religions. Amongst the Syrian Muslims, the Sunnīs were closely rivalled by the Shīʿīs belonging to a variety of communities,

providing suitable recruiting ground for the Nizārī *dāʿī*s. There were the Nuṣayrīs and the Druzes, who had earlier broken off from the Fāṭimid Ismāʿīlīs. Amongst the Shīʿīs, there were also the Imāmīs and the Ismāʿīlīs. Indeed, the Syrians had been exposed to Ismāʿīlī doctrines for more than two centuries. Salamiyya, as noted, had served as the headquarters of the central leaders of the Ismāʿīlī *daʿwa* in the 3rd/9th century. Subsequently, when the Fāṭimids extended their rule to Syria during the second half of the 4th/10th century, Ismāʿīlism was propagated openly there by numerous *dāʿī*s. After the Nizārī–Mustaʿlī schism, both branches of Ismāʿīlism were represented in Syria. Threatened by the Turks and the Crusaders, and confused by the collapse of the Fāṭimid regime under al-Mustanṣir's successors, many Sunnīs and Shīʿīs, including both non-Ismāʿīlīs and Mustaʿlians, were now prepared to transfer their allegiance to Nizārī Ismāʿīlism, which was increasingly appearing as the more active branch of the movement. The Nizārīs, boasting a record of rapid success in Persia, seemed to be the only force offering a challenge to the alien invaders and rulers of Syria.

From the very beginning, the Persian *dāʿī*s who were despatched from Alamūt to Syria to organize the Nizārī *daʿwa* there used the same methods of struggle as their co-religionists in Persia. They attempted to seize strongholds for use as bases for extending their activities into the surrounding areas. Furthermore, the Syrian Nizārīs resorted to selective removal of their prominent enemies and cooperated with various local rulers, when such temporary alliances seemed expedient. Despite occasional successes, however, the Nizārīs found their task in Syria much more difficult than it had been in Persia. Almost half a century of continuous effort was needed before they could finally gain control of a group of strongholds in Syria. Three separate periods can be distinguished in the initial struggles of the Nizārī leaders in Syria, who were evidently all Persians sent from Alamūt and who took their orders from Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ and his successors. During the first and second periods, from the earliest years to 507/1113 and then from 507/1113 to 524/1130, the Nizārīs operated from Aleppo and subsequently from Damascus, with the support of the Saljūq rulers of these rival cities, but they failed to acquire any permanent bases. During the third period, from 524/1130 to around 545/1151, they finally succeeded in acquiring a number of fortresses in the mountain area known then as the Jabal Bahrāʾ, today called Jabal Anṣāriyya after its Nuṣayrī population.[65]

The first Nizārī leader in Syria, mentioned by Ibn al-Qalānisī and later sources, was a *dāʿī* known as al-Ḥakīm al-Munajjim, 'the physician-astrologer'. Probably accompanied by a number of subordinate agents sent from Alamūt, he appeared in Aleppo, and, by the very beginning of the twelfth century AD, managed to find a protector in the city's Saljūq ruler, Riḍwān. Aleppo, in northern Syria, was a suitable location for the initiation of the Nizārī activities. It had an important

Shīʿī population, perhaps even outweighing the city's Sunnī inhabitants, and was close to the Shīʿī areas of the Jabal al-Summāq, already penetrated by Ismāʿīlism. Riḍwān, aware of his military weakness against his rival *amīr*s in Syria and seeking new alliances, allowed the free propagation of the Nizārī *daʿwa* in Aleppo and, significantly, al-Ḥakīm al-Munajjim is reported to have openly joined his entourage. Riḍwān himself may have been a convert, although he lacked religious convictions and was evidently more concerned with political expediency. A few years earlier in 490/1097 he had briefly recognized the suzerainty of al-Mustaʿlī and had pronounced the *khuṭba* for the Fāṭimids.[66] He now permitted the Nizārīs to practise and preach their religion and use Aleppo as a base for further activities, also helping them to construct a *dār al-daʿwa*, or mission house.[67] Riḍwān's patronage of the Nizārīs soon proved rewarding. In Rajab 496/May 1103, Janāḥ al-Dawla, the independent ruler of Ḥimṣ (Homs) and one of Riḍwān's crucial opponents, was murdered by three Persian *fidāʾī*s in the great mosque of Ḥimṣ during the Friday prayers. Most sources agree that this act was ordered by al-Ḥakīm al-Munajjim at Riḍwān's instigation.[68] The people of Ḥimṣ were much disturbed by this event, and, interestingly, most of the Turks living there fled to Damascus. Prompt action by Duqāq, the ruler of Damascus, prevented the Franks from seizing Ḥimṣ, and the city was now brought under Damascene control.

Al-Ḥakīm al-Munajjim himself died in 496/1103, a few weeks after Janāḥ al-Dawla, and was succeeded as the leader of the Syrian Nizārīs by another Persian *dāʿī*, Abū Ṭāhir al-Ṣāʾigh, 'the goldsmith'. Abū Ṭāhir retained the favour of Riḍwān and attempted to seize strongholds in the areas inhabited by Ismāʿīlī sympathizers, especially around the Jabal al-Summāq to the south of Aleppo. From early on, the Nizārī *dāʿī*s seem to have received local support in Sarmīn and other towns of the Jazr and may even have controlled a few localities in northern Syria. However, the first Nizārī operation was aimed at Afāmiya (Apamea), a fortified outpost of the principality of Aleppo. Its Arab ruler, Khalaf b. Mulāʿib, a Shīʿī and probably a Mustaʿlian, had seized the town from Riḍwān in 489/1096 and thereupon had held it for the Fāṭimids. Khalaf, who was evidently unwilling to cooperate with the Nizārīs, had amply demonstrated the suitability of Afāmiya as a base in his successful career of brigandage. Abū Ṭāhir devised a plan for killing Khalaf and seizing the citadel, counting on the assistance of the local Nizārīs who were then led by a certain Abu'l-Fatḥ, a judge originally from Sarmīn. Khalaf was killed in Jumādā I 499/February 1106 by a group of *fidāʾī*s sent from Aleppo, and Afāmiya readily fell into Nizārī hands.[69] Soon after, Abū Ṭāhir arrived on the scene to take charge, nominally on behalf of Riḍwān. This attempt to make Afāmiya the first Nizārī stronghold in Syria was short-lived, however. Tancred, the Frankish prince of Antioch who had already occupied the surrounding districts, now besieged the

town, bringing with him as his prisoner a brother of Abu'l-Fatḥ. After lifting his initial siege in return for receiving a tribute from the Nizārīs, Tancred returned and forced Afāmiya to surrender in Muḥarram 500/September 1106. Abu'l-Fatḥ was tortured to death, while Abū Ṭāhir and a number of his associates managed to ransom themselves from captivity and returned to Aleppo. This was probably the first encounter between the Nizārīs and the Crusaders in Syria. In 504/1110, the Nizārīs also lost Kafarlāthā to Tancred, a lesser locality in the Jabal al-Summāq, which had come into their possession sometime earlier.

Abū Ṭāhir, now back in Aleppo, continued with his *daʿwa* activities as well as his search for suitable strongholds, and the association between Riḍwān and the Nizārīs was retained to their mutual benefit. In 505/1111, when Riḍwān decided to close the gates of Aleppo to Mawdūd, the Saljūq *amīr* of Mawṣil who had come to Syria with an army to fight the Crusaders, armed groups of Nizārīs rallied to Riḍwān's side.[70] Both Riḍwān and the Nizārīs were apprehensive of the presence of this eastern expeditionary force in Syria, as was Ṭughtigīn (d. 522/1128), Duqāq's *atabeg*, or guardian-tutor, who became the effective ruler of Damascus on Duqāq's death in 497/1104 and founded the independent Būrid dynasty. Nevertheless, Riḍwān could not completely disregard the anti-Ismāʿīlī campaigns of Muḥammad Tapar, who had succeeded the more lenient Barkiyāruq, nor could he ignore the increasing unpopularity of the Nizārīs amongst his Sunnī subjects. Consequently, Riḍwān somewhat retreated from his pro-Nizārī position during his final years. In 505/1111, an unsuccessful attempt on the life of a certain Abū Ḥarb ʿĪsā b. Zayd, a wealthy merchant from Transoxania and a declared enemy of the Ismāʿīlīs who was then passing through Aleppo, led to a popular outburst against the Nizārīs, which Riḍwān was obliged to condone. Two years later, in 507/1113, Mawdūd was murdered in the great mosque of Damascus.[71] Most sources attribute this assassination to the Nizārīs, although the event is surrounded by some uncertainty. A few authorities suggest that Ṭughtigīn may have had a hand in it.

With Riḍwān's death in Jumādā II 507/December 1113, the Nizārī fortunes began to be definitely reversed in Aleppo. Riḍwān's young son and successor Alp Arslān at first maintained his father's policy towards the Nizārīs and even ceded them a fortress outside Bālis, on the road from Aleppo to Baghdad. But soon afterwards, he authorized a widespread anti-Ismāʿīlī campaign. According to Ibn al-ʿAdīm, Muḥammad Tapar had written to Alp Arslān warning him against the menace of the Nizārīs and insisting on their elimination. At the same time, Ṣāʿid b. Badīʿ, the *raʾīs* of Aleppo and the commander of the militia, had been urging Alp Arslān to take measures against the Nizārīs. Alp Arslān finally agreed and entrusted the task to Ibn Badīʿ.[72] Abū Ṭāhir and other Nizārī leaders, including the *dāʿī* Ismāʿīl, and a brother of al-Ḥakīm al-Munajjim, were arrested and killed.

Some two hundred Nizārīs of Aleppo were also massacred or imprisoned and their properties were confiscated. Many Nizārīs, however, managed to escape to different areas, some even finding refuge in Frankish territories. Ḥusām al-Dīn b. Dumlāj, the commander of the Nizārī armed groups in Aleppo, fled to Raqqa where he died, and Ibrāhīm al-ʿAjamī who had held the fortress of Bālis abandoned it and took refuge at the fortress of Shayzar on the Orontes between Afāmiya and Ḥamā, then held by the Banū Munqidh. In the spring of 507/1114 some one hundred Nizārīs from Aleppo as well as Afāmiya, Sarmīn, Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān and Maʿarrat Maṣrīn gathered at Shayzar and made an unsuccessful attempt to seize the fortress when its lords had gone out to view the Easter celebrations of the local Christians. On returning to the fortress the Banū Munqidh, assisted by the townspeople, fought the Nizārīs from tower to tower and eventually killed them all.[73] The Ismāʿīlīs evidently had hoped to use Shayzar as a new base of operations, in the immediate aftermath of the débâcle in Aleppo. With these events, the initial period of the activities of the Syrian Nizārīs came to an end. They had failed to secure a permanent base or any castles in Syria, but, on the positive side, they had made contact with the local population and had won many converts and sympathizers, especially in the Jabal al-Summāq, the Jazr, and the territory of the Banū ʿUlaym, situated between Shayzar and Sarmīn.

Consolidation of the Nizārī state and the doctrine of *taʿlīm*

Meanwhile, Muḥammad Tapar had succeeded his brother Barkiyāruq in Persia, while Sanjar remained at Balkh as his viceroy in the East. Muḥammad reigned for some thirteen years, from 498/1105 to 511/1118, as the undisputed Saljūq sultan, bringing order to the sultanate. Probaby Barkiyāruq and Sanjar had already checked what might have been a Nizārī sweep through the Saljūq dominions in Persia and ʿIrāq. Nonetheless, the Nizārīs had maintained their position in widely scattered territories and posed a continued threat to the Saljūqs, from Syria to eastern Persia as well as in Iṣfahān itself. Therefore, Muḥammad, who had secured sole power in the aftermath of the civil wars of Barkiyāruq's reign, immediately set to work to take action against the Nizārīs. Within two years of his accession, Muḥammad launched a series of campaigns against the Nizārīs, and succeeded in checking their expanding activities. In 500/1106, he sent an expedition against Takrīt, which the Nizārīs had held for twelve years. The Saljūqs failed to capture Takrīt after besieging it for several months, although the Nizārīs, too, lost it. In order to prevent the Saljūqs from taking Takrīt, its Nizārī commandant, Kayqubād, surrendered the citadel to the Mazyadid Sayf al-Dawla Ṣadaqa (479–501/1086–1108), an Imāmī Shīʿī Arab ruler who had asserted his independence

in central ʿIrāq. At about the same time, Muḥammad Tapar had Sanjar again attack the Nizārī strongholds in Quhistān, though no details are available on the results.

Muḥammad's chief anti-Nizārī campaign was, however, directed against Shāhdiz. The sultan led a large force in person and besieged the fortress in 500/1107.[74] It is noteworthy that the siege and capture of Shāhdiz were delayed by a series of manoeuvres and tactics utilized by Aḥmad Ibn ʿAṭṭāsh, and supported by friends and sympathizers of the Nizārīs within the Saljūq camp. Aḥmad managed to engage the Saljūqs in a series of negotiations, also involving the Sunnī *ʿulamāʾ* of Iṣfahān in a long, drawn-out religious disputation. In a message to the sultan, Aḥmad argued that the Nizārīs were true Muslims, believing in God and the Prophet Muḥammad and accepting the prescriptions of the *sharīʿa*. They differed from the Sunnīs only concerning the matter of the imamate, and therefore maintained that the sultan had no legitimate ground for acting against them, especially since the Nizārīs were willing to recognize the sultan's suzerainty and pay him tribute. This message led to a religious debate. It seems that at first most of the sultan's advisers and the Sunnī jurists and scholars were inclined to accept Aḥmad's argument. A few, notably Abu'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Samanjānī, a leading Shāfiʿī scholar, stood fast against the Ismāʿīlīs, denouncing them as being outside the pale of Islam, and persuading the sultan to reject Aḥmad's request. The debate thus ended and the siege continued. The Nizārīs next bargained for alternative fortresses, but this phase of the negotiations also proved fruitless and ended when a Nizārī *fidāʾī* attacked and wounded one of the sultan's *amīr*s, who had been particularly opposed to the Nizārīs.

The sultan pressed ahead with his siege of Shāhdiz and the only matter now remaining concerned the terms of surrender by the defenders of the great fortress. Finally, the conditions of capitulation were agreed upon. Part of the Shāhdiz garrison was to be given safe-conduct to go to other Nizārī strongholds in Arrajān and Quhistān, while the remainder, holding on to only one wing of the fortress, was to surrender upon receiving the news of the safe arrival of those who had departed, thereupon being permitted to go to Alamūt. In due time, the awaited news was received at Shāhdiz, but Aḥmad declined to come down from the fortress. He had evidently decided to fight to the end. He and his small band of Nizārīs, some eighty men in all, fought the Saljūqs and defended themselves even from the last tower remaining in their hands. In the final assault, most of the Nizārīs were killed but a few managed to escape. Aḥmad's wife, decked in jewels, threw herself from the ramparts, but Aḥmad was captured. He was paraded through the streets of Iṣfahān and then skinned alive. Aḥmad's son was also put to death, and their heads were sent to the caliph al-Mustaẓhir at Baghdad. The fortress of Khānlanjān too was apparently destroyed by the Saljūqs during

the siege of Shāhdiz. With these defeats, the influence of the Nizārīs disappeared irrevocably from the Iṣfahān region.

It was probably soon after the fall of Shāhdiz in 500 AH that Muḥammad Tapar caused the destruction of the Nizārī fortresses around Arrajān. The mission was carried out by Fakhr al-Dīn Chāwlī (d. 510/1116), the *atabeg* of Fārs. Thereafter, little was heard of the Nizārīs who survived in the border region between Fārs and Khūzistān. Ibn al-Balkhī, who composed his *Fārs-nāma*, a local history and geographical account of his native province during 498–510/1104–1117 at Muḥammad Tapar's request, already speaks of the Nizārī occupations of these fortresses in southwestern Persia as a past event.[75] Sultan Muḥammad from early on directed his attention also to the main centre of Nizārī power, the Rūdbār area with its numerous castles.[76] Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ, while remaining the *dāʿī* of Daylam, was then acknowledged as the leader of the entire Nizārī community, and Alamūt, his residence, was the central headquarters of the Nizārī state and *daʿwa*. In 501/1107–1108, or 502/1108–1109, the sultan sent an expedition to Rūdbār under the command of his vizier Ḍiyāʾ al-Mulk Aḥmad, a son of Niẓām al-Mulk, who was accompanied by the *amīr* Chāwlī (Jāwalī). The expedition fought the Nizārīs for some time and caused much devastation in the area. But the Saljūqs failed to seize Alamūt, and withdrew from Rūdbār. On that occasion, the sultan had sought in vain the assistance of Ḥusām al-Dawla Shahriyār b. Qārin (466–503/1074–1110), a local Bāwandid ruler in Ṭabaristān and Gīlān, against the Nizārīs of Rūdbār.[77]

In 503/1109, the reduction of Alamūt was entrusted to Anūshtagīn Shīrgīr, the governor of Sāwa. Realizing the futility of a direct assault against Alamūt, Shīrgīr decided to undermine the position of the Nizārīs by attrition. For eight consecutive years, he destroyed the crops of Rūdbār, besieged Lamasar and other castles in the area, and engaged in sporadic battles with the Nizārīs. It was during this period, when severe hardship was inflicted on the Nizārīs, that Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ and many others sent their wives and daughters to safer places such as Girdkūh, a practice followed later by Nizārī leaders in times of battle. Shīrgīr received regular reinforcements from other Saljūq *amīr*s, while the resistance of the hard-pressed Nizārīs continued to amaze the enemy. Finally, by Dhu'l-Ḥijja 511/April 1118, when Shīrgīr was evidently on the verge of victory, news arrived of Muḥammad Tapar's death. Thereupon the Saljūqs broke camp and left Rūdbār, paying no attention to Shīrgīr's pleas to stay and fight a little longer. Shīrgīr was obliged to abandon his siege of Alamūt, and lost many men upon retreating. The Nizārīs came into possession of all the food supplies and implements of war left behind by their Saljūq armies. Alamūt was thus saved once again and the Nizārīs of Rūdbār were rescued from what could have been total defeat. According to al-Bundārī, the Saljūq vizier Qiwām al-Dīn al-Dargazīnī, a secret

convert to Ismāʿīlism, may have played an important role in preventing the victory of the Saljūqs and in procuring the withdrawal of Shīrgīr's army from Rūdbār.[78] In any event, al-Dargazīnī urged Maḥmūd, Muḥammad Tapar's son and successor in Iṣfahān, against Shīrgīr, who was imprisoned and executed soon afterwards.

The death of the Great Saljūq Sultan Muḥammad Tapar was followed by another period of internal strife in the sultanate, which gave the Nizārīs a respite to recover from the blows inflicted on them during Muḥammad's reign. Sultan Muḥammad was succeeded in Iṣfahān by his son Maḥmūd, who ruled for fourteen years (511–525/1118–1131) over western Persia, and, at least nominally, ʿIrāq. But Maḥmūd, unlike his father, was faced with other claimants to the sultanate. These claimants often sought the support of their *atabeg*s or Saljūq *amīr*s, who increasingly came to enjoy local autonomy in different parts of the Saljūq domains. In time, three other sons of Muḥammad Tapar, viz., Ṭughril II (526–529/1132–1134), Masʿūd (529–547/1134–1152) and Sulaymānshāh (555–556/1160–1161), as well as several of his grandsons, some of whom held power in various parts of the Saljūq domains during Maḥmūd's reign, succeeded to the sultanate in the west. However, Maḥmūd's uncle Sanjar, who had controlled the eastern provinces since 490/1097, now became generally recognized as the head of the Saljūq family, acquiring the precarious position of supreme sultan among the Saljūq rulers until his death in 552/1157. In this capacity, Sultan Sanjar played a decisive role in settling the succession disputes of the later Saljūq rulers. At the beginning of his rule, however, Maḥmūd had to face an invasion of his domains by Sanjar commanding a large army which included bands of Nizārīs. Sanjar defeated Maḥmūd at Sāwa and then advanced as far as Baghdad. But in the ensuing truce, Sanjar made Maḥmūd his heir, while seizing from him important territories in northern Persia. Sanjar continued to control these territories, including Ṭabaristān and Qūmis, which were already penetrated by the Nizārīs or were adjacent to their strongholds in Daylam. Maḥmūd's brother Ṭughril rebelled and succeeded in taking Gīlān and other districts in northern Persia, in addition to Qazwīn. Dissension in the Saljūq camp also encouraged the ʿAbbāsid caliphs to seek an increasing degree of independence at Baghdad during the 6th/12th century, starting with the caliph al-Mustarshid (512–529/1118–1135).

Meanwhile, the Nizārīs had entered a new period in their relations with the Saljūqs, designated by Marshall Hodgson as a period of stalemate.[79] The great Saljūq offensive against the Nizārīs had clearly ended on Muḥammad Tapar's death, and so had Nizārī revolutionary activities. For almost three decades the Nizārīs had carried out an open revolt in the midst of the Saljūq lands, for a while threatening Iṣfahān itself. But they had also sustained severe blows. In particular, their partisans in the cities had been frequently massacred, damaging their urban

bases of support, and they had also lost many of their fortresses in the Alburz and Zagros mountains and around Iṣfahān. The Nizārīs had in effect failed in their revolt against the Saljūqs, and their remaining strongholds, located chiefly in Rūdbār, Qūmis, and Quhistān, could not be used as adequate bases for continuing the revolt as had been done during the first period of their activity in Persia. Doubtless, the Nizārīs did not abandon the ultimate aims of their struggle, and they did maintain their cohesion from eastern Persia to Syria in spite of hardships and defeats. The Nizārī revolt had indeed been successful on a local basis in several scattered territories. But the Nizārīs were now in need of reorganization and a new strategy in the light of their past experiences. Henceforth, they were concerned with consolidating their position, and defending the territories and strongholds which they held, rather than engaging in further military campaigns against the Saljūqs. The Nizārīs were now effectively transforming themselves into a permanent and independent state, with substantial though scattered territories. This state, with its numerous *dār al-hijra*s which had earlier served as bases of military operations, was about to take its own special place amongst the principalities and smaller states within the boundaries of the Saljūq sultanate.

ʿAbd al-Malik b. ʿAṭṭāsh and Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ, and possibly other Persian Ismāʿīlī *dāʿī*s living during the final decades of the 5th/11th century, were also active intellectually and doubtless produced doctrinal treatises which have not survived. However, the early Nizārīs, engaged in their struggle in hostile territories and being very concerned with their survival, did not have time for philosophical speculations and highly sophisticated intellectual arguments. In a sense, their intellectual activities were closely geared to the more pressing and practical needs of their struggle. In particular, the Nizārīs did not retain the earlier interest in cosmology and other esoteric doctrines that had been expounded in the classical works of the Fāṭimid period and were central to Ṭayyibī Ismāʿīlī thought. The early Nizārīs, on the other hand, showed a particular interest in the doctrine of the imamate. From the time of Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ and even during the years preceding their break with the Fāṭimid regime, the Persian Ismāʿīlīs concentrated their doctrinal speculations on the reality of the imam and the imamate as transcending history and the physical world. Indeed, from early on, Sunnī observers and other outsiders acquired the distinct impression that the Persian (Nizārī) Ismāʿīlīs had initiated a 'new preaching'(*al-daʿwa al-jadīda*) in contrast to the 'old preaching' (*al-daʿwa al-qadīma*) of the Ismāʿīlīs of Fāṭimid times. The 'new preaching' did not, however, entail the formulation of any set of new doctrines but was, rather, the reformulation of an old Shīʿī doctrine which already had a long history amongst the Ismāʿīlīs. This reformulation of the Shīʿī doctrine of *taʿlīm*, or authoritative teaching by the imam, was apparently most eloquently expounded by Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ himself, though he was probably not its originator. In any

event, in its fully developed form the doctrine is generally ascribed to Ḥasan, who was a learned theologian and also well grounded in philosophical discourse. Ḥasan devoted a theological treatise in the Persian language to restating the doctrine of *taʿlīm* in a more vigorous form. This treatise, entitled *Fuṣūl-i arbaʿa* (*The Four Chapters*), has not survived. But it was seen and paraphrased by our Persian historians,[80] and preserved fragmentarily in Arabic translation by Ḥasan's contemporary Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Shahrastānī (d. 548/1153) in his famous heresiographical work produced around 521/1127.[81]

Al-Shahrastānī, who spent most of his life in his native Khurāsān and became an associate of Sultan Sanjar, was widely renowned as an Ashʿarī theologian and noted for his open-minded interest in all religions and philosophies. However, some of his contemporaries believed that he had secretly converted to Ismāʿīlism and worked on behalf of the Nizārī *daʿwa*.[82] The well-informed Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī, who himself later adhered temporarily to Ismāʿīlism, asserts in his spiritual autobiography that al-Shahrastānī was an Ismāʿīlī, calling him *dāʿī al-duʿāt*. Al-Ṭūsī adds that al-Shahrastānī was the teacher of his father's maternal uncle.[83] In any case, al- Shahrastānī seems to have been very well informed about Ismāʿīlī teachings, and several of his extant works do bear strong Ismāʿīlī imprints and attest that at least during the final decades of his life he espoused Ismāʿīlī terminologies and methods of interpretation, even if he was not in fact an Ismāʿīlī.[84] Aside from the *Mafātīḥ al-asrār*, a partial Qurʾānic commentary (*tafsīr*), and the *Majlis-i maktūb-i Shahrastānī munʿaqid dar Khwārazm*, his crypto-Ismāʿīlī works include the *Muṣāraʿa*, a refutation of Ibn Sīnā's theological doctrine on the basis of traditional Ismāʿīlī theology.[85] Be it as it may, al-Shahrastānī was interested in ideas propounded by the early Nizārīs, and he has preserved an abridgement of Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ's reformulation of the doctrine of *taʿlīm*.

The Shīʿa had from early on held that Muslims had no right to rely on their own arbitrary decisions in spiritual matters and that they needed to base their understanding of religious truths on the teaching (*taʿlīm*) of proper authorities, that is to say true imams, who, according to the Shīʿa, are designated by divine ordinance and not by human choice, as in the case of the Prophet himself. This was essentially the crux of the Shīʿī doctrine of *taʿlīm*, the teaching in religion which could be undertaken only by authoritative teachers in every age. And for Shīʿa, only their divinely appointed, sinless and infallible ʿAlid imams, who possessed the special religious knowledge or *ʿilm*, were qualified to perform the spiritual functions of such guides or teachers. As explained by al-Shahrastānī, Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ reformulated the Shīʿī doctrine of *taʿlīm* in a series of four propositions, translated by al-Shahrastānī from Persian into Arabic with the title of *al-Fuṣūl al-arbaʿa*. These propositions, which took the form of a critique of the traditional

statement of the doctrine, in effect aimed to prove that only the Ismāʿīlī imam fulfilled the role of the authoritative teacher after the Prophet.

In the first proposition, Ḥasan reaffirmed the need of men for an authority or teacher (*muʿallim*) and the inadequacy of human reason (*ʿaql*) by itself in enabling men to understand religious truths and to know God. This proposition also aimed at refuting the position of those, notably the philosophers, who believed in the adequacy of reason and independent human judgement in comprehending the ultimate truth. In the second proposition, Ḥasan argued, in line with the traditional Shīʿī position, that the required teacher must be authoritative or trustworthy (*ṣādiq*). He stated, in opposition to the position of the Sunnīs, that there must be only one single divinely appointed arbiter, the true imam, in every age. Here, the single authoritative sanctioned teacher (*muʿallim-i ṣādiq*) of the Shīʿīs was set against the multiplicity of religious scholars (*ʿulamāʾ*) who were accepted as guides and teachers by the Sunnī Muslims in every age. The third proposition brought out the dilemma faced by the ordinary Shīʿīs themselves, i.e. that the identification of the sole authoritative teacher at any time required the demonstration of his authority, which was possible only on the basis of some further authority whose own authority must be demonstrated, and so on. In the fourth proposition, Ḥasan attempted to solve this dilemma by reformulating the whole question in such a manner as to arrive at the desired result. He held that the authority of the required teacher could be known not through something beyond itself but through the very nature of knowledge, in which Ḥasan recognized a dialectical principle. Emphasizing that all true knowledge requires a contrast of two opposites which can be recognized only through one another, Ḥasan then proceeded to apply this dialectical principle to the relationship between the individual person who wished to know and the authoritative teacher whom he must discover. The individual's reasoning enabled him to realize his need for the recognition of an authoritative teacher, but it did not by itself determine who that teacher was, nor did it lead him to the ultimate truth. On the other hand, the claimant to the position of final authority, the imam, did not need to prove his claims by resorting to any proof beyond himself. But a conjunction of the individual's reasoning and the authoritative teacher solved the dilemma. The individual's reasoning did, as noted, indicate his need for the teaching of an authoritative teacher, the imam. And when reasoning had reached this point, the imam could then present himself as satisfying this very need. Accordingly, the true imam did not seek extrinsic proofs for his authority or imamate, which was proved only by his own existence. Indeed it was through his very existence that the true imam could fulfil the need which only reasoning can demonstrate. For Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ, this imam, who did not need to resort to miracles or refer to

his ancestry, was the Ismāʿīlī imam, whose very being and claims were sufficient proofs of his legitimacy.

The doctrine of *taʿlīm* presented by Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ was both more rigorous and more self-sufficient than the traditional Shīʿī view on the subject. In his argumentation, Ḥasan consistently emphasized the role of the imam, with the Prophet as a link in the logical chain from God to imam. This doctrine, stressing the autonomous teaching authority of each imam in his time, became the central doctrine of the early Nizārī Ismāʿīlīs, also serving as a powerful ideological tool in the hands of the Nizārī community of later times. Meanwhile, in the absence of an accessible imam, the community authority depended on his *ḥujja*, and Ḥasan himself, as noted, was recognized as that *ḥujja*. The doctrine of *taʿlīm*, as restated by Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ, became so central to early Nizārī thought that the followers of the Nizārī *daʿwa* came to be known as the Taʿlīmiyya. This reformulated doctrine of *taʿlīm*, which also denied the legitimacy of the ʿAbbāsid caliph as the spiritual spokesman of Muslims, produced an official reaction from the ʿAbbāsid–Sunnī establishment. Many Sunnī theologians and jurists responded to the new intellectual challenge posed by the Persian Ismāʿīlīs and attacked their doctrine of *taʿlīm*. Al-Ghazālī, as noted, was the foremost and probably the earliest Sunnī scholar in this group. He wrote several treatises against the Ismāʿīlīs and paid special attention to refuting the doctrine of *taʿlīm* in his *al-Mustaẓhirī*, commissioned by the ʿAbbāsid caliph al-Mustaẓhir.

The remaining years of Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ's life, after 511/1118, were essentially peaceful and devoted to consolidating the Nizārī state which he, more than anyone else, had worked to create. Ḥasan recaptured some of the castles which Shīrgīr had seized in Rūdbār and evidently even intensified the *daʿwa* in many regions like ʿIrāq, Ādharbayjān, Māzandarān, Gīlān and Khurāsān. The sources attribute the Nizārī successes of this period and the subsequent decades, at least partially, to Sanjar's tolerance towards the Nizārīs. Indeed, Sanjar seems to have sought peaceful relations with the Nizārīs, allegedly procured by a dagger which Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ contrived to have thrust into the floor beside the sultan's bed. Juwaynī also relates seeing several of Sanjar's *manshūr*s or decrees at the Alamūt library, in which the Saljūq sultan conciliated the Nizārīs and sought their friendship.[86] The Persian chroniclers also state that Sanjar gave the Nizārīs an annual pension of 3,000–4,000 dinars from the taxes on the lands belonging to them in the region of Qūmis, in addition to allowing them to levy a toll on travellers passing beneath Girdkūh.[87]

It seems that Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ also reinvigorated the Nizārī cause in Egypt during his final years. Ḥasan's intensive activities in Fāṭimid Egypt date to around 515/1121, the year of the assassination of al-Afḍal, who had dispossessed Nizār of his rights to the imamate. According to the Nizārī sources used by our Persian

historians, this act was carried out by three *fidāʾī*s from Aleppo. On receiving this news at Alamūt, Ḥasan ordered the Nizārīs to celebrate for seven days and nights.[88] Al-Afḍal's successor to the Fāṭimid vizierate, al-Maʾmūn, as noted, had to adopt tight security measures against agents who were then reportedly being sent from Alamūt to Egypt. Many such agents were arrested. Soon after, in 516/1122, the Fāṭimid regime deemed it necessary to hold a public assembly in defence of the rights of al-Mustaʿlī and al-Āmir to the imamate, as against those of Nizār, an assembly which led to the issuing of the epistle entitled *al-Hidāya al-Āmiriyya*. Ibn Muyassar, who relates these details indicating the apprehension of the Fāṭimids concerning Nizārī activities in Egypt and Syria, also mentions that at about the same time al-Maʾmūn had a long letter issued by the Fāṭimid chancery, in Ibn al-Ṣayrafī's writing, urging Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ in harsh terms to renounce his support of the Nizārī cause.[89] The Nizārī activities in Egypt, however, do not seem to have continued for long, while relations between the Nizāriyya and the Mustaʿlawiyya, who themselves soon split into the Ḥāfiẓiyya and the Ṭayyibiyya, continued to deteriorate.

Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ fell ill early in the month of Rabīʿ II 518/May 1124. Feeling that his end was near, he made careful arrangements for the future leadership of the Nizārī community. He called for his lieutenant at Lamasar, Kiyā Buzurg-Ummīd, and designated him as his successor. At the same time, Ḥasan appointed three senior Nizārīs to what may be viewed as a council of advisers for assisting Buzurg-Ummīd in conducting the affairs of the Nizārī state and community as well as the *daʿwa* until such time as the imam himself appeared. These advisers were Dihdār Abū ʿAlī Ardistānī, a veteran *dāʿī* who had once rescued Ḥasan from a difficult situation at Alamūt, Ḥasan Ādam Qaṣrānī, and Kiyā Bā Jaʿfar, the commander of the Nizārī forces who died soon afterward in 519/1125.[90] The *dāʿī* Abū ʿAlī was singled out for the affairs of the *daʿwa*. Ḥasan died at the age of about seventy towards the end of Rabīʿ II 518/middle of June 1124.

Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ was a remarkable man. An organizer and a political strategist of unrivalled capability, he was at the same time a learned theologian, philosopher and astronomer who led an ascetic life. Several examples of his asceticism and harshness have been cited by our Persian historians. He was evidently equally strict with friend and foe, and uncompromising in his austere religious lifestyle, which he imposed on the Nizārī community, especially in Rūdbār. In particular, he insisted on the observance of the Islamic religious duty of *al-amr bi'l-maʿrūf wa'l-nahy ʿan al-munkar*, or 'commanding right and forbidding wrong'. During all his thirty-four years spent at Alamūt, Ḥasan evidently never descended from the castle, and he is said to have left his living quarters only twice to mount the roof-top. During that period, nobody drank wine openly in Alamūt, and the playing of musical instruments was forbidden. Ḥasan sent his wife and daughters

to Girdkūh where they earned a simple living by spinning; they never returned to Alamūt. He had both his sons, Ustād Ḥusayn and Muḥammad, executed.[91] Muḥammad's guilt was wine-drinking, while Ustād Ḥusayn had been suspected of complicity in the murder of the *dāʿī* Ḥusayn Qāʾinī in Quhistān, a suspicion which later proved unfounded. In his modest quarters at Alamūt, Ḥasan devoted his time to reading, writing and administering the affairs of the Nizārī community. He was the first Nizārī leader to have been regarded as the *ḥujja* of the hidden Nizārī imam. He maintained a sense of purpose and dedication despite serious setbacks, and saw the independent Nizārī *daʿwa* and state he had founded through turbulent years. Possessing exceptional leadership qualities and charisma, Ḥasan's personality offered a rallying point for other Nizārīs. He was highly revered by the Nizārīs, who called him Sayyidnā, or 'our master'. Ḥasan's mausoleum in Rūdbār became a shrine for the Nizārīs, who made regular pilgrimages to the site until it was destroyed by the Mongols.

Buzurg-Ummīd and the Nizārī–Saljūq stalemate

On Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ's death, Kiyā Buzurg-Ummīd was installed at Alamūt as *dāʿī* of Daylam and head of the Nizārī *daʿwa* and state.[92] The *dāʿī* Abū ʿAlī Ardistānī immediately set off for various Nizārī castles and obtained their allegiance to the new leader. Buzurg-Ummīd's leadership was not challenged by any segment of the community, which must have been rather difficult for the quarrelling Saljūqs to understand. Ruling for fourteen years (518–532/1124–1138), Buzurg-Ummīd maintained the policies of his predecessor and succeeded in further strengthening the Nizārī state, despite a renewed Saljūq offensive. He, too, was a capable administrator and military strategist, and was furthermore well placed in northern Persia, being a native of Rūdbār. He was not, however, related by marriage to the local Caspian rulers, as believed by some earlier authorities. It was a sister of Kiyā Buzurg al-Dāʿī ila'l-Ḥaqq b. al-Hādī (d. ca. 551/1156), a Zaydī ʿAlid ruler of Daylamān, and not the Ismāʿīlī Buzurg-Ummīd's sister, who was married to Hazārasf b. Fakhr al-Dawla Namāwar, the Bādūspānid ruler of Rustamdār and Rūyān. The latter's son Kaykāʾūs (d. 560/1164–1165), who adhered to Zaydī Shīʿism and ruled for thirty-seven years, was hostile towards the Nizārīs. On the other hand, Hazārasf's grandson, Hazārasf b. Shahrnūsh (d. 586/1190), another Bādūspānid ruler, cultivated friendly relations with the Nizārīs. Again, it was the Zaydī Kiyā Buzurg, and not Buzurg-Ummīd, who married a daughter of Shāh Ghāzī Rustam b. ʿAlāʾ al-Dawla ʿAlī, who later became the Bāwandid ruler of Māzandarān and Gīlān (534–558/1140–1163). Shāh Ghāzī became an enemy of the Nizārīs, after the Nizārī assassination in 537/1142 of his son Girdbāzū,

who had been sent to Khurāsān to serve Sanjar, while the Nizārī *fidāʾī*s made unsuccessful attempts on Shāh Ghāzī himself. This Bāwandid ruler cooperated with the Saljūqs and fought the Nizārīs on numerous occasions. He attacked Alamūt in vain several times, but eventually succeeded in seizing the castles of Mihrīn and Manṣūrakūh in Qūmis from the Nizārīs. Another of Shāh Ghāzī's daughters was married to Shahrnūsh b. Hazārasf b. Namāwar, the Bādūspānid ruler who reigned contemporaneously with Buzurg-Ummīd. Shahrnūsh seems to have maintained cordial relations with the Nizārīs and Buzurg-Ummīd.[93]

Buzurg-Ummīd was confronted with the enmity of the local *amīr*s from the very beginning of his reign, and in 518/1124 some 700 Nizārīs were massacred in Āmid in Diyār Bakr.[94] In 520/1126, two years after his accession, the Saljūqs launched new attacks against the Nizārī strongholds in both Rūdbār and Quhistān, probably to test the leadership capabilities of Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ's successor. Sultan Sanjar had not sanctioned any anti-Nizārī activity for almost two decades, which may reflect the existence of some sort of truce between the Saljūqs and the Nizārīs. However, he now decided to confront the Nizārīs, and a large army, commanded by his vizier, was sent against Ṭuraythīth in Quhistān, as well as against Bayhaq and Ṭarz in the district of Nīshāpūr, with orders to massacre the Nizārīs of those localities and pillage their properties.[95] This expedition despatched from Khurāsān eventually withdrew without accomplishing much. An expedition sent in 520 AH by Sultan Maḥmūd to Rūdbār, under the command of Shīrgīr's nephew Aṣīl, was even less successful, and was defeated and driven back by the Nizārīs. A second Saljūq attack in the same year was similarly repelled by the Nizārīs of Rūdbār, who captured one of the enemy's *amīr*s, Ṭamūrṭughān. The latter was kept as a prisoner at Alamūt for some time before being released at Sanjar's request. In spite of these entanglements, the Nizārī position in Rūdbār was actually strengthened during the earliest years of Buzurg-Ummīd's reign. Several fortresses were seized in the area, including Manṣūra and others in Ṭāliqān, while a few castles were built, such as Saʿādatkūh, and most significantly Maymūndiz, a major stronghold which began to be erected in Rabīʿ I 520/April 1126.[96] In eastern Persia, too, the Nizārīs continued to be active. In 521/1127, the *fidāʾī*s killed Muʿīn al-Dīn Abū Naṣr Aḥmad, the Saljūq vizier who had persuaded Sanjar to take action against the Nizārīs, having himself led the expedition to Quhistān.[97] And in 523/1129, the Quhistānī Nizārīs were able to mobilize and send an army to Sīstān.[98]

By Jumādā I 523/May 1129, Sultan Maḥmūd found it expedient to enter into peace negotiations with the Nizārīs, and for this purpose invited Alamūt to send an envoy to Iṣfahān. Buzurg-Ummīd despatched Khwāja Muḥammad Nāṣiḥī Shahrastānī. But the discussions proved abortive as the Nizārī emissary and a colleague were lynched upon leaving the Saljūq court by some of the townspeople.

The sultan disclaimed all responsibility, also rejecting Buzurg-Ummīd's demand to punish the culprits. Soon afterwards, the Nizārīs took their own revenge and attacked Qazwīn, killing a number of persons and taking much booty. This marked the beginning of a long-lasting enmity between the Qazwīnīs and their neighbouring Nizārīs of Alamūt, which often manifested itself in open warfare. Subsequently, Sultan Maḥmūd made another unsuccessful raid on the Alamūt district, while an army sent from ʿIrāq against Lamasar failed to accomplish much.[99]

Sultan Maḥmūd died in 525/1131 and his succession was disputed by his brothers and son, Dāʾūd, giving the Nizārīs another respite. It was during this period that the Persian Nizārīs directed their attention to the Caspian region, where the Bāwandids of Māzandarān had become their active enemy and the local Zaydīs had hindered the spread of their influence in northern Persia. The Nizārīs achieved a great triumph in dealing with Abū Hāshim ʿAlawī, who claimed the imamate of the Zaydīs in Daylam and had adherents as far as Khurāsān.[100] Buzurg-Ummīd sent the Zaydī leader a letter of advice, but Abū Hāshim persisted in accusing the Nizārīs of unbelief and heresy. In Muḥarram 526 AH, an army was sent from Alamūt to Gīlān against Abū Hāshim, who had gathered a force of his own. The Zaydīs were defeated and Abū Hāshim was captured and brought to Alamūt, where the Nizārīs held disputations with him. According to the Nizārī chronicler of the reign of Buzurg-Ummīd, Abū Hāshim eventually renounced his claim to the imamate and expressed his willingness to convert to Ismāʿīlism. He was later executed.

During the remaining years of Buzurg-Ummīd's reign, the Persian Nizārīs further consolidated their position and made a few more raids on Qazwīn and more distant areas such as Georgia in the Caucasus. At the same time, the Nizārī *dāʿī*s spread the *daʿwa* in different regions, and the *fidāʾī*s removed a few more prominent Nizārī enemies, including the Fāṭimid caliph al-Āmir and the ʿAbbāsid caliph al-Mustarshid.[101] On Ṭughril b. Muḥammad's death in 529/1134, his brother Masʿūd had succeeded to the Saljūq sultanate in western Persia, Ādharbayjān and ʿIrāq. Sultan Masʿūd ruled relatively unchallenged with Sanjar's support for eighteen years (529–547/1134–1152). From the very beginning of his rule, however, the ʿAbbāsid caliph al-Mustarshid, aiming to assert his independence from the Saljūqs, refused to recognize Masʿūd's authority and declined to name him in the *khuṭba* at Baghdad. As a result, al-Mustarshid and Masʿūd soon engaged in battle near Hamadān. The ʿAbbāsid caliph was defeated and taken as a prisoner to Marāgha, where he was treated respectfully by Sultan Masʿūd on Sanjar's request. It was at Marāgha that a band of *fidāʾī*s, probably with Saljūq collusion, found the opportunity to enter al-Mustarshid's pavilion and stab him to death in Dhu'l-Qaʿda 529/August 1135.

Further Nizārī activities in Syria

In Syria, meanwhile, the Nizārīs had survived their débâcle of 507/1113. During the second phase of their initial efforts to establish themselves in Syria, the Nizārīs no longer used Aleppo as the base of their operations, but instead they soon came to concentrate their activities in southern Syria.[102] But even in Aleppo, the Nizārīs retained some foothold for a while longer and established friendly relations with Īlghāzī, the Artuqid ruler of Mārdīn and Mayyāfāriqīn who gained possession of Aleppo in 512/1118. In 512 AH, their enemy Ibn Badīʿ, who was then fleeing Aleppo, was killed by the Nizārī *fidāʾī*s.[103] In 514/1120, the Nizārīs of Aleppo were strong enough to demand a small castle known as Qalʿat al-Sharīf from Īlghāzī. Instead of ceding it or refusing the demand, Īlghāzī had the castle demolished in haste, pretending to have ordered this action earlier. The *qāḍī* Ibn al-Khashshāb, who conducted the demolition and was involved in the massacre of the Nizārīs in Aleppo, was murdered in 519/1125. The end of Nizārī power in Aleppo, however, came in 517/1124, when Balak, Īlghāzī's nephew and new governor of the city, arrested the local representative of Bahrām, the chief *dāʿī* of the Syrian Nizārīs, and ordered the expulsion of the Nizārīs, who sold their properties and departed from Aleppo.[104] The following year, the inhabitants of Āmid massacred a large number of the local Nizārīs. It seems that Bahrām had succeeded to the leadership of the Syrian Nizārīs soon after Abū Ṭāhir's execution in 507 AH. Like his predecessors, Bahrām was a Persian, the nephew of al-Asadābādī, a high Saljūq official who was executed as a Nizārī in Baghdad in 494/1101 on Barkiyāruq's order. Bahrām had subsequently fled from ʿIrāq to Syria, where he became active as a *dāʿī*. Shortly after the massacre of the Nizārīs of Aleppo, Bahrām, now chief *dāʿī*, transferred the centre of the *daʿwa* activities to southern Syria. For a while he lived under different guises and conducted the *daʿwa* secretly in various localities, according to Ibn al-Qalānisī, the contemporary chronicler of Damascus.[105]

By 520/1126, Nizārī activities were revived in southern Syria and Bahrām's influence was noteworthy in Damascus and other localities. In the same year, Bahrām apparently had a hand in the murder of Āq Sunqur al-Bursuqī, the governor of Mawṣil and an enemy of the Ismāʿīlīs.[106] Already in 519 AH, when Damascus was threatened by the Franks, the Nizārīs were in a position to send armed groups from Ḥimṣ and elsewhere, who according to Ibn al-Qalānisī were noted for their courage, to join the troops of Ṭughtigīn in what was an unsuccessful attack on the Crusaders.[107] Bahrām appeared openly in Damascus in 520/1126, with a letter of recommendation from Īlghāzī. Whilst in Aleppo, Bahrām had established friendly relations with Īlghāzī, who himself had an understanding with Ṭughtigīn. The Turkish *atabeg* of Damascus received Bahrām with honour and gave him official protection, further enhancing the position of the Nizārīs there.

At the same time, Bahrām found an influential and reliable ally in Ṭughtigīn's vizier Abū ʿAlī Ṭāhir b. Saʿd al-Mazdaqānī. In pursuance of the established Nizārī strategy, Bahrām demanded to be given a castle, which he could use as a base of operations. In Dhu'l-Qaʿda 520 AH, Ṭughtigīn ceded the Ismāʿīlīs the frontier fortress of Bāniyās, on the border with the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem, which was then menaced by the Franks.[108] Enjoying the continued support of al-Mazdaqānī, Bahrām was also given a building in Damascus which he used as a mission house (*dār al-daʿwa*) and local headquarters. Henceforth, Bahrām preached the Nizārī *daʿwa* openly. He despatched *dāʿī*s in all directions and won an increasing number of converts among both the urban people and the peasantry. Meanwhile, he fortified Bāniyās, his residence, and gathered a large group of followers there. From Bāniyās, the Nizārīs embarked on further military and *daʿwa* activities, attempting to spread their influence in the surrounding country. In their systematic raids, the Nizārīs seem to have captured a number of places. However, their success in southern Syria too was to be short-lived.

The Wādī al-Taym, in the region of Ḥāṣbayyā to the north of Bāniyās and on the western side of Mount Hermon, offered favourable opportunities for Nizārī activities. Inhabited mostly by Druzes, Nuṣayrīs and bedouin tribes, this valley had in fact attracted the attention of Bahrām, who came to be suspected of the murder of Baraq b. Jandal, a local tribal chief. In 522/1128, Bahrām set out from Bāniyās at the head of his Nizārī troops to occupy the Wādī al-Taym. But Ḍaḥḥāk b. Jandal, Baraq's brother and sworn avenger, had already made sufficient preparations to confront Bahrām. In a fierce battle, the Nizārīs were defeated and Bahrām was killed, and his head and hands were taken to Cairo, where the bearer was generously rewarded.[109] With this defeat and Ṭughtigīn's death earlier in the same year 522 AH, the Nizārī fortunes began to experience a reversal in southern Syria.

Bahrām was succeeded as chief *dāʿī* in Syria by another Persian, Ismāʿīl al-ʿAjamī, who stayed at Bāniyās and maintained the policies of his predecessor. Al-Mazdaqānī, who had been retained as vizier by Ṭughtigīn's son and successor Tāj al-Mulūk Būrī (522–526/1128–1132), continued to support the *dāʿī* Ismāʿīl and the Nizārīs. But Būrī waited for the right opportunity to rid himself of al-Mazdaqānī and the Nizārīs, being spurred on towards these objectives by the prefect of Damascus, Mufarrij b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ṣūfī, and the city's military governor, Yūsuf b. Fīrūz. Al-Mazdaqānī was murdered in Ramaḍān 523/September 1129, and this was followed by a general massacre of the Nizārīs in Damascus, similar to the anti-Nizārī reaction of the Aleppines after the death of Riḍwān. The town militia (*aḥdāth*) and the mob, supported by the predominantly Sunnī inhabitants of Damascus, turned on the Nizārīs, killing more than 6000 people and pillaging their properties. Their *dār al-daʿwa* was also destroyed and some

Nizārīs were crucified on the wall of Damascus, including a freedman called Shādhī al-Khādim, a disciple of Abū Ṭāhir in Aleppo and, according to Ibn al-Qalānisī, the root of all the trouble.[110] Following this massacre, and realizing the untenability of his position at Bāniyās, the *dāʿī* Ismāʿīl surrendered the fortress to the Franks, who were advancing on Damascus, and fled together with some of his associates to the Frankish territories. Ismāʿīl died soon afterwards, at the beginning of 524/1130, in exile among the Franks.

These developments marked another transitional period of disarray and disorganization in the Nizārī *daʿwa* activities in Syria, bringing to an end the second stage in the earliest history of the Syrian Nizārīs. In the meantime, Būrī and his chief officers had taken elaborate precautions against the vengeance of the Nizārīs. Nevertheless, in Jumādā II 525/May 1131, Būrī was struck down by two *fidāʾī*s sent from Alamūt who had disguised themselves as Turkish soldiers.[111] He died of his wounds a year later, but the Nizārīs never recovered their position in Damascus. During the same period, the rivalry between the Nizārī and the Mustaʿlian Ismāʿīlīs had intensified in Syria, necessitating the public assembly of 516/1122 in Cairo in the defence of the rights of al-Mustaʿlī and al-Āmir to the imamate. The Nizārīs were accused of the murder of their arch-enemy al-Afḍal in 515/1121, while the Fāṭimid regime rejoiced at receiving Bahrām's head in Cairo. Henceforth, Ismāʿīlism weakened in Egypt, while the bulk of the Syrian Ismāʿīlīs rapidly rallied to the side of the Nizārī *daʿwa*. There do not seem to have occurred any major confrontations between the Nizārīs, entrenched in their mountain strongholds in Persia and Syria, and the Ḥāfiẓiyya and the Ṭayyibiyya, restricted respectively to Egypt and Yaman.

In contrast to the first two stages, the Syrian Nizārīs succeeded during the third phase of their earliest history, lasting some two decades after their defeat of 523/1129 in Damascus, in finally acquiring a number of permanent strongholds. During this period, they directed their efforts to the Jabal Bahrāʾ, a mountainous region between Ḥamā and the coastline southwest of the Jabal al-Summāq, which was inhabited by Nuṣayrīs and possessed a number of castles suitable as *dār al-hijra*s for the Nizārīs. Few details are known about the Syrian Nizārīs and their *dāʿī*s during this third phase, when they transferred their activities outside the cities. It seems that they, including those who had taken refuge in Frankish territories, recovered swiftly from their setback in Damascus. They were soon reorganized under the leadership of the *dāʿī* Ismāʿīl al-ʿAjamī's successor, Abu'l-Fatḥ, and effectively penetrated the Jabal Bahrāʾ, in the aftermath of the Crusaders' failure to establish themselves there. In 527/1132–1133 the Nizārīs came into possession of their first fortress in the Jabal Bahrāʾ by purchasing Qadmūs from the Muslim lord of Kahf, Sayf al-Mulk b. ʿAmrūn, who, with the assistance of the Nuṣayrīs, had recovered it from the Franks the previous year.[112]



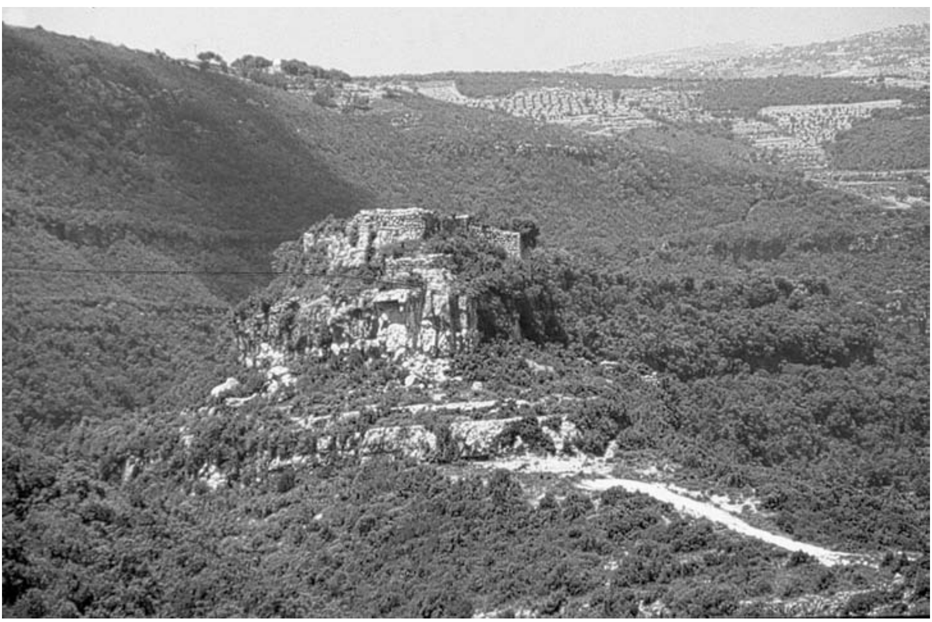
10. The castle of Maṣyāf

From Qadmūs, which became one of their major strongholds and often served as the residence of their chief *dāʿī*, the Syrian Nizārīs extended their dominion in the region.[113] Shortly afterwards, Mūsā, another of the Banū ʿAmrūn and a son of Sayf al-Mulk, sold Kahf itself to the Nizārīs, to prevent it from falling into the hands of his cousins in the course of a succession dispute. In 531/1136–1137, the Frankish occupants of Kharība were driven out by the local Nizārīs, who subsequently regained control of that castle after being temporarily dislodged by Ibn Ṣalāḥ, the Zangid governor of Ḥamā. In 535/1140–1141, the Nizārīs captured Maṣyāf, their most important stronghold in Syria, by killing Sunqur, who held it on behalf of the Banū Munqidh of Shayzar.[114] Maṣyāf, situated about forty kilometres to the west of Ḥamā, subsequently became the usual headquarters of the chief *dāʿī* of the Syrian Nizārīs. Around the same time, the Nizārīs captured several other castles in the Jabal Bahrāʾ, including Khawābī, Ruṣāfa, Manīqa and Qulayʿa, which became collectively designated as the *qilāʿ al-daʿwa*.[115] As noted, William of Tyre, writing a few decades later, puts the number of these castles at ten and the Nizārī population of the region at 60,000.

Thus, in less than twenty years after their defeat in Damascus, the Syrian Nizārīs had succeeded in establishing a network of mountain fortresses and consolidating their position despite the hostility of the local Sunnī rulers and the threats posed by the Crusaders, who were active in the adjacent areas belonging to the Latin states of Antioch and Tripoli. As in Persia, however, the Nizārīs of Syria were



11. The castle of Khawābī



12. The castle of Kahf

content to be a local power controlling a particular territory and enjoying for some time an independent status. The sources relate only a few scanty details on the relations between the Syrian Nizārīs and the outside world during this period when the sectaries were chiefly preoccupied with consolidating themselves in the Jabal Bahrāʾ.

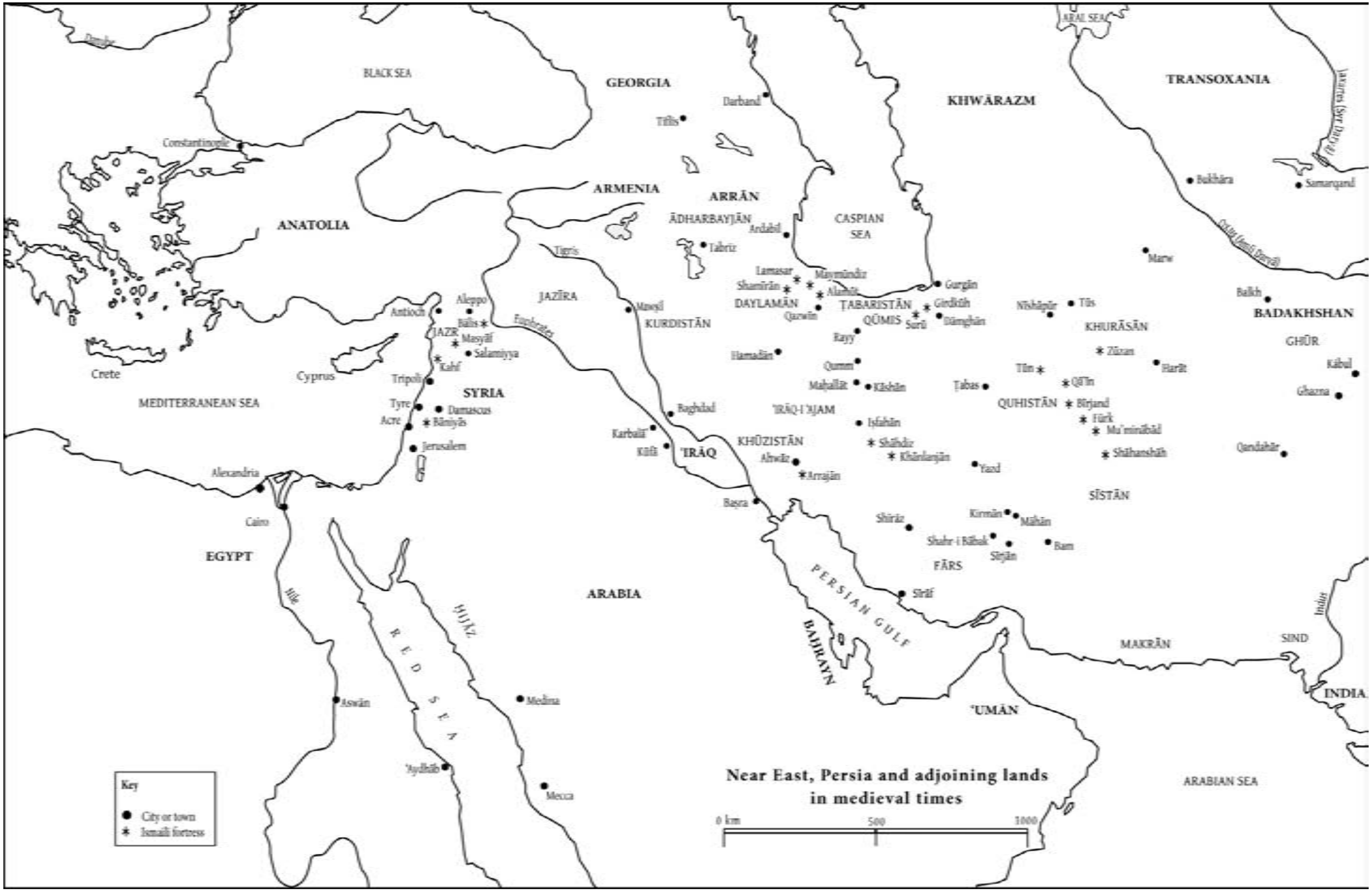
The Syrian Nizārīs had always been apprehensive of the Turkish rulers of Mawṣil, who held a strategic region along the line of communication between the Syrian and Persian centres of their community and state. When Zangī b. Āq Sunqur (521–541/1127–1146), the Saljūq governor of Mawṣil, took Aleppo in 522/1128, the Syrian Nizārīs became even more threatened. In 543/1148, Zangī's son and successor Nūr al-Dīn Maḥmūd (541–569/1146–1174) abolished the Shīʿī forms of prayer hitherto used in Aleppo, which amounted to an open declaration of war on the Ismāʿīlīs and the Aleppine Shīʿīs in general.[116] It is therefore not surprising that in the following year, a contingent of Nizārīs assisted Raymond of Antioch in his campaign against Nūr al-Dīn. The Ismāʿīlī commander, ʿAlī b. Wafāʾ, and Raymond were amongst those who perished in the fighting in Ṣafar 544/June 1149 at Inab.[117]

Only two assassinations attributed to the Nizārīs are recorded for this period. In 543/1149, two *fidāʾī*s murdered Ḍaḥḥāk b. Jandal, the tribal chief of the Wādī al-Taym, who had earlier inflicted a severe defeat on the Nizārīs, killing Bahrām.[118] And in 547/1152, a band of *fidāʾī*s attacked and killed Count Raymond II of Tripoli, together with Ralph of Merle and another knight who at the time were accompanying the count to the gates of Tripoli.[119] The motives behind the murder of Raymond II, the first Frankish dignitary targeted by the Nizārīs, were never revealed. The Christians of Tripoli in a frenzy of revenge attacked the Syrians, and the Templars raided the Syrian Nizārīs. It was probably from that time that the Syrian Nizārīs were obliged to pay an annual tribute to the Templar military order. The Templars and the Hospitallers, founded in 1113 and 1119 respectively, were military orders of knights. Acting rather autonomously and accountable only to the pope, they provided military assistance to the Crusaders in the Frankish states and also guarded the pilgrim routes of the Holy Land. These two military orders had large and well-organized fighting forces at their disposal and also possessed numerous castles in the vicinity of the Nizārī fortresses in the Jabal Bahrāʾ.

By the end of Buzurg-Ummīd's rule, the Nizārīs had clearly established an independent state of their own. The scattered territories of this state consisted primarily of two areas in Persia, namely, Rūdbār and a large tract of Quhistān, as well as the southern part of the Jabal Bahrāʾ in Syria. The capital of this state, where the Persian leader of the Nizārī community resided, was normally at Alamūt, and less frequently at other fortresses of Rūdbār. The Nizārī territory in Quhistān was extensive, though not continuous, and it included several towns and fortresses.

The Quhistānī Nizārīs owned the authority of a single chief, sometimes called *muḥtasham*, who was appointed from Alamūt and usually resided in Tūn, Qāʾin, or in the castle of Muʾminābād, in the vicinity of Bīrjand. The Nizārīs soon lost their strongholds in the eastern Alburz, but they retained two other scattered tracts of territory in Persia. In Qūmis, they held on to Girdkūh and a few other isolated fortresses near Dāmghān. The Persian Nizārīs also held some fortresses in the cental Zagros, in the region of Luristān, which they had probably acquired after losing Arrajān and other castles in the southern Zagros. In Syria, they controlled the southern Jabal Bahrāʾ region from their fortresses. Their chief, residing normally at Maṣyāf or Kahf, was appointed from Alamūt. For some time the Nizārī community included not only those living in Nizārī territories, but also a significant number of Nizārīs in other Persian and Syrian towns and villages. However, gradually the Nizārīs came to be located chiefly in their own territories, though smaller numbers continued to be found in the Jazr district of Syria, and in parts of Quhistān and Sīstān not under Nizārī rule. At the same time, there were non-Ismāʿīlīs, including Sunnīs, Imāmīs, Zaydīs and Nuṣayrīs, living in the areas held by the Nizārīs. The Nizārī state had its own mint and supreme head, who acted as an independent territorial ruler and was generally accepted as such by others. This was clearly demonstrated already in 530/1136 when a certain Saljūq *amīr*, Yaranqush (Yarnaqash), dislodged from his *iqṭāʿ* by the Khwārazmians, took refuge at Alamūt. Although this *amīr* had been an enemy of the Nizārīs, Buzurg-Ummīd declined to deliver him to the Khwārazmshāh, a Saljūq vassal who himself had been friendly with the Nizārīs, declaring that he would not betray a man who had taken asylum with him.

The Nizārī territories were separated from one another by long distances, and yet the Nizārī state maintained a remarkable cohesion and sense of unity both internally and against the outside world, which could not have been enforced by military power or centralization of authority alone. Indeed, each territory enjoyed a certain degree of independence and initiative in conducting its local affairs, while they all shared a common purpose and acted in unison vis-à-vis the outside world. The Nizārī groups, differing in their regional conditions and problems, nevertheless shared a common heritage and sense of mission. Highly disciplined and dedicated to their community, they continued to manifest a strong sense of solidarity in maintaining their independence from the surrounding Turkish rulers. Consequently, the most drastic changes of policy initiated at Alamūt were accepted throughout the Nizārī community. Similarly, the Nizārī territories readily acknowledged the supreme leadership of the central head of their state, while the Quhistānī and Syrian Nizārīs accepted the authority of their local chiefs designated by Alamūt. The tradition of centralization of authority in the Ismāʿīlī community and hierarchism in the *daʿwa* organization were obviously effective antecedents contributing to the cohesion of the Nizārīs, but



2. Near East, Persia and adjoining lands in medieval times

doubtless the common vision of the community also played an important part. The Nizārīs maintained a strong sense of their mission, and even after failing in their initial struggle against the Saljūqs they continued to dedicate themselves to preparing the way for the general rule of the Nizārī Ismāʿīlī imam. As a result, the Nizārī state manifested a stability rarely encountered at the time in similarly situated principalities of the Muslim world. Most of the lords of Alamūt had long reigns, and there seem to have been no succession disputes in the state, whether the community was led by a *dāʿī*, or later, by an imam.

The Nizārī community of the Alamūt period, comprised of highlanders and mountain dwellers, villagers, and urban groups living in small towns, maintained a sophisticated outlook and placed a high value on intellectual activities, encouraged by the local sense of initiative in the main Nizārī territories. In Alamūt, Quhistān, and Syria, the Nizārīs established impressive libraries, containing not only religious literature of all sorts, including Ismāʿīlī works, but also scientific tracts and equipment. The Nizārīs seem to have been interested in different branches of learning, and the vitality of their community was reinforced by the continuing arrival of a certain number of outsiders at their centres. Eminent Muslim scholars availed themselves of the Nizārī libraries and patronage of learning and some of them even embraced Ismāʿīlism at least temporarily. In sum, as Hodgson has observed, the vigour and stability of the Nizārī state can only in part be attributed to the specific methods of struggle used by them or to the genius of the earliest Nizārī leaders in Persia. Nizārī solidarity under outside pressure, total dedication to their mission, a strong sense of initiative among the local groups, and the special appeal of the movement to outstanding individuals in Muslim society also played a part.[120]

Muḥammad b. Buzurg-Ummīd

Kiyā Buzurg-Ummīd died in Jumādā I 532/February 1138, and was buried next to Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ, where his tomb was piously visited until the end of the Alamūt period. Buzurg-Ummīd was succeeded at Alamūt by his son Muḥammad, whom he had designated as heir only three days before his death.[121] Muḥammad readily received the allegiance of all the Nizārī territories, and henceforth hereditary central leadership became established in the Nizārī state.

The Nizārī–Saljūq stalemate continued during Muḥammad's long reign (532–557/1138–1162). In the earlier years of his reign, the area under the control of Alamūt was actually extended in Daylamān and Gīlān, where several new fortresses were acquired or constructed. Amongst such mountain castles, the Nizārī chroniclers, notably the *raʾīs* Ḥasan b. Ṣalāḥ Munshī Bīrjandī, quoted by

our Persian historians, mention Saʿādatkūh, Mubārakkūh and Fīrūzkūh. These castles were acquired chiefly through the efforts of a Nizārī commander called Kiyā Muḥammad b. ʿAlī Khusraw Fīrūz, who led expeditions from Alamūt and was subsequently appointed as commandant of some of the new fortresses. During these years, the Nizārī operations were sometimes led by Kiyā ʿAlī (d. 538/1144), Muḥammad b. Buzurg-Ummīd's brother. The Nizārīs are reported to have extended their influence to Georgia (Gurjistān), where they carried on some *daʿwa* activities as well. They also made a major effort to penetrate an entirely new region, Ghūr, to the east of Quhistān, in present-day central Afghanistan. It seems that the Nizārī *daʿwa* was established in that region around 550/1155 at the request of the Ghūrid ruler ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Ḥusayn Jahānsūz (544–556/1149–1161). But soon after ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn's death, his son and successor Sayf al-Dīn Muḥammad (d. 558/1163) massacred the Nizārī *dāʿī*s despatched from Alamūt, as well as their converts in Ghūr.[122]

As a territorial power, the Nizārīs were now mainly involved in minor quarrels with their immediate neighbours. The Nizārī chroniclers of Muḥammad's reign pay special attention to these local conflicts, especially the continuing series of raids and counter-raids between Rūdbār and Qazwīn, providing details on the number of sheep, cows and other booty taken on each occasion. Although the Nizārīs continued to maintain a strong sense of their mission even during this period of stalemate, the days of the great Nizārī revolt had clearly ended and the vigorous campaigns of the earliest years of Nizārī history had now turned into petty local entanglements.

As a result of these changed circumstances, the Nizārīs now targeted fewer prominent enemies.[123] The first one in this period was another ʿAbbāsid caliph, al-Mustarshid's son and successor al-Rāshid (529–530/1135–1136). Like his father, al-Rāshid had become involved in Saljūq disputes and, refusing to give allegiance to the Saljūq Sultan Masʿūd, he was deposed after a short caliphate in favour of his uncle al-Muqtafī (530–555/1136–1160). Subsequently, al-Rāshid was exiled from ʿIrāq to Persia, where he was killed in Iṣfahān by four *fidāʾī*s in Ramaḍān 532/June 1138, a few months after Muḥammad's accession. The Nizārī chroniclers relate, however, that al-Rāshid had set out for Persia to avenge his father. His assassination was countered by the massacre of the Nizārīs by the townspeople of Iṣfahān, while Alamūt rejoiced at al-Rāshid's death with a week of celebrations.[124] Besides al-Rāshid, the most notable Nizārī target of this period was the Saljūq Sultan Dāʾūd, who had severely persecuted the Nizārīs in Ādharbayjān, then under his rule. He was murdered in Tabrīz, curiously enough by four Syrian *fidāʾī*s, in 538/1143. Amongst other famous victims, the roll of honour kept at Alamūt lists the *qāḍī*s of Tiflīs, Hamadān, and Quhistān, who had authorized executions of various Nizārīs.

The Nizārīs of northern Persia were confronted with two persistent enemies in the persons of Shāh Ghāzī Rustam b. ʿAlāʾ al-Dawla ʿAlī, the Bāwandid ruler of Māzandarān and Gīlān, and ʿAbbās, the Saljūq governor of Rayy. After the assassination of his son Girdbāzū in 537/1142 at the hands of *fidāʾī*s, Shāh Ghāzī continuously attacked the Nizārīs of Rūdbār, killing large numbers of them and building towers of their heads. Similarly, ʿAbbās, upon hearing in 535/1141 the news of the Nizārī assassination of Jawhar, his master, in Sanjar's camp, massacred the Nizārīs of Rayy and thereafter attacked and killed many Nizārīs in the district of Alamūt and elsewhere. In 541/1146, the Nizārīs were obliged to send an emissary to Sultan Sanjar asking for his intervention to end the menace posed by ʿAbbās. A few months later, ʿAbbās was murdered whilst on a visit to Baghdad, on Sultan Masʿūd's order and evidently at Sanjar's request. His head was sent to Alamūt.[125] This was apparently another period of truce between the Nizārī leadership and Sanjar. However, earlier in 538/1143, the Nizārīs had repelled an attack by Masʿūd's army on Lamasar and other localities in Rūdbār. And later, Sanjar lent his support to the enemies of the Quhistānī Nizārīs. Al-ʿAmīd b. Manṣūr (or Masʿūd), the governor of Ṭuraythīth, had evidently submitted to the Nizārīs of Quhistān, but his son and successor ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Maḥmūd attempted to restore Sunnism in the area in 545/1150 and was expelled. He appealed to Sanjar for help, but in the following year a Saljūq army led by the *amīr* Qajaq failed to reinstate Maḥmūd.[126] Shortly afterwards, one of Sanjar's *amīr*s, Muḥammad b. Anaz, probably with his master's approval, began conducting an almost personal series of raids against the Nizārīs of Quhistān, who were pursuing activities of their own in the region.[127] The anti-Nizārī activities of Ibn Anaz continued for at least six years until 554/1159, even after Sanjar's death in 552/1157.

The stalemate between the Nizārīs and the Saljūqs, and the overall setback in the Nizārī struggle, must have been disappointing to the Nizārī community. By the time of Muḥammad b. Buzurg-Ummīd, many Nizārīs doubtless looked back to the glorious past and the campaigns of Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ's days. At the same time, the Nizārīs had continued to await since Nizār's death for the open manifestation of their imam. It seems that by the later years of Muḥammad b. Buzurg-Ummīd a number of young Nizārīs had begun to favour certain Ismāʿīlī teachings of earlier times. These Nizārīs fixed their thoughts on the parousia of their imam and the coming of the *qiyāma*, when justice would be established in the world. The young Nizārīs inclined to such ideas found a leader in Muḥammad b. Buzurg-Ummīd's heir apparent Ḥasan, who shared and encouraged these ideas.

According to our Persian historians, Ḥasan, born in 520/1126, developed early an interest in studying the past history and doctrines of the Ismāʿīlī *daʿwa*. He examined the teachings of Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ. He also read philosophical and Sufi writings. Possessing intellectual qualities and reading widely, Ḥasan became

learned and acquired many followers in Alamūt. In particular, he became well versed in the use of Ismāʿīlī *taʾwīl*, and his esoteric and symbolical interpretations gained popularity amongst his followers. Indeed, many of the younger Nizārīs soon began to regard Ḥasan as the imam who had been promised by Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ. Having been endowed with eloquence and a charismatic personality, Ḥasan's popularity increased rapidly in Rūdbār. Already in Muḥammad b. Buzurg-Ummīd's time, many Nizārīs followed and obeyed him as their leader.

Eventually, Muḥammad b. Buzurg-Ummīd, who like his predecessors was rigid in his observance of the *sharīʿa* and the conduct of the *daʿwa* on behalf of the imam, was obliged to take drastic action against those Nizārīs who followed Ḥasan and believed in his imamate. On one occasion, he had 250 of them killed in Alamūt and exiled the same number from the castle. From that time till Muḥammad's death, Ḥasan made every effort, orally and in writing, to abstain from the earlier ideas preached by himself and his partisans. But Ḥasan was merely waiting for an opportune time to propagate his own teachings. Muḥammad b. Buzurg-Ummīd fell ill and died in Rabīʿ I 557/March 1162; he was buried next to Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ, Kiyā Buzurg-Ummīd and Abū ʿAlī Ardistānī.

The proclamation of *qiyāma* or resurrection

Muḥammad b. Buzurg-Ummīd was succeeded by Ḥasan, at the time about thirty-five years old, who had earlier been designated as heir.[128] Ḥasan, who was then considered to be Muḥammad b. Buzurg-Ummīd's son, proceeded cautiously to prepare the ground for a declaration which was to initiate a new phase in the religious history of Nizārī Ismāʿīlism. About two and a half years after his accession, he gathered at Alamūt the representatives of the various Nizārī territories, at least those in Persia, to make an important announcement. The accounts of this amazing event are preserved by our Persian historians and a few later Nizārī authors.[129]

In Ramaḍān 559 AH, Ḥasan ordered a pulpit (*minbar*) to be erected, facing towards the west, in the public prayer ground at the foot of Alamūt. And four large banners (singular, *ʿalam*) of four colours, white, red, yellow and green, were attached to the four pillars of the pulpit. Then, on 17 Ramaḍān 559/8 August 1164, he ordered the representatives of his territories to assemble there. The Nizārīs from Rūdbār and Daylam were placed in front of the pulpit, those from Khurāsān and Quhistān were stationed on the right side, while the *rafīq*s from central and western parts of Persia stood on the left side of the pulpit. Ḥasan, wearing a white garment and a white turban, came down from the castle about noon and ascended the pulpit. He greeted the assembly and, after sitting down

for a moment, rose up and holding his sword delivered in a loud voice a message which, he claimed, had been sent to him by the Nizārī imam who now had new instructions for his community. The imam of the time, Ḥasan declared, has sent you his blessings and compassion. He has called you his special chosen servants, has relieved you of the duties and burdens of the *sharīʿa*, and has brought you to the *qiyāma*, the resurrection. Ḥasan then delivered a *khuṭba* in Arabic, claiming that it represented the exact words of the imam. The jurist Muḥammad Bustī, who knew Arabic, had been placed at the foot of the pulpit to translate this *khuṭba* into Persian for those present. The *khuṭba* named Ḥasan not only as the imam's *dāʿī* and *ḥujja* or proof, like his predecessors at Alamūt, but also the imam's *khalīfa*, or deputy with plenary authority, a higher rank yet, which was not defined at the time. The imam had also admonished his community to obey and follow Ḥasan in all spiritual and temporal matters, and deem his word as that of the imam's. After completing his address, Ḥasan descended from the pulpit and performed the two prostrations (*rakʿat*) reserved for festive occasions (*namāz-i ʿīd*). Then he invited the people to join him at a table which had been prepared for the breaking of their fast. Ḥasan declared that day the 'festival of the resurrection' (*ʿīd-i qiyāmat*), and the people feasted and made merry. Henceforth, 17 Ramaḍān was celebrated by the Nizārīs as a day of rejoicing.

About two months later, shortly before the time of the *ḥajj* pilgrimage, a similar ceremony was held at the fortress of Muʾminābād, to the east of Bīrjand in Quhistān. Ḥasan had sent the *khuṭba*, the epistle and the message which he had delivered at Alamūt, to the *raʾīs* Muẓaffar, his deputy who had headed the Nizārīs of Quhistān since 555/1160, by the hand of a person called Muḥammad Khāqān. These documents, proclaiming the *qiyāma* and further clarifying the status of Ḥasan himself, were read out to the representatives of the Quhistānī Nizārīs, in Dhu'l-Qaʿda 559/October 1164, by the *raʾīs* Muẓaffar from a special pulpit set up for the occasion. In addition, Muḥammad Khāqān delivered an oral message from Ḥasan. The *qiyāma* was proclaimed, once again, for the Nizārīs of Quhistān. The lord of Alamūt now also declared that just as previously al-Mustanṣir had been God's *khalīfa* or representative on earth and Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ had been al-Mustanṣir's *khalīfa*, so now Ḥasan II himself was the *khalīfa* of God on earth and the *raʾīs* Muẓaffar was Ḥasan II's *khalīfa* in Quhistān, hence his commands were to be obeyed. At the close of the ceremony, the Nizārī assembly rejoiced at the steps of the pulpit in Muʾminābād. In Syria, too, the *qiyāma* was announced, evidently a while later, and the Syrian Nizārīs likewise celebrated the beginning of a new era.

The public proclamations made at Alamūt and Muʾminābād in 559/1164 indeed amounted to a religious revolution. Ḥasan II, whom the Nizārīs called *ʿalā dhikrihi'l-salām* (on his mention be peace), in proclaiming the *qiyāma* (Persian,

qiyāmat), was announcing the long-awaited Last Day when mankind would be judged and committed forever to either Paradise (*bihisht*) or Hell (*dūzakh*). Relying heavily on Ismāʿīlī *taʾwīl*, and drawing on earlier Ismāʿīlī teachings, however, *qiyāma* or the end of the world was interpreted symbolically and spiritually for the living Nizārīs.[130] The resurrection was interpreted to mean the manifestation of the unveiled truth (*ḥaqīqa*) in the person of the Nizārī Ismāʿīlī imam. Accordingly, the believers, those who acknowledged the Nizārī imam, were now capable of comprehending the truth or spiritual reality, the *bāṭin* and the esoteric essence of the religious laws, and as such Paradise was actualized for them in this world. On the other hand, the 'outsiders', or all those who had refused to acknowledge the Nizārī imam and were thus incapable of recognizing the truth, were henceforth rendered spiritually non-existent. In line with earlier Ismāʿīlī teachings, the imam initiating the *qiyāma* would be the *qāʾim al-qiyāma*, or 'lord of the resurrection', a rank which in Ismāʿīlī thought had always been higher than that of an ordinary imam, and the *qāʾim*'s *daʿwa* would be the *daʿwa* of the resurrection (Persian, *daʿwat-i qiyāmat*). According to the later Nizārī sources, Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ, designated as the *ḥujja* of the *qāʾim al-qiyāma*, had sounded the first blast of the trumpet that had prepared the way for the *qiyāma*, and Ḥasan II *ʿalā dhikrihiʾl-salām* sounded the second blast that actually brought the *qiyāma*.[131]

The Persian historians relate that, in line with the expectations of the earlier Ismāʿīlīs concerning the *qiyāma*, Ḥasan II had also abrogated the *sharīʿa*, which had been vigorously enforced by Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ, Buzurg-Ummīd and Muḥammad b. Buzurg-Ummīd. As a consequence of the resurrection, and as was fitting in Paradise, the believers could henceforth be relieved of the duties and obligations imposed by the law, for in this world all is action (*ʿamal*) and there is no reckoning (*ḥisāb*), while in the world of the *qiyāma* all is reckoning and there is no action. According to the same sources, this doctrine thus taught that in the era of the resurrection (*dawr-i qiyāmat*) men were to turn in every sense towards God and abandon the established habits of worship. For instance, instead of praying five times a day, as required by the *sharīʿa*, in the time of the resurrection they would constantly be with God in their hearts, for such is true prayer (*namāz-i ḥaqīqī*). Our sources add that in like manner, the Nizārīs interpreted, through *taʾwīl*, all the other prescriptions of the *sharīʿa*. According to Rashīd al-Dīn and Kāshānī, it was specifically for their abolition of the *sharīʿa* that the Nizārīs became designated as *malāḥida*, or heretics.[132]

This announcement of the *qiyāma* was in fact a declaration of independence from the larger Muslim society and, at the same time, an admission of the failure of the Nizārī struggle to take over that society, for this *qiyāma* now rendered the outside world as essentially irrelevant. The Nizārīs now envisaged themselves in spiritual Paradise, while condemning the non-Nizārīs to spiritual non-existence.

Now the Nizārīs had the opportunity of being collectively introduced to Paradise on earth, which was the knowledge of the unveiled truth, the Nizārī imam being the epiphany (*maẓhar*) of that unchangeable *ḥaqīqa*. It was in this sense that the Nizārīs reportedly celebrated the end of the religious era (*dawr-i sharīʿat*) and earthly life, represented by the *ẓāhir* of reality. Henceforth, Nizārīs were to concentrate on the *bāṭin* of that reality and lead a purely spiritual life. Like the Sufis, they were now to leave behind all material compromise and rise to a higher spiritual level of existence. In the year 559/1164, the Nizārī Ismāʿīlīs of the Alamūt period entered the second phase of their history, the phase of the *qiyāma*, which was to last forty-six years: until the year 607/1210.

The announcement of the *qiyāma*, as noted, also introduced an important change in the status of the lord of Alamūt. In his initial proclamation at Alamūt, Ḥasan II had declared himself the imam's *dāʿī* and *ḥujja*, like his predecessors, and his *khalīfa*. By the latter term, now used for the first time by a lord of Alamūt, Ḥasan II was claiming a specific position, evidently superior to the ranks of *dāʿī* and *ḥujja*. Our Persian historians explain that Ḥasan II claimed to be the imam's sole vicegerent and deputy (*qāʾim maqām va nāʾib-i munfarid*).[133] At Muʾminābād, Ḥasan's status as *khalīfa* was explicitly equated with God's *khalīfa* and identified with the rank held by the Fāṭimid caliph al-Mustanṣir, who had been the imam. In other words, Ḥasan II had in two stages claimed to have been the imam, and indeed the *imām-qāʾim*. After the proclamation of the *qiyāma*, Ḥasan, in his epistles (*fuṣūl*) and addresses, apparently hinted more clearly that he himself was the imam and the *qāʾim al-qiyāma*, the son of an imam from the progeny of Nizār b. al-Mustanṣir, though in appearance he had been considered to be the son of Muḥammad b. Buzurg-Ummīd.[134]

The account of the proclamation of the *qiyāma* presented here is based on the Persian historians, some Nizārī works of later times, and the standard interpretation of modern scholars, such as Hodgson, Corbin and Madelung. The declaration of the *qiyāma* and its particular implications for the Nizārīs of the Alamūt period, however, represent a highly controversial episode in the history of Nizārī Ismāʿīlism. Many modern day Nizārīs question the validity of certain aspects of the narratives of this episode. According to them, a fundamental function of any current Nizārī imam has always been the contextualization of the interpretation of the *sharīʿa* and the practice of the faith in his own time. As a result, they are of the opinion that the declaration of the *qiyāma* represented an attempt by the imam of the time to give an interpretation to the *sharīʿa* that fitted the prevailing circumstances. And the few modern Nizārī scholars who have occasionally referred to this event in the Alamūt period, have made statements such as 'the outward performance of ritual elaborated in the *sharīʿah*, or religious law, was not abrogated as is generally thought'.[135] In view of the fact

that no contemporary Nizārī sources have survived from that period, it is very difficult to know precisely how the *qiyāma* was actually perceived by the rank and file of the Nizārī community, who were scattered in remote areas with diverse socio-economic and cultural as well as rural-urban characteristics.

The proclamation of the *qiyāma* duly provided an ideal opportunity for all Muslim enemies of the Nizārīs to fix on this event and its implications. The Sunnī–ʿAbbāsid establishment had traditionally accused the Ismāʿīlīs of dispensing with the commandments and prohibitions of the *sharīʿa*. A new and unique chance had now been found for reasserting that accusation. However, the declaration of the *qiyāma* at Alamūt and Muʾminābād had evidently gone completely unnoticed by the outside world until later. Contemporary Sunnī chroniclers, like Ibn al-Athīr, do not mention the Nizārī *qiyāma*. All this implies that the Persian Nizārīs of the *qiyāma* times had not attracted the attention of other Muslims by any drastic changes in their lifestyle. It was, in fact, only after the fall of Alamūt that the Persian historians and the outside world in general became aware of the Nizārī declaration of the *qiyāma* that had taken place almost a century earlier. Highly valuing the preservation of their identity, the Nizārīs doubtless continued to regard themselves as Shīʿī Muslims, and therefore, especially since after the declaration of the *qiyāma* the community came to be led by a manifest imam, they did not become a lawless society indulging in libertinism and antinomian practices. Indeed, the contemporary Muslim chroniclers and the Persian historians do not cite any lawlessness in connection with the Persian Nizārī community of the *qiyāma* times. Even Juwaynī, always free with his invectives against them, does not report any instance of libertinism in the Nizārī community of the Alamūt period.

Be that as it may, the Nizārī leadership now stressed the *bāṭin* and the inner spirituality of religion, in contrast to merely observing the *ẓāhir* and its literal meaning. In other words, the faithful, now once again led directly by an infallible imam, were henceforth expected in the *qiyāma* times to concentrate on the spiritual reality behind the letter of positive law. Nevertheless, as subsequent events in the history of the community indicate, the Nizārīs continued to regard themselves as specifically Shīʿī Ismāʿīlī Muslims, as this identity was understood by them in medieval times. For almost seven decades, the Nizārīs had obeyed the imam's chief representative or *ḥujja* while anticipating his own appearance. That expectation was now fulfilled by the declaration of the *qiyāma*. The authoritative teacher promised by Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ had at long last made himself known, and it was incumbent upon the faithful to obey his commands and to follow his teachings. The salvation of the Nizārīs now depended on their recognition of the true spiritual reality of the Nizārī imam rather than on blindly observing the rituals specified by the *sharīʿa*. The *qiyāma* had, thus, inaugurated a new era

in the religious history of the Nizārī Ismāʿīlīs of the Alamūt period, who would henceforth have direct access to their imam.

A year and a half after the declaration of the *qiyāma*, on 6 Rabīʿ I 561/9 January 1166, Ḥasan II was stabbed in the castle of Lamasar by a brother-in-law, Ḥasan b. Nāmāwar, who belonged to a local Daylamī branch of the Shīʿī Būyid family and who opposed Ḥasan II's new policies. Ḥasan II *ʿalā dhikrihi'l-salām* died of his wounds and was succeeded by his nineteen-year-old son Muḥammad, who was born in Shawwāl 542/March 1148. Nūr al-Dīn Muḥammad II reigned for forty-four years, longer than any other Khudāwand of Alamūt.[136] Immediately upon his accession, Muḥammad II put to death Ḥasan b. Nāmāwar, together with all his relatives. Muḥammad II, who is said to have been a prolific writer, reaffirmed Ḥasan II's policies and devoted his life to a systematic elaboration and refinement of the teachings related to the *qiyāma* in terms of a doctrine. In addition, Muḥammad II seems to have made his own contributions in at least two respects. He claimed the imamate for his father and, therefore, for himself in the fullest sense. He also put the imam, more specifically the present (*ḥāḍir*) Nizārī imam, at the very centre of the doctrine of the *qiyāma*.

In accordance with the expectations of the earlier Ismāʿīlīs, the imam had to be present in person at the time of the *qiyāma*, for it was precisely the eschatological role of the culminating imam, the *qā'im*, to inaugurate the *qiyāma*. The Nizārīs of the time of the resurrection thus expected to know the identity of the imam who had ushered in the *qiyāma* for his community. As noted, Ḥasan II had hinted that he was not merely the representative of the imam, but the imam himself. Muḥammad II explicitly claimed that his father had been the imam also by physical descent. According to our Persian historians and the Nizārī tradition, he claimed that Ḥasan II was not the son of Muḥammad b. Buzurg-Ummīd, as it had been previously believed, but the son of a descendant of Nizār who had secretly found refuge in a village near Alamūt. He in effect claimed a Nizārid Fāṭimid genealogy for his father and himself. Thus, after a period of some seventy years following Nizār's death, the line of the Nizārī imams emerged openly and the Nizārīs henceforth recognized the lords of Alamūt, beginning with Ḥasan II, as their imams.

There were alternative versions of Ḥasan II's Fāṭimid ancestry, as reported by Juwaynī and other Persian historians.[137] Some Nizārīs maintained that in 488/1095, a year after al-Mustanṣir's death, a certain *qāḍī* Abu'l-Ḥasan Ṣaʿīdī had gone from Egypt to Alamūt, secretly taking with him a grandson of Nizār known as al-Muhtadī. The secret was divulged only to Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ, who protected Nizār's grandson living clandestinely around Alamūt. According to the most widely popular version, a son born to Nizār's grandson or great-grandson, and who subsequently ruled as Ḥasan II, was exchanged with a son born at

the same time to Muḥammad b. Buzurg-Ummīd, without the latter's knowledge. According to yet another version, a pregnant wife of Nizār's descendant at Alamūt was given to Muḥammad's care, and, in due course, she gave birth to Ḥasan II. On the basis of the genealogy subsequently circulating amongst the Nizārīs, there were three generations between Ḥasan II and Nizār, Ḥasan being represented as the son of al-Qāhir b. al-Muhtadī b. al-Hādī b. Nizār.[138] Once Ḥasan II and his son Muḥammad II were recognized as Nizārid Fāṭimids and imams, the breach with the preceding period of *satr* in early Nizārī history, when the imam was hidden from his followers and there were only his *ḥujja*s and *dāʿī*s at Alamūt, was complete.

In his elaboration of the doctrine of the *qiyāma*, Muḥammad II also assigned a central role to the imam, and more specifically to the present and living imam.[139] The exaltation of the autonomous teaching authority of the present imam over that of the previous imams, already taught by Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ, and over that of the prophets, in fact became the outstanding feature of Nizārī thought. The *qiyāma* entailed much more than the psychological independence of the believers from the outside world. It implied a complete personal transformation of the Nizārīs who henceforth were expected to perceive their imam in his true spiritual reality. The imam in his eternal essence was defined as the epiphany (*maẓhar*) of the word (*kalima*) or command (*amr*) of God.[140] In Shīʿī thought, the imam had always been considered as the *ḥujja* or proof of God. But in the Paradise of the *qiyāma*, the present Nizārī imam became the manifestation of the divine word or order to create, that is to say, the cause of the spiritual world. It was essentially through this vision of the imam that men could find themselves in Paradise, and not by being in Rūdbār, Quhistān or any other particular locality. More specifically, this vision did not consist of merely knowing the identity of the true imam of the time, or of seeing the body of that imam. It required the metaphysical transcending of the person of the imam so as to enable the believer to see the unveiled truth. As a result, the believer would view the world from the imam's viewpoint, enabling him to lead a purely spiritual life, which was the afterlife expected by the Ismāʿīlīs.[141] This view of the universe, and of the imam in particular, would lead the individual to a third level of being, in effect a world of *bāṭin* behind the *bāṭin*, the ultimate reality or *ḥaqīqa*, contrasted to the worlds of the *sharīʿa* and its *bāṭin* as interpreted by the ordinary Ismāʾīlī *taʾwīl*. In the realm of the *ḥaqīqa*, the believers would turn from the *ẓāhirī* world of appearances to a *bāṭinī* realm of ultimate reality and unchangeable truths. The *qiyāma* was thus identified with *ḥaqīqa*, a realm of spiritual life and awareness.

The doctrine of the *qiyāma*, drawing on various earlier religious traditions, introduced a further element in the cyclical history of the Ismāʿīlīs in the new figure of the *imām-qāʾim*, the imam inaugurating the era of *qiyāma*. There had

been *imām-qāʾim*s in earlier prophetic eras. In each era, the *imām-qāʾim* was contemporary with that era's prophet but superior to the latter's *waṣī*. According to the series given in the *Haft bāb-i Bābā Sayyidnā*,[142] the *imām-qāʾim*s of the eras of Adam, Noah and Abraham were, respectively, Malik Shūlīm, Malik Yazdāq and Malik al-Salām, who collectively corresponded to the biblical Melchizedec (see Genesis 14: 18), the priest who was honoured by Abraham.[143] In the eras of Moses, Jesus and Muḥammad, the *imām-qāʾim*s were Dhu'l-Qarnayn, identified with the Qurʾānic figure Khiḍr who had drunk of the water of life and would live for ever, Maʿadd and ʿAlī. Nūr al-Dīn Muḥammad II now identified the present imam, the imam who was the lord of the *qiyāma*, with the figure of the *imām-qāʾim*, and clearly exalted the authority and status of the present imam, independently of the preceding imams. Furthermore, every imam, when seen rightly, was seen to be ʿAlī, who was identified with the Melchizedec–Dhu'l-Qarnayn–Khiḍr *imām-qāʾim* figure. In turn, every believer was again Salmān, the faithful disciple of the Prophet Muḥammad and one of the earliest followers of ʿAlī. Thus, in the *qiyāma*, the *imām-qāʾim*, the present imam who was identical with ʿAlī, appeared openly in his spiritual reality to the believers, who in their spiritual relationship to him were identified with Salmān.

The small and scattered Nizārī community of the Alamūt period did not have any use for the elaborate *daʿwa* organization developed by the Fāṭimid Ismāʿīlīs. Until the declaration of the *qiyāma* and the emergence of the imams, a chief *dāʿī*, with the title of the *dāʿī* of Daylam or the *ḥujja* of the imam, provided central leadership from Alamūt for the Nizārīs, who referred to themselves as *rafīq*s, comrades. The chief *dāʿī* apparently selected the local *dāʿī*s of Quhistān and other Nizārī territories. Only the Syrian Nizārīs seem to have occasionally enjoyed a certain degree of independence from Alamūt. The chief *dāʿī* as well as the local *dāʿī*s, who often acted as military commanders, doubtless must have had a hierarchy of assistants or subordinate *dāʿī*s, about whom no particular details are available. But in the period of the *qiyāma*, when the *qāʾim* was present at the head of the community and in accordance with the earlier predictions about the advent of the *qāʾim* and the event of the resurrection, the *daʿwa* organization and its hierarchical ranks intervening between the imam and his followers, whatever they may have been, faded away. In the *qiyāma*, we are informed, there remained only three idealized categories of persons.

The Nizārī sources define these categories, representing three different levels of existence among mankind, in terms of relationships between the individual and the Nizārī imam.[144] Firstly, there are the 'people of opposition' (*ahl-i taḍādd*), the opponents of the imam comprised of everyone outside the Nizārī community, including both Muslims and non-Muslims. The opponents, or the common people (*ʿāmma*), who do not recognize the imam, exist only in the realm of

appearances (*ẓāhir*), but they are spiritually non-existent and irrelevant in the *qiyāma*. Secondly, there are the ordinary followers of the imam, called the 'people of gradation' (*ahl-i tarattub*), representing the elite of mankind (*khāṣṣa*). These ordinary Nizārīs have gone beyond the *sharīʿa* and the *ẓāhir* to the *bāṭin*, the inner meaning of religion. However, they have found access to only partial truth, as they still do not fully understand the *bāṭin*. As a result, they find partial salvation in the *qiyāma*. Thirdly, there are the 'people of union' (*ahl-i vaḥdat*), the super-elite (*akhaṣṣ-i khāṣṣ*) amongst the Nizārīs, who perceive the imam in his true spiritual reality. Discarding all appearances, the people of union have arrived in the realm of *ḥaqīqa*, in a sense the *bāṭin* behind the *bāṭin*, where they find full (*kullī*), as opposed to partial (*juzʾī*), truth. Only the people of union are truly resurrected and spiritually existent in the *qiyāma*. They alone enjoy full salvation in the paradisal state actualized for them in this world. It seems that the difficult state of the 'people of union' was attained by only a few, if any. Ordinary Nizārī Ismāʿīlīs had to be content with understanding the *sharīʿa* and its inner significance, or the positive law and its spirituality, as interpreted by Ismāʿīlī *taʾwīl*. The demanding conditions for attaining the status of the 'people of union' serve to underline the complexities of the doctrine of the *qiyāma*, and the difficult circumstances confronted by the contemporary Nizārīs. Notwithstanding these complexities, all later anti-Nizārī sources readily equated the Nizārī declaration of the spiritual *qiyāma* with the outright and literal abrogation of the *sharīʿa*.

There are close analogies between the doctrine of the *qiyāma* and certain Sufi ideas and terminologies. The imam was to serve for his followers as a Sufi *shaykh* or *pīr* did for his disciples. By concentrating their attention on him they could be made to forget their separate selves, and through him they could attain spiritual birth. However, the Nizārī imam was more than a mere Sufi *pīr*, one amongst many such guides. He was a single cosmic individual who summed up in his position the entire reality of existence, the perfect microcosm, for whom no lesser *pīr* could be substituted. The cosmic position of the Nizārī imam, as the representative of cosmic reality, was also analogous to the 'perfect man' (*al-insān al-kāmil*) of the Sufis, though again such an abstract figure could not offer a full equivalent of the present and visible Nizārī imam, with whom the Nizārīs shared a joint spiritual experience. There are many other analogies here, such as the identification of the *ḥaqīqa* of the Sufi inner experience with the spiritual afterlife of the Nizārīs in the *qiyāma* times. Certainly the doctrine of the *qiyāma* laid the ground for the coalescence between Nizārī Ismāʿīlism and Sufism in Persia during the post-Alamūt period. But the doctrine of the *qiyāma*, unlike the doctrine of *taʿlīm*, did not have any impact on the outside world. The contemporary Sunnī chroniclers and theologians, fully aware of the earlier Nizārī doctrine of *taʿlīm*, do not refer to the teachings of Ḥasan II and Muḥammad II. As noted, it was

only after the fall of Alamūt, when Nizārī sources became available to outsiders, that the Sunnī writers, beginning with Juwaynī, took notice of the episode of the *qiyāma* in the Nizārī community.

Politically, too, the first three decades of Muḥammad II's reign were rather uneventful. Outside Syria, the Nizārīs of the *qiyāma* times evidently generally ignored the Sunnī world, and did not launch any major campaign against their enemies. During that period, we come across a single case of an outsider taking refuge at Alamūt: he was Ustandār Hazārasf b. Shahrnūsh (560–586/1164–1190), the Bādūspānid ruler of Rustamdār and Rūyān.[145] The latter, unlike his predecessor Kaykāʾūs, cultivated friendly relations with the Nizārīs of Rūdbār and gave them a number of castles in his territories. Hazārasf eventually ran into difficulties with his superior, Ḥusam al-Dawla Ardashīr (567–602/1172–1206), the Bāwandid Ispahbad of Māzandarān, and took refuge at Alamūt. Subsequently, with the assistance of the Nizārīs, Hazārasf raided his former territories, also killing a Zaydī ʿAlid who ruled over Daylamān. Hazārasf was eventually captured by Ardashīr and killed in 586/1190. Rashīd al-Dīn and other Persian historians also relate a story about how the Nizārīs persuaded, initially through a *fidāʾī* and then through financial incentives, the celebrated Sunnī theologian Fakhr al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ʿUmar al-Rāzī (d. 606/1209) to refrain from speaking against them in public.[146]

Sinān and the Syrian Nizārīs

Meanwhile, the Syrian Nizārīs had entered the second period of their history, coinciding with the career of their greatest leader Rāshid al-Dīn Sinān.[147] One of the most prominent figures in Nizārī history, Sinān b. Salmān (or Sulaymān) b. Muḥammad Abu'l-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, known also as Rāshid al-Dīn, was born into an Imāmī Shīʿī family during the 520s/1126–1135, in ʿAqr al-Sudan, a village near Baṣra on the road to Wāsiṭ. Sinān was brought up in Baṣra, where he became a schoolmaster and was converted to Nizārī Ismāʿīlism in his youth. Subsequently, he went to Alamūt and attended school there with Muḥammad b. Buzurg-Ummīd's heir apparent, the future Ḥasan II *ʿalā dhikrihi'l-salām*. During his stay at Alamūt, Sinān studied Ismāʿīlī doctrines, the doctrines of the philosophers, and the *Epistles* of the Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ, amongst other works, and became a close companion of the young Ḥasan II.

Soon after his accession in 557/1162, Ḥasan II sent Sinān to Syria. Travelling cautiously through Mawṣil, Raqqa and Aleppo, then ruled by Nūr al-Dīn Maḥmūd b. Zangī, Sinān finally arrived at Kahf, one of the major Nizārī fortresses in the Jabal Bahrāʾ. He remained at Kahf for a while, making himself extremely

popular with the local Nizārīs, until Shaykh Abū Muḥammad, the head of the Syrian Nizārī *daʿwa*, died in the mountain fortress.[148] The death of Abū Muḥammad, an obscure *dāʿī*, led to a succession dispute which intensified the existing dissension within the Syrian Nizārī community. Abū Muḥammad was succeeded, without the approval of Alamūt, by a certain Khwāja ʿAlī b. Masʿūd, who had the support of a faction of the community. However, another group of the Syrian Nizārīs, led by Abū Manṣūr, the nephew of Abū Muḥammad, in collaboration with the *raʾīs* Fahd, conspired against Khwāja ʿAlī and had him murdered. Soon after these events, Sinān assumed the leadership of the Syrian *daʿwa* on the orders of Alamūt.

Once established, Sinān began to consolidate the position of his community while adopting suitable policies towards the neighbouring Sunnī rulers and the Crusaders, both of whom were a constant threat to the Nizārīs. He entered into an intricate web of shifting alliances with the major neighbouring powers and rulers, especially the Crusaders, the Zangids and Saladin. As a result, he played a prominent role in the regional politics of Syria and managed to maintain the independence of his community under difficult circumstances. But initially Sinān concentrated his efforts in strengthening the defensive and offensive capabilities of his community. He rebuilt the fortresses of Ruṣāfa and Khawābī, fortified and constructed other strongholds, and captured the fortress of ʿUllayqa, near the Frankish castle of Marqab held by the Hospitallers. At the same time, while moving among the various Nizārī castles, especially Maṣyāf, Kahf and Qadmūs, Sinān rapidly ended the internal dissensions of the community and reorganized the Nizārīs, also paying attention to creating a corps of *fidāʾī*s, more generally referred to in Syria as *fidāwī*s or *fidāwiyya*. As discussed earlier, it was the exaggerated reports about the actual or alleged missions of the *fidāʾī*s that provided the basis for a series of imaginative tales, the Assassin legends, that circulated in the Crusader circles of the Near East and Europe. In these tales, Sinān was referred to as 'the Old Man of the Mountain', a designation applied later by Marco Polo and others also to the lords of Alamūt.[149]

Externally, Sinān, aiming to protect his community from numerous enemies, concentrated his attention on the Sunnī rulers who were extending their hegemony over Syria. In his time, Nūr al-Dīn and Saladin, who were at the height of their power and leading the Muslim campaigns against the Crusaders, were potentially greater enemies than the Franks for the Nizārīs. Sinān, a shrewd strategist like Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ, recognized these realities and adopted suitable policies in his dealings with the outside world. As a result, from early on, Sinān established peaceful relations with the Crusaders, who had been sporadically fighting the Nizārīs for several decades over the possession of various strongholds. The Nizārīs, however, had meanwhile acquired a new Frankish enemy in the

Hospitallers, who in 537/1142 had received from the lord of Tripoli the celebrated fortress of Krak des Chevaliers (Ḥiṣn al-Akrād) at the southern end of the Jabal Bahrāʾ. The Nizārīs clashed sporadically with the Hospitaller and Templar military orders, which often acted independently of one another, whilst paying an annual tribute of 2000 *besant*s to the Templars. Subsequently, around 569/1173, Sinān sent an emissary to King Amalric I, seeking a formal rapprochement with the kingdom of Jerusalem in the hope of being relieved of the tribute to the Templars. The negotiations were successful as Amalric promised the cancellation of the tribute. The Templars naturally disapproved of this Nizārī embassy, and on his return journey Sinān's envoy was ambushed and killed by a Templar knight, Walter of Mesnil. Amalric was greatly angered by this assassination, which had been ordered by Odo of Saint-Amand, the Grand Master of the Templars during 1171–1179. Amalric took punitive measures against the Templars and personally led a force to Sidon, where he arrested Walter in the Templar lodge and sent him to prison. He also conveyed his apology to Sinān. However, as Amalric died soon afterwards in 570/1174, negotiations between Sinān and the Franks of Jerusalem proved fruitless. William of Tyre intriguingly relates that it was at the time of this embassy that the Syrian Nizārīs proposed to collectively embrace Christianity.[150] Needless to say this story, reflecting a basic misunderstanding of Sinān's intentions, may be regarded as purely fictitious.

When Sinān assumed power, Nūr al-Dīn Zangī was preoccupied with his policies against the Crusaders and the declining Fāṭimid caliphate. Nevertheless, relations between Sinān and Nūr al-Dīn remained relatively tense, due to the activities of the Nizārīs in northern Syria. But Nūr al-Dīn, who finally succeeded through Saladin in overthrowing the Fāṭimids in 567/1171, did not attack the Nizārīs, though it is reported that he was planning a major expedition against them just before his death, when he allegedly exchanged an unfriendly correspondence with Sinān.[151] The death of Nūr al-Dīn in 569/1174, the same year in which Amalric I died, finally gave Saladin his opportunity to act as the champion of the Muslim 'orthodoxy' and the leader of the war against the Crusaders. As the strongest of the Muslim rulers in the region, Saladin strove towards incorporating Arabia, Syria and ʿIrāq into his nascent Ayyūbid state. As a result, he now became the most dangerous enemy of the Syrian Nizārīs, while the Zangids of Aleppo and Mawṣil were equally threatened by his expansionary policies. Under the circumstances, the Nizārīs and the Zangids were induced to cultivate mutual friendly relations out of fear of their common enemy, Saladin, who had entered Damascus in 570/1174.[152] From Damascus Saladin marched northward, and after capturing Ḥimṣ laid siege to Aleppo. It was at that time that Gümüshtigin, the effective ruler of Aleppo and regent of Nūr al-Dīn's young son and nominal successor Malik al-Ṣāliḥ, sent messengers to Sinān, offering him land and money in return

for removing Saladin. The Nizārī chief accepted the offer and despatched *fidāʾī*s, who penetrated Saladin's camp but failed in their attempt to kill him in Jumādā II 570/December 1174–January 1175. In the following year, when Saladin was besieging ʿAzāz, north of Aleppo, the *fidāʾī*s failed in their second attempt to kill him on 11 Dhu'l-Qaʿda 571/22 May 1176 when, protected by his armour, Saladin received only superficial wounds.[153]

Shortly after these events, Saladin, in a vengeful move, invaded the Nizārī territory and besieged Maṣyāf. The siege lasted very briefly, and, on the mediation of his maternal uncle Shihāb al-Dīn Maḥmūd b. Takash, the governor of Ḥamā and a neighbour interested in having good relations with the Nizārīs, Saladin concluded a truce with Sinān and withdrew his forces from the area. Various reasons have been given for Saladin's withdrawal from the Jabal Bahrāʾ.[154] Whether the mediation was invoked by Sinān or Saladin himself, and for whatever reason, hostilities henceforth ceased between the two men, who had evidently arrived at some sort of truce agreement. Meanwhile, the Syrian Nizārīs had been menaced by the Nubuwwiyya, a local Sunnī group based in ʿIrāq and bent on harassing the Shīʿīs of the region. It is reported that in 570 AH, 10,000 Nubuwwī horsemen attacked the Nizārīs of Bāb and Buzāʿa, massacring several thousand people and taking much booty. Ibn Jubayr (d. 614/1217), the Andalusian traveller and writer who passed through Syria in 580/1184, places this event in around 572/1176–1177.[155]

The Nizārīs did not engage in any acts against Saladin following the latter's withdrawal from Maṣyāf. In fact it seems that henceforth Sinān and Saladin even acted in collusion. By contrast, relations between Sinān and the Zangids of Aleppo had by now deteriorated. In 573/1177, Nizārī *fidāʾī*s killed Shihāb al-Dīn b. al-ʿAjamī, the influential vizier of Malik al-Ṣāliḥ, in the principal mosque of Aleppo. The vizier had been in serious rivalry with Gümüshtigin, who, according to some sources, had instigated this assassination.[156] The opportunity was seized by the enemies of Gümüshtigin, and he was removed from office and tortured to death. In 575/1179–1180, Malik al-Ṣāliḥ (d. 577/1181) seized the fortress of Hajīra from the Nizārīs, who protested in vain. Sinān then sent Nizārī agents to Aleppo, where they set fire to several locations in the city's marketplaces.[157]

Sinān, as noted, assumed power in Syria at about the same time as Ḥasan II in Alamūt. The two men had been close companions at Alamūt, where Sinān had probably belonged to that circle of young Nizārīs who supported Ḥasan II's ideas. When Ḥasan II proclaimed the *qiyāma* in 559/1164 in Alamūt and thereupon sent messengers carrying the tidings to the Nizārīs of other territories, it fell upon Sinān to inaugurate the new dispensation in Syria. Sinān did proclaim the spiritual resurrection in Syria, and the doctrine of the *qiyāma* was introduced there, but it seems to have had a very limited impact on the Syrian Nizārī

community. The Syrian authors of doctrinal works, having little acquaintance with the literature of their Persian co-religionists, do not seem to have explicitly recorded the declaration of the *qiyāma*, and the new doctrine is not expounded in any of the Syrian Nizārī texts recovered thus far. On the other hand, the event is briefly referred to by the later Sunnī historians of Syria, who were unaware of a similar event taking place in Persia and of the accounts of it produced by the Persian historians.[158]

Some time after 559/1164 Sinān proclaimed the *qiyāma* in the Nizārī community of Syria. But the doctrine of the *qiyāma* as developed in Persia does not seem to have become the central doctrine of the Syrian Nizārīs in the time of Sinān, who had acquired increasing independence from Alamūt during Muḥammad II's reign. Indeed, there are reports that as a result of the growing conflict between Sinān and Muḥammad II, the imam attempted several times unsuccessfully to remove Sinān.[159] Nevertheless, Sinān avoided a complete break with Alamūt. He evidently taught his own version of the *qiyāma*. The specific features of this Syrian version, which never acquired any deep roots in the community, remain rather obscure, since it has not been expounded in any available Ismāʿīlī or non-Ismāʿīlī source. Later Syrian Nizārī writings, like the *Faṣl* of Abū Firās, or the fragment ascribed to Sinān, make only vague references to what may have been Sinān's teaching.[160] But these writings do not explicitly concentrate on the status of the current imam and the manifestation of the unveiled truth in him, ideas emphasized at Alamūt. On the contrary, the emphasis of the Nizārī teaching propounded in Syria is on self-knowledge and self-discovery as constituting important steps towards knowing God and the eternal truths of religion.

Sinān enjoyed unprecedented popularity in the Syrian Nizārī community, which enabled him to drift away somewhat from the central headquarters of the Nizārī *daʿwa* and state in Alamūt. But it is not known just what role he claimed for himself, other than the chief *dāʿī* of the Syrian Nizārīs. Some sources relate that he was venerated as an imam, at least by some of his followers who were called Sinānīs after him.[161] And in the popular Syrian Nizārī literature of later times he is actually exalted as a saintly hero with a cosmic rank appropriate to the imam himself. Indeed, Abū Firās ascribes the glory of Sinān's achievement directly to God, as if he had received divine protection and guidance. It is a fact that the Syrian Nizārīs had been exposed to a wider variety of Shīʿī ideas than the Nizārīs of Rūdbār and Quhistān. Sinān probably made his version of the *qiyāma* doctrine bear a distinct Syrian flavour and readily admitted the popular impressions available there to Ismāʿīlism. In addition, in the Syrian Nizārī ideas one comes across certain popular Shīʿī motifs absent in the doctrine of the *qiyāma* elaborated in Persia. For instance, Abū Dharr, one of the original partisans of ʿAlī, has a prominent place in Syrian Nizārī thought. The Syrian works of later

times also display belief in some sort of metempsychosis or transmigration of souls (*tanāsukh*), an important doctrine for the Nuṣayrīs and the Druzes. As can be gathered from these popular works of the later Syrian Nizārīs, their ideas on metempsychosis were essentially of a symbolic nature and related mainly to the destiny of those souls whose possessors had gone astray.[162] Such persons would not, however, be reincarnated in the form of animals, but their souls would be punished within the ordinary routine of life, if not rendered non-existent. The Syrian Ismāʿīlīs had been exposed to the doctrines of their Nuṣayrī neighbours through the centuries, and in Sinān's time the two Shīʿī communities had numerous encounters in the Jabal Bahrāʾ, while occasionally some Nuṣayrīs were converted to Nizārī Ismāʿīlism. It seems that the Shīʿī Nuṣayrīs provided the chief source for the Syrian Nizārī ideas on metempsychosis.[163]

There are indications that the doctrine of the *qiyāma*, or more specifically its Syrian version, was not fully understood by all the factions of the Syrian community, particularly by the Nizārīs who lived in the Jazr and the Jabal al-Summāq, outside the main strongholds in the Jabal Bahrāʾ. Ibn al-ʿAdīm for instance reports that in the year 572/1176–1177, when Sinān had not yet reached a settlement with Saladin, a faction of the Nizārīs of the Jabal al-Summāq embarked on a programme of libertinism.[164] These Nizārīs called themselves the Ṣufāt or the 'pure', presumably reflecting Sinān's injunction to his followers to live together in purity and in fraternity. Disclaiming any responsibility for their behaviour, Sinān succeeded in preventing the intervention of the Zangids of Aleppo with whom he had good relations at the time. He personally dealt with the Ṣufāt, who had fortified themselves in the mountains, killing many of them and effectively ending the antinomian activities of this misguided section of his community. It should be recalled that the Persian Nizārīs were not accused of similar behaviour and that the community there did not experience any internal dissension comparable to the episode of the Ṣufāt in Syria.

In Rabīʿ II 588/April 1192, Marquis Conrad of Montferrat, the newly-elected Frankish king of Jerusalem and the husband of Amalric I's daughter Isabella, was assassinated in Tyre. This event, which shocked the Crusader circles, is, as noted, reported by most of the occidental chroniclers of the Third Crusade and by many Muslim historians.[165] Most sources agree that the act was carried out by two assassins who had disguised themselves as Christian monks and who had managed to win Conrad's confidence. There is, however, much controversy regarding the instigator of this assassination. Many Muslim sources, as well as some occidental ones, state that its instigator was Richard I, surnamed the Lion Heart (*Coeur de Lion*), the king of England (1189–1199), who was then in the Holy Land, and was hostile to Conrad. On the other hand, Ibn al-Athīr, who was favourably disposed towards the Zangids and as such disliked Saladin, reports

that it was Saladin who persuaded Sinān to murder both Conrad and Richard, in return for a certain sum of money. In a confused account, Abū Firās attributes the initiative to Sinān, who was then evidently not on good terms with the Franks, because he wanted to help his friend Saladin.[166] In any case, when soon afterwards Richard I signed a peace treaty with Saladin, the Nizārī territories were also included in the treaty at the Ayyūbid ruler's request.

Rāshid al-Dīn Sinān died in 589/1193, or, less probably, a year earlier, in the castle of Kahf.[167] In the course of some thirty years, Sinān led the Syrian Nizārīs to the peak of their power and fame. The ablest of all the Syrian Nizārī chiefs, he was the only one amongst them to acquire effective independence from Alamūt. He gave the Nizārīs an independent identity in Syria, with their own sphere of influence, a network of strongholds, and a hierarchy of *dāʿī*s. At the same time, his shrewd strategies and appropriate alliances with the Zangids, the Crusaders, and Saladin served to ensure the independence of his community in difficult times.

Meanwhile, important political changes had been taking place in Persia and other eastern lands. The Saljūq sultanate had been disintegrating after Sultan Sanjar's death in 552/1157, being replaced by a host of more or less independent principalities held mainly by Turkish *amīr*s and military commanders. At the same time, a new expansionary power with great ambitions, based on Khwārazm, had emerged on the political scene of the East. The region of Khwārazm, on the lower Oxus in Central Asia, had passed a century earlier into the hands of a Turkish dynasty acting as vassals of the Saljūqs. These hereditary rulers adopted the old title of the kings of the region and called themselves the Khwārazmshāhs. Taking advantage of the Saljūq dissensions after Sanjar, the Khwārazmshāhs asserted their independence and began to expand their dominions. Around 586/1190, the Khwārazmshāh ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Tekish (567–596/1172–1200) occupied Khurāsān and came to control the bulk of Sanjar's former territories. The decline of the Saljūqs had provided an opportunity also for the ʿAbbāsids to revive their power and prestige, and with the accession of al-Nāṣir (575–622/1180–1225), the caliph at Baghdad became a central figure in eastern Islamic diplomacy and politics. Al-Nāṣir strove to restore the religious unity of Islam, with the ʿAbbāsid caliph as its real, not just titular, head. He had limited territorial ambitions and wanted to rule over a small caliphal principality in ʿIrāq. These objectives determined the nature of al-Nāṣir's policies and alliances. He did not hesitate to ask the assistance of his potential enemy Tekish against the last Saljūq ruler of Persia, Ṭughril III (571–590/1176–1194), thus providing the occasion for the Khwārazmian armies to advance westwards. The Saljūq dynasty came to an end when Tekish defeated Ṭughril III at Rayy in 590/1194. The triumphant Khwārazmshāh was the obvious ruler to fill the vacancy created by the Saljūqs, and in the following year al-Nāṣir

invested Tekish with the sultanate of western Persia, Khurāsān and Turkistān. The Khwārazmians soon came to have an impressive empire of their own, stretching from the borders of India to Anatolia. Subsequent decades in the history of the Nizārīs should be studied within this context of changing political realities and aspirations.

During the last sixteen years of Muḥammad II's reign as lord of Alamūt, the Persian Nizārīs were once again engaged in petty warfare with their neighbours. The Nizārīs of Rūdbār had skirmishes in Māzandarān. Alamūt gave refuge to Bīsutūn, a ruler of Rūyān who had rebelled against the Bāwandid Ḥusam al-Dawla Ardashīr, and later the Nizārīs of Rūdbār spread their influence in Māzandarān, killing in the course of their activities Rukn al-Dawla Qārin, the younger brother of the Bāwandid Shams al-Mulūk Shāh Ghāzī Rustam II (602–606/1206–1210).[168] At the same time, the Rūdbārī Nizārīs were confronted with the Khwārazmians, who had replaced the Saljūqs in western Persia and were now expanding into Daylam. Around 602/1205, Miyājiq, a Khwārazmian general, tricked and killed a number of Nizārīs from Alamūt, and thereupon the Khwārazmian troops established themselves as the partisans of the Qazwīnīs, the traditional enemies of the Nizārīs, and made regular raids into Rūdbār.[169] In 590/1194, the Nizārīs of Quhistān began to have their own troubles and battles with the Ghūrids and the Naṣrid Maliks of Sīstān.[170] Later, the Ghūrids, under Ghiyāth al-Dīn Muḥammad (558–599/1163–1203), the chief rivals of the Khwārazmians in eastern Persia, attacked and devastated Quhistān, forcing the submission of the Nizārīs there.[171] Ghiyāth al-Dīn's brother, Shihāb al-Dīn, however, conducted further raids of his own against the Quhistānī Nizārīs, who had to ask for Ghiyāth al-Dīn's intervention and he had also attacked the Ismāʿīlīs of Multān in 571/1175. The Ghūrid Shihāb al-Dīn was murdered in 602/1206 and the Nizārīs claimed responsibility for the act, probably in order to win the favour of the Khwārazmshāh ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Muḥammad (596–617/1200–1220).[172]

The Nizārīs had, meanwhile, retained their reputation as a body willing to fight the enemies of their allies and to protect refugees fleeing from their common adversaries. Though they were then defending themselves against the Khwārazmians, it is reported that the Nizārīs in 596/1200 killed Niẓām al-Mulk Masʿūd b. ʿAlī, the vizier of Tekish, allegedly at the request of the Khwārazmshāh.[173] Sometime in the reign of Tekish's successor ʿAlāʾal-Dīn Muḥammad, the lord of Zawzan Nuṣrat al-Dīn was accused of Ismāʿīlism and had to take refuge in the Nizārī castles in Quhistān. He was, however, lured back and killed by the new Khwārazmian governor of Zawzan.[174] Meanwhile, the Sunnī rulers had maintained the practice of occasionally massacring the Nizārīs. It is reported, for instance, that in the year 600/1204, a large number of people accused of Ismāʿīlism were murdered in lower ʿIrāq.[175]

Rapprochement with Sunnī Islam

There are indications that at least some of the Persian Nizārīs were becoming increasingly weary of their isolation from the outside world in the *qiyāma* times. Our Persian historians relate that during the later years of Nūr al-Dīn Muḥammad II's reign there was a growing breach between the lord of Alamūt and his eldest son Ḥasan, born in 562/1166–1167.[176] Ḥasan, who in his childhood had received the *naṣṣ* to succeed his father, had shown signs of dissatisfaction with the doctrine and practices of the *qiyāma*. Evidently desiring a rapprochement between the Nizārīs and the larger Sunnī world, Ḥasan had communicated his own ideas secretly to several Sunnī rulers, with whom he desired to have good relations in the future.

Muḥammad II died, possibly of poison, in Rabīʿ I 607/September 1210, and was succeeded by his son Ḥasan III, who, as had become customary by then with the lords of Alamūt, carried the honorific title of Jalāl al-Dīn.[177] The Persian historians relate that upon his accession, Ḥasan publicly repudiated the doctrine of the *qiyāma* and proclaimed his adherence to Sunnī Islam, ordering his followers to observe the *sharīʿa* in its Sunnī form. He sent messengers to the caliph al-Nāṣir, Muḥammad Khwārazmshāh and other Muslim rulers to notify them of his reform. The Nizārīs of the Alamūt period had now in effect entered the third and final phase of their history, later interpreted as a new period of *satr* or concealment which lasted until the destruction of their state by the Mongols.

During the initial years of his reign, Jalāl al-Dīn Ḥasan did his utmost to convince the Sunnī world that his community had abandoned its previous teaching and practices and that it had now adopted the law in its Sunnī form. He ordered the building of mosques and baths in every Nizārī village, to prove their status as full-fledged centres of normal Muslim life. He invited Sunnī *faqīh*s from ʿIrāq and Khurāsān to instruct his people. The outside world, and especially the ʿAbbāsid caliph at Baghdad, accepted Ḥasan's 'new orthodoxy', and then in Rabīʿ I 608/August 1211, the caliph al-Nāṣir issued a decree confirming Ḥasan's adherence to Sunnī Islam. Ḥasan III became commonly known as the 'new Muslim' (*naw-musalmān*). He was now accepted as an *amīr* amongst other *amīr*s, and his rights to the territories held by the Nizārīs were officially acknowledged by the ʿAbbāsid caliph who showed him all manner of favours. Ḥasan's mother went on the pilgrimage to Mecca in 609/1213 under the patronage of al-Nāṣir, who treated her with the highest honours. The caliph also intervened to persuade the nobility of Gīlān to allow four of their daughters to marry Ḥasan. Among these Gīlānī wives of Ḥasan, there was the sister of Kaykāʾūs b. Shāhanshāh, the hereditary ruler of Kūtum who bore Ḥasan's successor ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Muḥammad III.[178] The

Qazwīnīs, however, remained skeptical for some time regarding the authenticity of Ḥasan's announcements. The Nizārī leader asked a number of religious scholars and notables of Qazwīn to visit Alamūt, allowing them to inspect its library and burn all books deemed heretical by them. The Qazwīnīs, too, were finally convinced.

All the Nizārīs in Rūdbār, Qūmis, Quhistān and Syria seem to have accepted Ḥasan's new dispensation without any question. The Syrian Nizārīs, and probably also the Nizārīs in other territories, chose the Shāfiʿī *madhhab*. For the Nizārīs, Ḥasan was undeniably the infallible imam, having received the *naṣṣ* of the previous imam and as such he guided his community and contextualized the interpretation of the *sharīʿa* as he saw fit. His orders and teachings, therefore, were to be obeyed without any hesitation. As it was explained later, the Nizārīs regarded Ḥasan's declarations as a reimposition of *taqiyya*, which had been lifted in the *qiyāma* times. The reinstatement of *taqiyya* could now be taken to imply any sort of accommodation to the outside world deemed necessary by the imam of the time.

Jalāl al-Dīn Ḥasan's new policies had obvious political advantages for the Nizārī community and state, which had survived only precariously. The Nizārīs had failed in their revolt, and had subsequently been marginalized in their fortress communities as 'heretics'. Under the circumstances, many Nizārīs, it would seem, had become disenchanted with their isolation, desiring to have normal relations with other Muslims. Jalāl al-Dīn Ḥasan had in effect boldly accommodated the Nizārīs to the outside world, situating his community at the very centre of contemporary Muslim affairs. For the first time, the Nizārī state now became recognized as such by the leading rulers in the Muslim world, which implied territorial security for the Nizārī state as well as peace and safety for the community, especially in Quhistān and Syria, where their position had been constantly threatened. In Quhistān, the Ghūrid attacks against the Nizārīs came to an end, and in Syria, where the Nizārīs were facing new troubles from the Franks, they received opportune help from the Ayyūbids. The improved relations were naturally beneficial to the Sunnīs as well. For instance, around the end of Ḥasan III's reign, many Sunnīs, including scholars who were fleeing the invading Mongols in Khurāsān and other eastern regions, found asylum in the Nizārī towns and strongholds of Quhistān, where they were treated lavishly by the Nizārī *muḥtashams*.[179] The Nizārī state also played an effective role in the caliphal alliances of al-Nāṣir.

Indeed, Jalāl al-Dīn Ḥasan III's reform was accepted sufficiently by his people to allow him to leave Rūdbār for some time to engage in military operations, something none of his predecessors had done. According to al-Nasawī (d. 647/1249–1250), the secretary and chronicler of Sultan Muḥammad Khwārazmshāh's son and successor Jalāl al-Dīn (617–628/1220–1231), Ḥasan III had at first recognized

the suzerainty of the Khwārazmshāh.[180] However, he soon allied himself with the ʿAbbāsid caliph al-Nāṣir, the chief opponent of the Khwārazmians. As a result of this alliance, Ḥasan developed a close and personal relationship with Muẓaffar al-Dīn Özbeg (607–622/1210–1225), the last Eldigüzid ruler of Arrān and Ādharbayjān and an important ally of al-Nāṣir. When Özbeg decided to deal with Mengli, his lieutenant in ʿIrāq-i ʿAjam who had rebelled and asserted his independence, Ḥasan III offered his assistance. It was for this purpose that in 610/1213–1214 the Nizārī imam accompanied by his army departed from Alamūt to Ādharbayjān, where he stayed at Özbeg's court. Özbeg treated him hospitably and paid for the expenses of the Nizārī troops. The caliph himself played a central role in organizing the military coalition against Mengli, as ʿIrāq-i ʿAjam had been a primary area of contention between al-Nāṣir and Muḥammad Khwārazmshāh. Besides sending his own troops, the caliph persuaded the *amīr*s of ʿIrāq, Syria and elsewhere to participate in the campaign against Mengli. After ample and prolonged preparations, battle was joined in 611/1214–1215 near Hamadān. Mengli was defeated and later executed by Özbeg, who now appointed Ighlamish as his governor in ʿIrāq-i ʿAjam.[181] After the victory, Ighlamish received the bulk of the conquered territories, including Hamadān, Rayy and Iṣfahān, while Jalāl al-Dīn Ḥasan was given Abhar and Zanjān and their environs, which remained in Nizārī hands for a few years.

After an absence of one and a half years, Ḥasan III returned to Alamūt and maintained his close relations with al-Nāṣir and Özbeg. When Ighlamish himself rebelled, no campaign was conducted against him, as in the case of Mengli. At the caliph's request, Ḥasan despatched Nizārī *fidāʾī*s to kill Ighlamish in 614/1217.[182] Later, the Nizārī imam was quick to recognize the danger of the Mongols, and was evidently the first Muslim ruler to come to terms with them after the Mongol armies had crossed the Oxus. After a reign of eleven years, Jalāl al-Dīn Ḥasan III died of dysentery in Ramaḍān 618/November 1221. His vizier, who was the tutor of the next imam, accused Ḥasan III's Sunnī wives and sister of having poisoned him. They were all put to death.

ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Muḥammad III and Nizārī thought of the period

Jalāl al-Dīn Ḥasan III was succeeded by his only son ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Muḥammad III, who was then nine years old.[183] The vizier previously appointed by Ḥasan III continued to be the effective ruler of the Nizārī state for a while and the Nizārī community under Muḥammad III remained Sunnī in the eyes of the

outside world. Indeed, Ḥasan III's Sunnī policies were never formally renounced at Alamūt, but gradually the enforcement of the Sunnī *sharīʿa* was relaxed and the ideas associated with *qiyāma* were revived. After a while, the community once again came to openly regard itself as specifically Nizārī Ismāʿīlī. In Muḥammad III's time, the doctrine of the *qiyāma* introduced by Ḥasan II, the 'Sunnism' of Ḥasan III, and the partial reversion of the community to its earlier teachings during Muḥammad III's reign, were explained to the satisfaction of the rank and file of the community. In other words, there is evidence suggesting that the Nizārī leadership in ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Muḥammad's time made a conscious and sustained effort to explain the different doctrinal declarations and religious policies of the lords of Alamūt. As a result, the earlier teachings were interpreted comprehensively within a coherent doctrinal framework. In a sense, this was an intellectual endeavour for the internal benefit of the community, aiming to provide satisfactory explanations for the seemingly contradictory policies adopted at Alamūt. In the process, an adjusted doctrine, which may be called the doctrine of the *satr*, was formulated to explain the new religious situation of the Nizārī community in line with the actual course of events pursued since the declaration of the *qiyāma* in the year 559/1164.

The intellectual life of the Nizārī community now received a special impetus from the continuing influx of outside scholars who were fleeing the Mongol invasions and taking refuge in Nizārī strongholds, especially in Quhistān. These scholars, availing themselves of the Nizārī patronage of learning and their libraries, invigorated the intellectual endeavours of the community. A few of them, notably al-Ṭūsī, also made contributions to Nizārī Ismāʿīlī thought of the late Alamūt period. Indeed, several of the Nizārī fortresses, including Alamūt, had become flourishing centres of intellectual activities by the late Alamūt period. There is no evidence suggesting that the outside scholars were detained in the Nizārī fortress communities against their will or that they were coerced to convert to Ismāʿīlism, although at the time of the Mongol invasions, al-Ṭūsī and a few other similarly situated scholars claimed otherwise. On the contrary, in line with general Ismāʿīlī policies on conversion, it seems that these learned guests partook of the hospitality of the Nizārīs willingly, and that they were free to maintain their previous religious convictions.

One of the most learned Muslim scholars, Khwāja Naṣīr al-Dīn Abū Jaʿfar Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Ṭūsī was born into a Twelver Shīʿī family in Ṭūs, Khurāsān, in 597/1201. In his youth, around 624/1227, he entered the service of Nāṣir al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Raḥīm b. Abī Manṣūr (d. 655/1257), the Nizārī *muḥtasham* in Quhistān and himself a learned man. During his long stay at Qāʾin and other Nizārī strongholds in Quhistān, al-Ṭūsī developed a close friendship with his patron, the *muḥtasham* Nāṣir al-Dīn, to whom he dedicated both of his great

works on ethics, the *Akhlāq-i Nāṣirī* completed in 633/1235 with an Ismāʿīlī preamble, and the *Akhlāq-i muḥtashamī*. Later, al-Ṭūsī went to Alamūt and enjoyed the munificence of the Nizārī imams, Muḥammad III and his successor, until the collapse of the Nizārī state in 654/1256. After the fall of Alamūt, al-Ṭūsī, claiming to have been a captive amidst the Nizārīs, became a trusted adviser of the Mongol conqueror Hülegü, who built a great observatory for him at Marāgha in Ādharbayjān. He also served Abaqa, Hülegü's successor in the Īlkhānid dynasty of Persia, whilst engaged in his philosophical and scientific enquiries. Having also served as vizier to the Īlkhānids, al-Ṭūsī died in 672/1274 in Baghdad. Thus, al-Ṭūsī spent almost three decades amongst the Nizārīs, a most productive period in his career. It was during that time that he produced numerous treatises on astronomy, philosophy, theology and many other subjects. The *Rawḍat al-taslīm (Paradise of Submission)*, the major Ismāʿīlī work of the late Alamūt period written by al-Ṭūsī or compiled under his supervision, as well as his spiritual autobiography and a few other short treatises bearing an Ismāʿīlī imprint, also date from that period.

There is much controversy surrounding al-Ṭūsī's religious affiliation and his Ismāʿīlī connection.[184] The medieval Ithnāʿasharī *ʿulamāʾ*, who considered al-Ṭūsī one of their co-religionists, persistently denied that he ever embraced Ismāʿīlism, rejecting the authenticity of the Ismāʿīlī treatises ascribed to him and preserved by the Nizārīs. Later Twelver writers, including his modern Persian biographers, believe that al-Ṭūsī, observing *taqiyya* as an Imāmī Shīʿī, was obliged to compose these Ismāʿīlī works for fear of his life during his captivity at the Nizārī strongholds. There is, however, no reason to doubt the authenticity of his spiritual autobiography, the *Sayr va sulūk* in which al-Ṭūsī narrates how, after his initial dissatisfaction with scholastic theology (*kalām*) and philosophy (*ḥikma*), he came to realize the necessity of following an infallible teacher (*muʿallim*) who would guide reason to its perfection. Hence, he joined the Ismāʿīlīs (*ahl-i taʿlīm*) and recognized their imam.[185] At the beginning of the same autobiographical account, al-Ṭūsī explains how he had been influenced by the Ismāʿīlī teaching of al-Shahrastānī, the teacher of his father's maternal uncle and teacher. Taking into account the circumstances of al-Ṭūsī's career, his contribution to the Ismāʿīlī thought of the period, his long stay among the Nizārīs, and the latter's generally liberal policy toward non-Ismāʿīlī scholars living with them, it is safe to state that al-Ṭūsī willingly embraced Ismāʿīlism sometime during his association with the Nizārīs.

There is no reason to believe that al-Ṭūsī was detained in the Nizārī castles of Quhistān and Rūdbār against his will, or that he was ever forced to convert. However, al-Ṭūsī did revert to Twelver Shīʿism upon joining the Mongols, whose patronage he then sought, and wrote several theological treatises

supporting Twelver views, such as the *Tajrīd al-ʿaqāʾid* in which he combined basic Imāmī tenets with Ibn Sīnā's philosophy. At the same time, he attempted to distance himself from his Ismāʿīlī past and his related earlier admiration for al-Shahrastānī. He now revised his original Ismāʿīlī dedicatory preamble to the *Akhlāq-i Nāṣirī*, also writing a treatise in refutation of al-Shahrastānī's *al-Muṣāraʿa*, itself a refutation of Ibn Sīnā's metaphysics on the basis of Ismāʿīlī arguments and methodology.[186] Nonetheless, al-Ṭūsī contributed significantly to the development of Nizārī thought of his time, especially to the formulation of the doctrine of the *satr*. It is, in fact, in his Ismāʿīlī writings that we find a detailed exposition of Nizārī thought as it developed during the *qiyāma* and later times in the Alamūt period.[187] Foremost amongst such work, and indeed the major Nizārī text preserved from the entire Alamūt period is the *Rawḍat al-taslīm*, or *Rawḍa-yi taslīm*, also known as *Taṣawwurāt*, which was completed in 640/1243 under the supervision of a high-ranking Nizārī official. This compendium of Nizārī Ismāʿīlī thought undoubtedly owes much to al-Ṭūsī's teaching at Alamūt, even if al-Ṭūsī himself was not its author in the modern sense of that word.[188] It is also possible that the *Rawḍa* was compiled by a team whose work was overseen by al-Ṭūsī, as in the case of Rashīd al-Dīn's *Jāmiʿ al-tawārīkh*. The chief compiler of the *Rawḍa* may have been a certain Nizārī dignitary, poet and *dāʿī* called Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Ḥasan-i Maḥmūd, also known as Ḥasan-i Ṣalāḥ Munshī. Be that as it may, various aspects of the Nizārī thought elaborated in Muḥammad III's time are also reflected, in modified forms, in the Nizārī works of the post-Alamūt period.

As noted, al-Ṭūsī provided an integrated theological frame for contextualizing the policy declarations of the different lords of Alamūt. He, in collaboration with the leadership of the community, sought to demonstrate that these seemingly contradictory policies partook, in effect, of a singular spiritual reality, since each infallible imam had acted in accordance with the exigencies of his own time. In the process, al-Ṭūsī, and others whose writings have not survived, expounded what may be called an adjusted *satr* doctrine.[189]

It was explained that *qiyāma* was not necessarily a final eschatological event in the history of mankind, but a transitory condition of life, when the veil of *taqiyya* was lifted so as to make the unveiled truth available to all. The tacit identification between *sharīʿa* and *taqiyya*, implied in the teachings of Ḥasan II, was thus explicitly confirmed, and so was the identification between *qiyāma* and *ḥaqīqa*.[190] Accordingly, the strict imposition of the Sunnī *sharīʿa* by Jalāl al-Dīn Ḥasan III was depicted as a return to *taqiyya*, or precautionary dissimulation of true religious beliefs, and to a new period of *satr* or concealment when the truth (*ḥaqīqa*) would be once again hidden in the *bāṭin* of religion. The condition of the *qiyāma* could, in principle, be granted or withheld by the current Nizārī imam to mankind, or to the elite, at any time, because every imam was potentially

also an *imām-qāʾim*.[191] As a corollary, at the will of the imam, human life could alternate between the times of *qiyāma*, when reality is manifest, and *satr*, when it is concealed. In this sense, Ḥasan II had introduced a brief period of *qiyāma*, while Ḥasan III had closed that period, initiating a new period of *satr* requiring the observance of *taqiyya*. The *Rawḍa* clearly allows for such alterations by stating that the era of each prophet of the *ẓāhir* of the *sharīʿa* is called a period of *satr*, whilst the period of each *imām-qāʾim*, who reveals the truths (*ḥaqāʾiq*) of religious laws (*sharāʾiʿ*), is one of *qiyāma* and *dawr-i kashf* or era of manifestation.[192]

In the current cycle of human history, however, it was still expected, as with the earliest Ismāʿīlīs, that full *qiyāma*, or the Great Resurrection (*qiyāmat-i qiyāmāt*), would occur at the end of the final millennial era after Adam; that is, at the end of the sixth era initiated by the sixth law-announcing prophet, Muḥammad. The Great Resurrection, towards which all the partial consummations of the preceding cycles in history of mankind had been tending, would inaugurate the final, seventh era – the culmination of the ages in the history of mankind. The Prophet Muḥammad himself had introduced an era of *satr*, like the other five law-announcing prophets preceding him in the current cycle of history. However, within Muḥammad's millennial era, and in special honour of his greatness, there could be on occasion anticipatory periods of *qiyāma*, each one a foretaste of the *qiyāma* coming at the end of his era, which would initiate the Great Resurrection. Accordingly, the *qiyāma* proclaimed by Ḥasan II, roughly in the middle of Muḥammad's era, was one of such anticipatory *qiyāmas* and the remainder of that era was divided between times of *satr* or concealment.[193] In sum, it was explained that in the era of Muḥammad, periods of *satr* and *qiyāma* could alternate at the discretion of each current imam.

Earlier Ismāʿīlīs had used the term *satr* in reference to those periods in their history when the imams were hidden from the world at large, or even from their followers, as had been the case with the imams of the early Ismāʿīlī period between Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl and ʿAbd Allāh al-Mahdī and again with those living in the period of *satr* in early Nizārī history between Nizār and Ḥasan II. But in the Nizārī teaching of the late Alamūt period the term acquired a different and broader meaning. It now came to mean specifically the concealment of the true spiritual reality of the imam, his reality as the manifestation of the unveiled truth (*ḥaqīqa*), and not merely the hiddenness of the person of the imam. Accordingly, despite the physical availability of the imam, there could be a period of *satr*. For al-Ṭūsī, writing in Muḥammad III's time, such a period of *satr* and *taqiyya* had started with the advent of Jalāl al-Dīn Ḥasan III in 607/1210, even though he and his successors were manifest imams ruling at the head of the community.[194] For the Nizārīs of the late Alamūt period, the Fāṭimid period, when the imams were visible, and the earliest period in their own history between Nizār and Ḥasan

II, when the imams were hidden, and the post-*qiyāma* period, when the imams were once again visible, were all regarded as times of *satr*.

The doctrine of the *satr* retained, in a more discreet sense, the ideas of the earlier Ismāʿīlīs regarding cyclical hierohistory, while reinterpreting the doctrine of the *qiyāma*. At the same time, it retained in a modified form certain specific features of the *qiyāma* doctrine, including its categorization of mankind in terms of three classes. It allowed for the state of spiritual *waḥda* (Persian, *vaḥdat*) or union with the imam even in the time of *satr*, which was depicted as the normal condition of mankind due to human weakness. It seems, however, that in the time of *satr* the state of *waḥda* was restricted to a few, possibly to a single figure, the *ḥujja* of the imam.[195] Therefore, only the *ḥujja*, having achieved spiritual perfection, could attain access to unveiled truth and dispense with *taqiyya*.[196] All other members of the community, even though they acknowledged the Nizārī imam, would have to observe the *sharīʿa*, otherwise they would be on the same level as the 'people of opposition'. The position of *ḥujja* originally occupied in the Nizārī community by Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ now acquired a new meaning and prominence as the person having sole access to the imam and the truth. This highest position in the *daʿwa* hierarchy, ranking only after the imam, became even more important amongst the Nizārīs of the post-Alamūt period. It is not known however whether the position of *ḥujja* was actually occupied by any persons during the late Alamūt period. The ordinary followers of the Nizārī imam, comprising the entire community with the exception of the *ḥujja* and possibly a few others, were now characterized as the 'people of gradation' (*ahl-i tarattub*). Not possessing the *ḥaqīqa*, they remained on the level of the *bāṭin*, merely understanding the inner meaning of the *sharīʿa* but not the imam's full spiritual reality. The *ahl-i tarattub* themselves were, however, divided into the strong (*aqwiyāʾ*) and the weak (*ḍuʿafāʾ*) according to their closeness to the truth.[197]

The doctrinal system of the Nizārīs of the late Alamūt period in effect enabled the Nizārī community to maintain its identity and spiritual independence under changing circumstances. The Nizārīs had also moved closer to the esoteric traditions more widely associated with Sufism. These teachings and traditions allowed the Nizārīs to adopt the guise of Sufism among other forms of *taqiyya* in the turbulent centuries following the collapse of the Nizārī state.

Politically, too, ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Muḥammad III's reign was a very active period, not only for the Nizārī state but also for the entire Muslim East, which now experienced a foretaste of the Mongol menace. Muḥammad III had come to power in 618/1221, immediately after the first Mongol conquests that destroyed the Khwārazmian empire. The Mongol conquest of Transoxania was accomplished with incredible speed. By 1219, Chingiz Khan, the mighty ruler of the new Mongol empire, was already leading his armies into the lands of Islam. By 1220, he had

captured Bukhārā and Samarqand, from where Mongol generals were despatched in pursuit of Sultan Muḥammad Khwārazmshāh (d. 617/1220), who was then fleeing across Persia in the aftermath of the collapse of his empire. The Mongols had meanwhile continued their westward advance through Ādharbayjān and the Caucasus. Early in 1221, Chingiz Khan crossed the Oxus and seized Balkh. He then sent his youngest son Toluy to complete the conquest of Khurāsān, a task accomplished with unprecedented thoroughness from which the province never really recovered. The Mongols totally devastated Marw and Nīshāpūr, massacring the populations of both cities. They had now acquired a solid foothold in eastern Persia, and the death of Chingiz Khan in 624/1227 brought only a brief respite. It was at that time in the early years of Muḥammad III's reign that an increasing number of refugees, including numerous Sunnī *ʿulamāʾ* of Khurāsān, found asylum in the Nizārī towns of Quhistān. In addition to the receptivity of the Nizārīs, this inflow reflected the fact that during the initial phase of the Mongol invasion the Nizārī state had proved to be stronger than most other small principalities and also that some sort of an entente seems to have existed between the Nizārī leaders and the Mongols. Ḥasan III, as noted, had previously made friendly overtures to the Mongols at the beginning of their westward advance, probably sometime in the autumn of 616/1219. The Nizārī secret emissaries had apparently met with Chingiz Khan himself in the spring of 618/1221 at Balkh or Ṭāliqān, informing him of their imam's desire for peace.

At any rate, the Quhistānī Nizārīs, unaffected by the initial Mongol invasions, continued to enjoy their prosperity and stability, and were able to share their good fortune with the refugees who were now pouring into their midst. Indeed, Shihāb al-Dīn, the *muḥtasham* of the Quhistānī Nizārīs, was so lavish in his treatment of these refugees that soon the Nizārīs of the area were forwarding complaints to Alamūt about the negative effects of his hospitality on the resources of their treasury. But Shams al-Dīn, the next *muḥtasham* of Quhistān designated by Alamūt, came to be admired and respected by the refugees. These events, and the contemporary situation of the Nizārīs in Quhistān are related in detail by Minhāj al-Dīn ʿUthmān b. Sirāj al-Dīn Jūzjānī, commonly known as Minhāj-i Sirāj, a Sunnī jurist and the historian of the Ghūrids and the Muʿizzī or Slave dynasty of India, who spent his earlier years in the service of the Ghūrids and visited Quhistān three times between 621 and 623/1224–1226.[198] He knew both Shihāb al-Dīn, for whom he had the highest praise, and Shams al-Dīn, and conducted diplomatic negotiations with the latter *muḥtasham* on behalf of Sīstān.

The arrival of Shams al-Dīn in Quhistān coincided with the outbreak of new troubles between the Nizārīs and their Sīstānī neighbours. Yamīn al-Dīn Bahrāmshāh, the Naṣrid ruler of Sīstān, or Nīmrūz, had previously fought two wars against the Nizārīs during Ḥasan III's reign, and his brother Nāṣir al-Dīn

ʿUthman (d. 604/1207) had sold them the fortress of Shahanshāh near the town of Nih. Yamīn al-Dīn now wanted the Nizārīs to give up that fortress, threatening to take it by force. Thereupon, Yamīn al-Dīn was killed at Zarang in 618/1221 by four *fidāʾī*s despatched from Quhistān. There ensued a series of succession disputes in Sīstān, and the Quhistānī Nizārīs began to interfere directly in the affairs of that province.[199] The Nizārīs supported Rukn al-Dīn against his younger brother Nuṣrat al-Dīn b. Bahrāmshāh, who had been put on the throne by a group of notables of Sīstān. But soon Rukn al-Dīn assumed power with the assistance of the Nizārīs. At this time, in 619/1222, the Mongols attacked Sīstān, without occupying it, and Rukn al-Dīn was killed by one of his slaves. The Sīstānīs then successively raised to the throne Shihāb al-Dīn b. Ḥarb and his brother ʿAlī, to the dissatisfaction of the Nizārīs who again had their own candidate, ʿUthmān. They sought the help of a Khwārazmian general, Binaltigīn (Inaltigin), who was then in Kirmān, for the enthronement of ʿUthmān. When Binaltigīn arrived in Sīstān in 622/1225, he assumed power in his own name. At this point, Shams al-Dīn, a capable military commander, was already the Nizārī *muḥtasham* in Quhistān and led the Nizārīs in battle against Binaltigīn, who was defeated in 623/1226. It was after this battle that Binaltigīn sent Jūzjānī as his envoy to conclude a truce with the Nizārī chief of Quhistān. The Nizārī community in Quhistān clearly pursued an independent policy in its local affairs, also developing important trade routes with other regions, which contributed significantly to its economic prosperity.

The Nizārīs had never abandoned their expansionary ambitions, and now in the aftermath of their accord with the caliph at Baghdad and the crumbling of the Khwārazmian empire, they found it possible to extend their territories. At the time, the Nizārīs still maintained their understanding with the Mongols, who may even have been in alliance with them. At any rate, the Mongols then appeared to be a lesser threat to the Nizārī state than the Khwārazmians, who, under Sultan Jalāl al-Dīn, the last of the Khwārazmshāhs, were making a last effort to restore their kingdom in Persia. Around 619/1222, the Nizārīs seized Dāmghān, the town near Girdkūh, and recaptured some fortresses in Qūmis. They also acquired further strongholds in Ṭārum and in the Zagros mountains. At the same time, the Nizārīs seem to have had designs on Rayy, at least through their more traditional method of converting the local populace, for around 619/1222 a group of Nizārī *dāʿī*s were arrested and executed in Rayy on the orders of Muḥammad Khwārazmshāh's son Rukn al-Dīn.[200] The Nizārī territories in Persia thus expanded during the early years of Muḥammad III's reign. It was during that time, when the false news had spread of Sultan Jalāl al-Dīn's death in 624/1227 in battle against the Mongols at Iṣfahān, that the Syrian Nizārīs boasted to the Saljūq ruler of Rūm (Anatolia) of the imminent seizure of ʿIrāq-i ʿAjam by their Persian comrades.[201]

It is possible that the Nizārī *daʿwa* was introduced into the Indian subcontinent sometime during the first half of the 7th/13th century, or possibly earlier. There are no reliable sources on the origins of the Nizārī *daʿwa* in India, and it is not known whether any of the Indian Ismāʿīlī communities that had come into existence in Fāṭimid times acknowledged the Nizārī imams following the Nizārī–Mustaʿlī schism of 487/1094. For the earliest phase of Nizārī activities in India we have only the traditional accounts of the Indian Nizārīs or Khojas themselves as reflected mainly in the *ginān*s *(gnān*s*)*, the community's indigenous religious literature, written in verse form and recorded in several Indian languages. The *ginān*s, ascribed to various *pīr*s, as *dāʿī*s were more commonly designated there, are often anachronistic and legendary in nature, and as such are not reliable as historical sources. According to the tradition of the Nizārī Khojas, a certain Satgur Nūr, also called Nūr al-Dīn, was the first Nizārī *dāʿī* sent from Daylam to Gujarāt.[202] There, in Pātan, he converted the local Rājput ruler Siddharāja Jayasingha (487–527/1094–1133), the same Hindu king of Gujarāt who is reported to have embraced Ṭayyibī Ismāʿīlism but who actually died a devout Hindu. Satgur Nūr, the community's tradition adds, soon converted all of Pātan, which became known as Pīrna Pātan, the *pīr*'s city. The dates mentioned for Satgur Nūr's arrival in India vary widely. According to one tradition, he was despatched by the Fāṭimid caliph-imam al-Mustanṣir in order to preach in favour of his son Nizār. According to another version, he started his activities in the time of Ḥasan *ʿalā dhikrihi'l-salām*, while in yet another account he is identified with the early Ismāʿīlī Imam Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl. Be it as it may, there is no concrete evidence attesting the success of the Nizārī *daʿwa* in Gujarāt during the 7th/13th century, when Ṭayyibī Ismāʿīlism was already well-established in the region.

The Nizārī activities in the Indian subcontinent seem to have been originally concentrated in Sind, where different forms of Ismāʿīlism had persisted in Multān and elsewhere despite periodical persecution of the Shīʿī Ismāʿīlīs. The figure traditionally associated with the commencement of Nizārī activities in Sind is Pīr Shams al-Dīn or Shams, although a previous *pīr*, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, sometimes named as Shams al-Dīn's father, is also reported to have been sent from Alamūt to India. Shams al-Dīn is an obscure figure surrounded by all sorts of legends, while the dates mentioned for his activities cover a long period. In legendary accounts, Pīr Shams, whose grave is preserved in Multān under the name of Shāh Shams al-Dīn Sabzawārī, is identified with Shams-i Tabrīz (d. 645/1247), the spiritual guide of Mawlānā Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī (d. 672/1273), the celebrated Persian mystic and poet, and also with Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad, the first post-Alamūt Nizārī imam.[203] It is interesting to note in passing that some sources trace the genealogy of Shams-i Tabrīz himself to the imams of the Alamūt period.[204] In some *ginān*s attributed to Pīr Shams, Qāsim Shāh, one of the earliest Nizārī imams of the

post-Alamūt period, is often named as the contemporary imam, thus placing the *pīr*'s activities around the middle of the 8th/14th century. In other *ginān*s he is placed in the 6th/12th century. The opening phase of Nizārī activities in India is uncertain. It is safe to assume, however, that the Nizārī *daʿwa* initially acquired a strong foothold amongst the Hindus of Sind, rather than in Gujarāt, mainly after the fall of Alamūt, following the activities of the first *dāʿī*s who arrived in Sind probably towards the end of the Alamūt period.

Final decades of the Nizārī state

Meanwhile, Jalāl al-Dīn Khwārazmshāh, who had been defeated in 618/1221 by Chingiz Khan on the banks of the Indus and had subsequently spent three years in India, appeared in Persia, where his brother Ghiyāth al-Dīn had meanwhile successfully established himself in ʿIrāq-i ʿAjam. Jalāl al-Dīn soon removed Ghiyāth al-Dīn from his position, and in 622/1225 he overthrew Özbeg, the last Eldigüzid ruler of Ādharbayjān, who had been allied with the ʿAbbāsid caliph and the Nizārī Imam Ḥasan III. The Nizārīs, who had inherited Ḥasan III's pro-caliphal policy and quarrels with the Khwārazmians, began to feel menaced by Jalāl al-Dīn Khwārazmshāh, who was conducting his desperate campaigns and sporadic battles with the Mongols in many parts of Persia. The vacillating relations between Alamūt and Jalāl al-Dīn during this brief period before the Mongols finally caught up with the last Khwārazmshāh, were recorded by his secretary al-Nasawī.

It seems that after some initial hostilities the Nizārīs were obliged in 624/1227 to accept a peace treaty imposed on them by Sultan Jalāl al-Dīn.[205] According to this truce agreement, reached in Ādharbayjān between Badr al-Dīn Aḥmad, the envoy of Alamūt, and Sharaf al-Mulk, Jalāl al-Dīn's vizier, the Nizārīs were allowed to retain Dāmghān in return for the payment of an annual tribute of 30,000 dinars to the Khwārazmian treasury. This agreement was reached soon after Ūrkhān, one of Jalāl al-Dīn's most trusted commanders who held Khurāsān as his *iqṭāʿ*, was killed by three *fidāʾī*s in Ganja, in revenge for the activities of his lieutenants against the Quhistānī Nizārīs. In the course of the negotiations, Badr al-Dīn boasted that several *fidāʾī*s had been posted in the service of the Khwārazmshāh and his vizier, and summoned five of these agents to prove his claim. On hearing this news, Jalāl al-Dīn ordered Sharaf al-Mulk to burn the *fidāʾī*s alive. The vizier, who had become greatly alarmed, tried in vain to change the sultan's mind. The *fidāʾī*s shouted the name of ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Muḥammad as they were dying. Alamūt now sent another envoy, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn ʿAlī, to Sharaf al-Mulk, demanding 10,000 dinars in recompense for each of the five *fidāʾī*s burned,

and threatened his life should he refuse. Thereupon, Sharaf al-Mulk reduced the annual tribute payable by the Nizārīs by 10,000 dinars for a period of five years.

The truce between the Nizārīs and Sultan Jalāl al-Dīn, however, did not prove very effective, as Alamūt continued to maintain friendly relations with the ʿAbbāsid caliph and the Mongols, the two main enemies of the Khwārazmians. In 625/1228, Alamūt gave refuge both to Özbeg's son Malik Khāmūsh and to Jalāl al-Dīn's brother Ghiyāth al-Dīn, who had been dispossessed of their power by the Khwārazmshāh.[206] The Nizārīs helped Ghiyāth al-Dīn, despite the Khwārazmian blockade of Rūdbār, to go to Kirmān. There however he was murdered. In the same year (625/1228), while the Nizārī envoy Badr al-Dīn was travelling east across the Oxus to the Mongol court, Sultan Jalāl al-Dīn ordered the stopping of all caravans in that direction, on the pretence that a Mongol envoy was on his way to Syria in the company of some Ismāʿīlīs. On these orders, Sharaf al-Mulk put to death in Ādharbayjān a westward Syrian Nizārī caravan of seventy merchants.[207] Later, Alamūt sent an emissary to the Khwārazmshāh, successfully demanding the retrieval of the goods taken from the pillaged caravan. This event took place after the arrival of the news of Ghiyāth al-Dīn's flight from Alamūt, which had enraged Sultan Jalāl al-Dīn. It was also at this time that Muḥammad III's vizier, captured in the vicinity of Qazwīn by the *iqṭāʿ* holder of Sāwa, was sent as prisoner to Jalāl al-Dīn, who had him executed.[208] On one occasion during this period, al-Nasawī himself was despatched as Jalāl al-Dīn's envoy to Alamūt, to demand the balance of the tribute that the Nizārīs still owed on Dāmghān and to settle other points of dispute. Al-Nasawī succeeded in meeting with Muḥammad III and his vizier ʿImād al-Dīn, who gave him lavish gifts. Although al-Nasawī obtained only a compromise solution, he describes his mission with extreme satisfaction.[209] Relations between the Nizārīs and the Khwārazmians, who had replaced the Saljūqs as Alamūt's foremost enemy, were thus characterized by warfare, assassination and negotiation till Sultan Jalāl al-Dīn, the last of the Khwārazmshāhs, was mysteriously murdered by Kurds in 628/1231, following his decisive defeat at the hands of the Mongols.

Beside its quarrel with the Khwārazmians, the Nizārī state had continued to have periodical problems with its neighbours. In particular, relations between Rūdbār and the Caspian provinces seem to have deteriorated in Muḥammad III's time, following the execution of the Imam Jalāl al-Dīn Ḥasan's III's Gīlānī wives. The Nizārīs acquired new places in Gīlān and entered Rūyān, effectively aiding a local rebel group there against the new Bādūspānid ruler, Fakhr al-Dawla Namāwar b. Bīsutūn, who had succeeded his father earlier in 620/1223. Fakhr al-Dawla was obliged to leave Rūyān and seek refuge for a while at Jalāl al-Dīn Khwārazmshāh's court.[210] On the other hand, relations between the Rūdbārī Nizārīs and the Qazwīnīs, their perennial enemy, had finally become peaceful.

Muḥammad III had evidently developed a close association with a Sufi *shaykh* of Qazwīn, Jamāl al-Dīn Gīlī (d. 651/1253), and sent him an annual grant of 500 gold dinars. Muḥammad is reported to have informed the Qazwīnīs that had it not been for the Sufi *shaykh*, he would have destroyed their town.[211]

With the disappearance of the Khwārazmshāhs, the Nizārīs were directly confronted by the Mongols, who, under Chingiz Khan's son and first successor Ögedei (1229–1241), were making new efforts to conquer all of Persia. The Nizārīs soon lost Dāmghān to the Mongols. Since ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Muḥammad III had by now decided to resist the Mongols, in 1238 he despatched an embassy, in cooperation with the ʿAbbāsid caliph al-Mustanṣir (623–640/1226–1242), to the kings of France and England to seek an alliance between Muslims and Christians against the Mongols. Matthew Paris, as noted earlier, relates the dealings of this embassy in Europe, particularly at the English court of Henry III. The mission failed however to have any results, since the Christian monarchs of Europe were soon attempting to ally themselves with the Mongols against all Muslims. A few years later, the Nizārīs completely severed their relations with the Mongols when their overtures to the new Great Khan Güyük (1246–1248) were rejected. In 644/1246, on the occasion of the enthronement of Güyük in central Mongolia, ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Muḥammad III, along with the caliph al-Mustaʿṣim (640–656/1242–1258) and many other Muslim rulers, sent a mission under Shihāb al-Dīn and Shams al-Dīn, Nizārī *muḥtasham*s in Quhistān, to Mongolia to participate in the celebrations and deliver a memorandum to Güyük. The Nizārī ambassadors were, however, dismissed with contempt by Güyük, who replied to Muḥammad III's memorandum in the harshest terms.[212] Soon after, Güyük prepared to match his words with deeds. He despatched Eligidei to Persia at the head of reinforcements for the Mongol armies already there and instructed him that two out of every ten soldiers in Persia were to be used for reducing the rebellious territories, beginning with those of the Ismāʿīlīs.[213] He himself intended to follow after, but his death prevented him from carrying out his operations.

Güyük's designs against the Nizārīs were taken up by his cousin and successor to the Khanate, Möngke (1251–1259). The Mongols had already been spurred against the Nizārīs by the Sunnīs at their court, and now more such complaints, including one forwarded by Shams al-Dīn, a chief *qāḍī* of Qazwīn, were brought to Möngke's notice, in addition to the warnings of the Mongol commanders in Persia.[214] Thus when Möngke decided to consolidate and complete the Mongol conquest of western Asia, he assigned first priority to the destruction of the Nizārī Ismāʿīlī state in Persia, and also that of the ʿAbbāsid caliphate centred at Baghdad. In 650/1252, Möngke entrusted this mission to his brother Hülegü, who was to lead a major expedition against the two powers that still held out in the Muslim lands. Elaborate preparations were made for this expedition, and Hülegü did not

in fact set out on the westward journey from Mongolia until 651/1253. It took more than another two years before Hülegü actually arrived in Persia. As we have noted earlier on the authority of William of Rubruck, who was in Mongolia in 1254, it was during this period that a group of *fidāʾī*s were allegedly despatched to Mongolia to kill Möngke in reprisal for his anti-Nizārī operations.

Meanwhile in Syria, Rāshid al-Dīn Sinān had been succeeded, in 589/1193 or a year earlier, by a Persian *dāʿī* called Abū Manṣūr b. Muḥammad, or Naṣr al-ʿAjamī.[215] With Sinān's successor the authority of Alamūt over the Syrian Nizārī community was restored fully and remained unshaken until the collapse of the Persian Nizārī state in 654/1256.[216] The names of several chief *dāʿī*s who led the Syrian Nizārīs during this third period of their history, lasting some sixty-five years, are known to us from the inscriptions at Maṣyāf, Kahf and other strongholds, and from a few Syrian literary sources.[217] Between the years 620/1223–1224 and 656/1258, these *dāʿī*s were Kamāl al-Dīn al-Ḥasan b. Masʿūd, Majd al-Dīn, Sirāj al-Dīn Muẓaffar b. al-Ḥusayn, Tāj al-Dīn Abu'l-Futūḥ b. Muḥammad, and Raḍī al-Dīn Abu'l-Maʿālī. Most of these *dāʿī*s are specifically referred to as the delegates of Alamūt, their names appearing after that of the Nizārī imam in the Syrian inscriptions. Like the community in Quhistān, the Syrian Nizārīs continued during this period to exercise a certain degree of local initiative in dealings with their Muslim and Frankish neighbours. The Syrian Nizārīs had, on the whole, maintained peaceful relations with Saladin's Ayyūbid successors in Syria, but upon Jalāl al-Dīn Ḥasan III's rapprochement with the Sunnīs, even closer relations developed between the two sides. Henceforth, the Nizārīs could count on the Ayyūbids as allies. The Arabic sources place the declaration of Ḥasan III's new policies in the year 608/1211–1212, and add that he sent messengers to Syria and other Nizārī territories, ordering his followers to adopt the Sunnī *sharīʿa* and to build mosques.[218] As subjects of Alamūt, the Syrian Nizārīs apparently carried out these orders, and in view of Ḥasan III's alliance with the ʿAbbāsid caliph al-Nāṣir, their own relations were now markedly improved with the Ayyūbids, especially with al-Malik al-Ẓāhir (582–613/1186–1216), Saladin's son and ruler of Aleppo. However, the Syrian Nizārīs continued to have quarrels and dealings with the Franks, who still held the Syrian coast.

In 610/1213, the Syrian *fidāʾī*s killed Raymond, the youthful son of Bohemond IV (1187–1233) of Antioch, in the cathedral of Ṭarṭūs (Tortosa). In 611/1214–1215, Bohemond in an act of vengeance laid siege to the fortress of Khawābī. The Nizārīs appealed to al-Malik al-Ẓāhir for help, and he sent a force to their rescue. When al-Ẓāhir's own troops suffered a setback in the Jabal Bahrāʾ, al-Malik al-ʿĀdil I, the Ayyūbid ruler of Damascus, sent another army compelling the withdrawal of the Franks from Khawābī.[219] The Syrian Nizārīs had meanwhile found a way to exact payments from a number of Muslim and Christian rulers.

In 624/1227, Frederick II (1212–1250), the emperor of Germany who went to the Holy Land on his own Crusade, sent envoys to Majd al-Dīn, chief *dāʿī* of the Syrian Nizārīs. The envoys of Frederick, who was also the king of Sicily and the titular king of Jerusalem, had brought gifts worth almost 80,000 dinars, destined eventually for Alamūt. However, explaining that the road to Alamūt was too dangerous due to the activities of the Khwārazmians and others, the *dāʿī* Majd al-Dīn retained the gifts in Syria.[220] But he did not hesitate to inform the ruler of Aleppo, al-Malik al-ʿAzīz (613–634/1216–1237), about the emperor's friendly overtures, assuring the Ayyūbids of his continued cooperation with them in case of need.[221] Earlier in the same year of 624 AH, Majd al-Dīn had sent his own emissaries to the Saljūq ruler of Rūm, ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Kayqubād I (616–634/1219–1237), demanding that the regular tribute of 2000 dinars hitherto sent by the sultan to Alamūt should now be diverted to him.[222] The sultan consulted with the lord of Alamūt, who confirmed the request of the Syrian Nizārī chief. Eventually the tribute in question was paid to the Syrian community.

However, around the same time, the Hospitallers who had been highly displeased with the dealings between the Nizārīs and Frederick II, demanded tribute from the Nizārīs. The Nizārīs refused by boasting that they themselves were then receiving gifts and payments from Frankish emperors and kings. Thereupon, the Hospitallers attacked the Nizārī castles and carried off much booty.[223] By around 625/1228, the Syrian Nizārīs had become tributaries to the Hospitallers as well as to the Templars. There are hints to the effect that the Nizārīs were now actually allied with the Hospitallers. On hearing this news, Pope Gregory IX (1227–1241) wrote a letter in 633/1236 to his representatives in the Holy Land strongly condemning such relations.[224]

The last important event in the history of the Syrian Nizārīs of this period relates to their dealings with Louis IX, better known as St Louis, the French king who led the Seventh Crusade (1248–1254). These dealings, recorded by John of Joinville, the king's biographer and secretary, to which we have already referred, occurred soon after the arrival of St Louis in ʿAkkā (Acre) in Ṣafar 648/May 1250.[225] At the time, the Syrian Nizārīs were most probably still under the leadership of Tāj al-Dīn Abu'l-Futūḥ, whose name is mentioned in an inscription at Maṣyāf dated Dhu'l-Qaʿda 646/February–March 1249. At any rate, Nizārī emissaries came to the French king and asked him either to pay tribute to their chief or at least release the Nizārīs from the tribute which they themselves paid to the Templars and the Hospitallers. On the intervention of Reginald of Vichiers and William of Châteauneuf, the Grand Masters of the Temple and the Hospital, the negotiations between the 'Old Man of the Mountain' and St Louis did not lead to any results. St Louis, himself more interested in establishing friendly relations with the Mongols, did not pay any tribute to the Nizārīs, who continued to pay

their own tribute to the Hospitallers and the Templars. But the French king and the Syrian Nizārī chief did exchange gifts. It was in the course of these embassies that the Arabic-speaking friar Yves le Breton met the Nizārī chief and discussed religious doctrines with him in Maṣyāf or another stronghold in the Jabal Bahrāʾ.

We now come to the final years of the Nizārī state in Persia. Hülegü, as noted, took his time in making detailed preparations to lead the main Mongol expedition across Central Asia to Persia, where he did not arrive before the beginning of 654/1256. But already in Jumādā II 650/August 1252, he had despatched an advance army of 12,000 men from Mongolia, under the command of his Nestorian Christian general Ket-Buqa, to join forces with the Mongol garrisons in Persia and attack as many Nizārī strongholds as possible.[226] Ket-Buqa crossed the Oxus in Muḥarram 651/March 1253 and soon afterwards attacked the Nizārī strongholds in Quhistān, capturing several of them. In Rabīʿ I 651/May 1253, he appeared at the head of some 5000 men at the foot of Girdkūh, where he erected walls and other siege works around the stronghold. Leaving one of his officers, Büri, in charge of the siege at Girdkūh, Ket-Buqa next proceeded to attack the castles of Mihrīn, near Girdkūh, and another nearby castle called Shāhdiz in Qaṣrān, which were in Ismāʿīlī hands, and then in Jumādā II 651/August 1253 he sent raiding parties into Rūdbār and Ṭārum, where little was accomplished. In Shawwāl 651/December 1253, the besieged garrison of Girdkūh made a daring night attack on the Mongols, killing a hundred of them, including Büri. The siege of Girdkūh however continued, and when cholera decimated the Nizārī garrison and the fortress was on the verge of falling in the summer of 652/1254, Alamūt supplied reinforcements and saved the situation. The strengthened garrison of Girdkūh continued to resist the Mongols for a long time. Meanwhile, Ket-Buqa had returned to Quhistān, where the Mongols pillaged, slaughtered and finally seized, at least temporarily, Tūn and Turshīz, in Jumādā I 651/July 1253. A few months later, the Mongols had captured Mihrīn and some other castles in Qūmis.

The Mongols were now exerting constant pressure on the Persian Nizārīs, whose situation was further threatened by the imminent arrival of Hülegü himself. These external pressures seem to have aggravated the internal tensions within the Nizārī leadership, especially those between ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Muḥammad III and his chief advisers, who evidently wanted to submit to the Mongols. At any rate, Muḥammad III, who is reported to have been afflicted by melancholia, had gradually isolated himself from the Nizārī leaders whilst persisting in defying the Mongols. At the same time, relations between Muḥammad III and his eldest son Rukn al-Dīn Khurshāh (Khwurshāh), who had received the imam's *naṣṣ* in his childhood, were evidently also deteriorating. It was under such circumstances that certain Nizārī leaders eventually began, according to the Persian historians, to formulate a plan against Muḥammad III, aiming to replace him by his

designated successor. Accordingly, Khurshāh was to take charge of the affairs of the state and immediately enter into negotiations with the Mongols. Before this plan could be implemented, however, Khurshāh fell ill and was confined to his bed. Soon afterwards, on the last day of Shawwāl 653/1 December 1255, ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Muḥammad III, who had always been fond of shepherding, was found murdered in a hut, adjoining his sheepfold, in Shīrkūh near Alamūt. After putting several suspects to death, it was discovered that the murder had been committed by Ḥasan-i Māzandarānī, a favourite and constant companion of Muḥammad III, whom the imam had injured. The secret was divulged to Khurshāh by Ḥasan's wife, a former concubine of Muḥammad III. Ḥasan and several others were put to death.

Rukn al-Dīn Khurshāh

ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Muḥammad III, who had reigned for thirty-four years, was succeeded by his youthful son Rukn al-Dīn Khurshāh, born around 627/1230.[227] Before entering into any negotiations with the Mongols, the new Nizārī imam and lord of Alamūt attempted to strengthen his situation with his neighbours and with other Muslim rulers. The Nizārīs first completed a campaign in western Daylam and seized a fortress in Khalkhāl which they had besieged. Then Khurshāh sent messengers to Gīlān and other neighbouring areas to inform their rulers of his father's death and of his own accession, and also attempted to establish better relations with them. Soon after his accession, and in order to inform the Mongols of the new policy of the Nizārī leadership, Khurshāh sent an envoy to Yasaʾur Noyan, the Mongol commander stationed at Hamadān, offering his submission. Yasaʾur's reply was to the effect that the Nizārī ruler should present himself in person before Hülegü, whose arrival was imminent. The youthful Khurshāh was thus drawn into a complex, and ultimately futile, series of negotiations with the Mongols.

Meanwhile, Hülegü had been advancing westward at the head of the main Mongol force at a leisurely pace. Having set out from his *ordu* or encampment in Mongolia in Shaʿbān 651/October 1253, Hülegü arrived at the gates of Samarqand two years later, in Shaʿbān 653/September 1255. After two months, he despatched messengers from his camp at Kish to various Persian rulers informing them of his intention to extirpate the Ismāʿīlīs and asking them to render assistance or suffer the consequences. In Dhu'l-Ḥijja 653/January 1256, Hülegü crossed the Oxus and passed the remaining winter months in the meadows of Shafūrqān to the west of Balkh, an area now situated in northern Afghanistan. Hülegü entered Persia through Khurāsān in Rabīʿ I 654/April 1256 and selected the Nizārī town of Tūn, which had not been effectively reduced by his advance guards under Ket-Buqa, as his first target. But he was prevented from personally supervising

the Mongol assault against Tūn by some obscure incidents that occurred as he was passing through the district of Zāwa and Khwāf on the northeastern border of Quhistān. The task was entrusted to Ket-Buqa and Köke-Ilgei, who, after besieging Tūn for a week, seized the town in the middle of Rabīʿ II 654/May 1256. The Mongols slaughtered all the inhabitants of Tūn except the younger women, according to Juwaynī, or the artisans (*pīshihvarān*), according to Rashīd al-Dīn.[228] The triumphant Mongol generals then joined Hülegü and proceeded towards Ṭūs. It was probably at Ṭūs that Hülegü shortly afterwards received Nāṣir al-Dīn, the last Nizārī *muḥtasham* of Quhistān and Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī's friend and patron. Hülegü had earlier despatched Malik Shams al-Dīn (643–684/1245–1285), the founder of the Kart dynasty of Harāt, on a mission to the *muḥtasham*, who was then residing at the fortress of Sartakht. Shams al-Dīn had succeeded in persuading Nāṣir al-Dīn to present himself before Hülegü, who asked the Nizārī chief why he had not brought down the garrison of the fortress. He replied that his people obeyed only the commands of Khurshāh, their ruler. Hülegü gave the aged Nāṣir al-Dīn a *yarlïgh* (decree) and a *paiza* (tablet of authority), granting him safe conduct and appointed him to the governorship of the ruined town of Tūn. However, Nāṣir al-Dīn died shortly afterwards in Ṣafar 655 AH.

Meanwhile in Jumādā I 654/May 1256, after further negotiations, Khurshāh had sent his brother Shahanshāh with a retinue of dignitaries to announce his submission to the Mongols. They reached Yasaʾur near Qazwīn, and he delegated his own son to accompany the Nizārī mission to Hülegü. On 10 Jumādā I/5 June, Yasaʾur unexpectedly engaged in battle with the Nizārīs around Alamūt. But he withdrew after a short while and subsequently left Rūdbār upon the instructions of Hülegü, who had received the Nizārī mission at Qūchān (Khabūshān). Hülegü's own *elchi*s or ambassadors reached Khurshāh at the end of Jumādā II/July and delivered a *yarlïgh* full of encouragement to the effect that since Khurshāh had sent his brother and had demonstrated his submission and loyalty, the king had forgiven the crimes committed by his father. Khurshāh, who himself had committed no crime, was asked to destroy his castles and come down to pay homage so that the Mongol armies would not devastate his territories. The Nizārī ruler did destroy some castles, but in the case of Alamūt, Maymūndiz and Lamasar, he simply removed a few battlements (*sardīvār*) and turrets (*kungara*). Some of the Mongol ambassadors, accompanied by Khurshāh's envoy Ṣadr al-Dīn, returned to report the situation to Hülegü. Khurshāh now asked for a year's grace before presenting himself. The rest of the *elchi*s stayed behind in Rūdbār to supervise the demolition of the Nizārī castles. In the beginning of Shaʿbān/September, the Mongol envoys came to Khurshāh with a new message that the Nizārī ruler should immediately present himself before Hülegü, and in his absence a Mongol called Tükel Bahadur would act as *basqaq* or protecting

governor in Rūdbār. Khurshāh, who was obviously playing for time, sent his reply through another distinguished embassy headed by his vizier, Shams al-Dīn Gīlakī, and the son of his father's paternal uncle, Sayf al-Dīn Sulṭān Malik b. Kiyā Bū Manṣūr b. Muḥammad II, who accompanied the Mongol ambassadors and reached Hülegü on 17 Shaʿbān/9 September.[229] Khurshāh again asked for a year's grace and the exemption of Alamūt and Lamasar from the demolition order. He also instructed his lieutenants in Girdkūh and Quhistān to present themselves before Hülegü in submission, which they did shortly afterwards.

Hülegü's patience became exhausted by Khurshāh's delaying tactics in surrendering. In the middle of Shaʿbān 654/September 1256, Hülegü set out from his encampment near Basṭām to launch his assault on the Nizārī castles in Rūdbār. All the Mongol garrisons in ʿIrāq-i ʿAjam were now instructed to prepare for battle. At the same time, the main Mongol force proceeded towards Rūdbār from various directions. The right wing of Hülegü's forces, under Buqa-Temür and Köke-Ilgei, proceeded by way of Māzandarān, and its left wing, under the Chaghatai prince Tegüder and Ket-Buqa, advanced through Khuwār and Simnān. Hülegü himself, with the main army, followed a parallel route passing through Fīrūzkūh, Damāwand and Rayy. Two other Chaghatai princes, Balaghai and Tutar, had meanwhile set out from ʿIrāq-i ʿAjam in the direction of Alamūt. Hülegü halted at Damāwand for a while, and from there sent yet another message to Khurshāh. The Nizārī leader was to come to Damāwand immediately, and were he to be delayed up to five days by his preparations, he was to send his son in advance. Khurshāh did despatch his son, or a youthful brother, on 17 Ramaḍān/8 October. But Hülegü returned the boy on the grounds of his youth, and suggested that if Khurshāh could not come till later, he should send another brother to relieve Shahanshāh. Hülegü was by this time in the general area of Rayy, and messages were constantly exchanged between him and Khurshāh. On 5 Shawwāl/26 October, Khurshāh sent out his brother Shīrānshāh in the company of 300 men, who arrived at Hülegü's camp two days later. At the same time, the vizier Shams al-Dīn Gīlakī had returned from Girdkūh and brought its governor, the *qāḍī* Tāj al-Dīn Mardānshāh, before Hülegü, while Girdkūh itself still held out. Shahanshāh was now sent back to Rūdbār with the message that if Khurshāh destroyed the castle of Maymūndiz and presented himself in person before the king, he would be received with honour, otherwise God alone knew what would befall him. Around this time, Hülegü secretly put to death near Qazwīn many of the Nizārīs who on different occasions had been sent to him.

By this time, the Mongol armies were entering Rūdbār from all sides. Having finally decided to seize the fortress of Maymūndiz, near Alamūt, where Khurshāh was then reportedly staying, Hülegü broke up his camp in Pishkildara on 10 Shawwāl/31 October and advanced towards Rūdbār through Ṭāliqān.

On 18 Shawwāl 654/8 November 1256, Hülegü encamped on a hilltop facing Maymūndiz. He made a last appeal to Khurshāh to surrender, but he was told that the Nizārī ruler was absent from Maymūndiz and that nothing could be decided without his permission. Having been greatly impressed by the defences of Maymūndiz, Hülegü consulted with his commanders as to whether they should besiege the castle or turn back and wait until the spring. Most of his advisers favoured withdrawal in view of the onset of the winter and the consequent impossibility of procuring provisions for the troops and fodder for the animals. A few, including Ket-Buqa, insisted on laying siege to the castle immediately, and Hülegü supported their view. The Mongol armies began to prepare for a siege. To provide poles for their mangonels, the Mongols felled the trees which the Nizārīs themselves had planted in former times. When battle was joined, the Nizārīs gained some initial victories, pouring down stones from their own mangonels upon the besiegers. But on the second day of fighting, the Mongols brought into play a Chinese ballista (*kamān-i gāv*) with a range of 2500 paces. The garrison of Maymūndiz now ceased fighting and asked for truce, which was granted. On the following day, Khurshāh, who had in fact been present in the castle, asked for a *yarlïgh* to grant him safe conduct. The decree was drawn up by ʿAṭā-Malik Juwaynī, who then acted as Hülegü's secretary and accompanied his master to the Nizārī strongholds. Khurshāh was evidently persuaded not to come down from Maymūndiz by some zealous *fidāʾī*s, who, in contradistinction to the foreign scholars present at his court, were strongly against surrendering to the Mongols. Meanwhile, more messages continued to be exchanged. It is clear that all along, Khurshāh had been playing for time in the hope that the snows of winter would come to his aid and render the siege operations of the Mongols impracticable, but the weather remained unseasonably mild in that autumn of 654/1256. On 25 Shawwāl/15 November, the Mongols resumed their bombardment of Maymūndiz on a much larger scale. At last, Khurshāh decided to surrender, being greatly encouraged in this decision by Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī and a few other outside scholars then staying at Maymūndiz.

Khurshāh first sent down his son and another brother called Īrānshāh with a delegation of notables. Then, on Sunday 29 Shawwāl 654/19 November 1256,[230] the Nizārī imam himself descended, surrounded by a group of dignitaries including Khwāja Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī, Khwāja Aṣīl al-Dīn Zūzanī and his vizier Muʾayyad al-Dīn. Rukn al-Dīn Khurshāh had reigned for exactly one year as the last lord of Alamūt, and his surrender marked the close of the Nizārī state of Persia, which had been founded some 166 years earlier with the capture of Alamūt by Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ. On the day following his surrender, Khurshāh brought out all his family, dependants and the other occupants of the castle, also offering the meagre treasures of Maymūndiz as a token of submission. When the Mongols

went up to the castle to commence the work of dismantling its buildings and structures, however, they were confronted by a group of devoted *fidāʾī*s whose desperate last resistance was broken up only after three days of fierce fighting.

Khurshāh was well received by Hülegü, though he was kept under the constant surveillance of a Mongol commander. At Hülegü's request, the Nizārī ruler despatched his representatives in the company of Mongol *elchi*s to all the Nizārī castles in Rūdbār with orders for their submission and destruction. Some forty castles were thus demolished, after the evacuation of their garrisons. In Rūdbār, only the commanders of Alamūt and Lamasar refused to surrender, perhaps thinking that their imam was acting under duress and was observing a new sort of *taqiyya*. Hülegü himself proceeded to the foot of Alamūt, where Khurshāh tried in vain to persuade its commandant, Muqaddim al-Dīn, to capitulate. Leaving Balaghai behind to besiege Alamūt with a large force, Hülegü then set out for Lamasar. After a few days, the garrison of Alamūt decided to surrender and Khurshāh, who had accompanied Hülegü to Lamasar, interceded on their behalf with the Mongol conqueror. The inmates of Alamūt were given three days' grace to bring down their belongings, a party of Mongols having first entered the castle to remove its mangonels and gates. Khurshāh himself received permission to visit the castle. On the fourth day, towards the end of Dhu'l-Qaʿda 654/December 1256, Mongol guards ascended to the fortress of Alamūt and plundered whatever had been left behind. They also began the tedious work of demolishing Alamūt. Meanwhile, Juwaynī, who had accompanied Hülegü to the foot of Lamasar, had been allowed to examine the library at Alamūt and to salvage whatever he deemed necessary. He saved the Qurʾāns, and a number of choice books, including some Ismāʿīlī works, as well as certain astronomical instruments, before consigning that renowned library's manuscript collections to flames. Juwaynī has left a valuable description of the fortress of Alamūt, which he surveyed at this time.[231] Juwaynī was greatly impressed by the storage facilities and the food supplies he found at Alamūt, as well as the castle's water supply system and fortifications. He describes the difficulties faced by the large group of Mongols who were assigned the task of demolishing Alamūt.

Hülegü had in the meantime failed to capture Lamasar or to induce its commandant to surrender, despite Khurshāh's intervention. He left Tayir-Buqa to besiege the fortress with an army of Mongols and Persians. Lamasar held out for another year, before cholera broke out and killed the bulk of its garrison. The few who survived the epidemic were obliged to surrender sometime at the end of 655 AH.[232] Hülegü left Rūdbār for his main *ordu*, near Hamadān, in Dhu'l-Ḥijja 654/January 1257. Khurshāh, being still useful to the Mongols, accompanied the Īlkhān, while the imam's family, servants and belongings were sent to Qazwīn. From Hülegü's *ordu*, Khurshāh despatched his emissaries along with Mongol

*elchi*s to the Nizārī castles in Syria, instructing them to guard the castles as subjects of the king until such time as Hülegü himself should arrive there. With Khurshāh's cooperation it had become possible for the Mongols to secure the speedy surrender and dismantlement of almost all the Nizārī castles in Ṭārum, Rūdbār, Qūmis, Quhistān and elsewhere in Persia, with the major exceptions of Lamasar and Girdkūh. The commandants (singular, *kūtvāl*) and the bulk of the garrisons of these fallen castles were duly placed under the watch of different Mongol units and commanders.

Khurshāh continued to be treated respectfully by the Mongols while he was still of some help to them. But the surrender of the bulk of the Nizārī castles finally made his presence an embarrassment to Hülegü. Therefore, when he asked to be sent to the court of Möngke, Hülegü readily complied. On 1 Rabīʿ I 655/9 March 1257, Khurshāh set out on his fateful journey to Mongolia with nine companions and a group of Mongol guards led by Bujrai. On the way, when the party arrived at the foot of Girdkūh, Khurshāh tried once again in vain to bring down that castle's garrison, though he may have told them secretly not to surrender. Khurshāh was not evidently treated respectfully by his escorts and, by the time they reached Bukhārā, he had to engage in fist-fighting with his Mongol guards. Möngke refused to see Khurshāh when he finally arrived in Karakorum (Qaraqorum), on the pretext that he still had not delivered Girdkūh and Lamasar. On the return journey, somewhere along the edge of the Khangai mountains in northwestern Mongolia, the eighth and final lord of Alamūt and his companions were led away from the road and put to the sword by the Mongols. In the meantime, after Khurshāh's departure for Mongolia, there had taken place a general massacre of the Persian Nizārīs who had been placed in Mongol custody. Khurshāh's family and dependants detained at Qazwīn were put to the sword by Qaraqai Bitikchi, while Ötegü-China, the Mongol commander in Khurāsān, summoned the Quhistānī Nizārīs to great gatherings and slaughtered some 12,000 of them, adding immeasurably to the tragedy of the end of the Nizārī state in Persia. According to Juwaynī, the massacres had been carried out in accordance with a decree of Möngke to the effect that none of the Nizārīs should be spared, reflecting an earlier order of Chingiz Khan himself.[233]

As Marshall Hodgson pointed out, it seems that given the spirit of earlier times, when the Nizārīs were enthusiastically fighting the Saljūqs under Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ and his immediate successors, some of the Nizārī fortresses might have been able to resist the Mongol assaults at least long enough to persuade Hülegü to come to some sort of an accommodation with them.[234] Juwaynī, who accompanied the Mongols to Alamūt, Maymūndiz and Lamasar, clearly emphasizes the impregnability and self-sufficiency of the Nizārī fortresses, especially Alamūt, which would have enabled them to withstand Mongol sieges for indefinite periods. He

also recalls how Alamūt had earlier successfully resisted the Saljūq armies for over a decade.[235] Rashīd al-Dīn, too, speaks of the good fortune of Möngke and Hülegü in having defeated the Nizārīs and captured their castles so quickly.[236] In fact, as Girdkūh was to demonstrate, at least the key Nizārī fortresses could have held out for long periods on the basis of their own resources. Indeed, Girdkūh continued to resist its Mongol besiegers, as the last surviving Nizārī outpost in Persia, for thirteen years after the fall of Alamūt. The garrison of Girdkūh finally yielded from want of clothing on 29 Rabīʿ II 669/15 December 1270, during the reign of the Īlkhānid Abaqa, seventeen years after the first investment of the place by Hülegü's advance guards.[237] The Mongols, who had erected permanent structures and dwelling places of their own around Girdkūh, killed the survivors of the garrison on their descent. But the Mongols did not evidently demolish Girdkūh, which they continued to use under the Īlkhānids succeeding Abaqa.[238] In its decision to surrender, the central Nizārī leadership seems to have been greatly influenced by Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī and perhaps other outside scholars then living amongst the Nizārīs – scholars who, having enjoyed the hospitality of the Nizārīs, were now eager to taste the munificence of the Mongols, which they did upon dissociating themselves from the last lord of Alamūt and entering into the service of the Īlkhānid dynasty of Persia founded by Hülegü (654–663/1256–1265).

The collapse of the Nizārī state in Persia must have shocked and disheartened the Syrian Nizārīs, who could no longer count on the support and leadership of Alamūt and the personal guidance of the Nizārī imam. Under the circumstances, the Syrian Nizārīs began to select their leaders locally, sometimes two persons jointly holding the office of their chief *dāʿī*. Deprived of any sort of strong central leadership and threatened by the designs of various powers on Syria – especially the Mongols and the Mamlūk dynasty of Egypt – the Syrian Nizārī community began to experience serious internal dissensions, often manifested in the form of rivalries among the senior *dāʿī*s and the independent behaviour of the governors of various fortresses. All of these factors prepared the ground for the eventual submission of the Syrian Nizārīs to al-Malik al-Ẓāhir Rukn al-Dīn Baybars I (658–676/1260–1277), the Baḥrī Mamlūk sultan of Egypt, who soon extended his hegemony over Syria and its different principalities.[239]

Meanwhile, having dealt with the Persian Nizārīs, Hülegü had proceeded towards his second major objective, the extinction of the ʿAbbāsid caliphate. By Ṣafar 656/February 1258, the Mongols had seized Baghdad and devastated the ancient capital of the ʿAbbāsids for a whole week. The caliph al-Mustaʿṣim, who had endeavoured in vain to prevent the Mongol cataclysm, was put to death on Hülegü's order. The Mongol conqueror's third campaign was directed against the Ayyūbid states in Syria. In 658/1260, the Mongols seized Aleppo, and soon afterwards Ḥamā and Damascus surrendered to Hülegü. In Rabīʿ I 658/March

1260, Ket-Buqa, who had been in charge of the advance operations of the Mongols in Syria, made his triumphal entry into Damascus, accompanied by Hetʿum, the king of Little Armenia, and the latter's son-in-law Bohemond VI of Antioch, the allies of the Mongols. It was during the same year, 658/1260, that four of the Nizārī fortresses, including Maṣyāf, were surrendered to the Mongols by their governors.[240] The Mongol success in Syria was, however, short-lived. Hülegü returned to Persia in the summer upon hearing the news of Möngke's death, which in fact had occurred a year earlier in 657/1259, leaving Ket-Buqa in command of his reduced forces in Syria. On 25 Ramaḍān 658/3 September 1260, the Mongols suffered a drastic defeat at ʿAyn Jālūt, in Palestine, at the hands of the Mamlūk armies of Egypt, led by Sultan al-Muẓaffar Qutuz (657–658/1259–1260). Ket-Buqa was captured and put to death. The vanguard of the Mamlūk forces was commanded by Baybars, who succeeded Qutuz to the Mamlūk sultanate and thwarted the Mongols in their subsequent attempts to establish themselves in the region.

Soon the Mongols were expelled from all of Syria, where Baybars rapidly emerged as the dominant power. The Nizārīs evidently collaborated with the Mamlūks and other Muslim rulers in repelling the Mongols from Syria, and after the battle of ʿAyn Jālūt recovered the four fortresses which they had earlier lost to them. At the time of the Mongol invasion of Syria, the Syrian Nizārīs were under the leadership of Raḍī al-Dīn Abu'l-Maʿālī, who punished the Nizārī governors who had yielded their castles to the Mongols. According to Ibn Muyassar, Raḍī al-Dīn had become the chief *dāʿī* in Syria in 656/1258, and shortly before succeeding to that office he had visited Mamlūk Egypt as a Nizārī envoy.[241]

The Syrian Nizārīs now attempted to establish friendly relations with Baybars by sending him embassies and gifts. Baybars, who was then preoccupied with the Mongols and the Franks, reciprocated by granting certain favours to the Nizārī community. Nonetheless, from early on Baybars capitalized on the weakness and internal dissensions of the Nizārīs and systematically adopted measures which ultimately led to the loss of the political independence of the Syrian Nizārī community. Ibn ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir (d. 692/1293), the biographer of Baybars, reports that already in 659/1261 Baybars granted rights to the Nizārī territories to al-Malik al-Manṣūr (642–683/1244–1285), the Ayyūbid prince of Ḥamā.[242] At the same time, however, the Nizārīs sent an embassy to Baybars and successfully demanded that they receive the privileges which they had enjoyed under the Ayyūbids. Baybars, in an attempt to divide the Nizārīs, appointed that same Nizārī envoy, a certain Jamāl al-Dīn Ḥasan b. Thābit, to the headship of the Nizārī community, a position then still held by Raḍī al-Dīn, perhaps conjointly with Najm al-Dīn Ismāʿīl b. al-Shaʿrānī.[243] But the community refused to acknowledge Jamāl al-Dīn, who was put to death. It was about this time that Raḍī al-Dīn died and

the aged Najm al-Dīn became the chief *dāʿī* of the Syrian Nizārīs in 660/1261–1262. Najm al-Dīn was later assisted by his son Shams al-Dīn and his son-in-law Ṣārim al-Dīn Mubārak, who was Raḍī al-Dīn's son. The Nizārī community had continued to retain possession of eight permanent strongholds, namely, Maṣyāf, Qadmūs, Kahf, Khawābī, Ruṣāfa, Manīqa (Maynaqa), ʿUllayqa and Qulayʿa. The castle of Kharība seems to have been lost sometime earlier.[244]

As Baybars continued to consolidate his position in Syria, the Nizārīs found it advisable to periodically renew their friendly overtures to him. In 661/1263, when Baybars was engaged in his campaigns against the Franks, a Nizārī mission under the two sons of the Nizārī chiefs came to the Mamlūk sultan with gifts.[245] The envoys of the *dār al-daʿwa*, probably Shams al-Dīn and Ṣārim al-Dīn, were treated kindly. However, in 664/1265, Baybars felt strong enough to order the collection of taxes and tolls on the gifts still sent to the Nizārīs by the various Frankish kings and the ruler of Yaman, gifts which passed through Mamlūk Egypt.[246] Henceforth, the political significance of the Syrian Nizārīs, who were in no position to resist Mamlūk encroachments on their sovereignty, declined rapidly. Soon afterwards, the Nizārīs themselves began to pay tribute to Baybars, following the conclusion of a peace treaty in 664/1266 between the Mamlūk sultan and the Hospitallers. According to this treaty, the Hospitallers renounced the annual tribute which they had hitherto received from the Nizārīs and other Muslim states around Ḥamā and Ḥimṣ. Furthermore, starting in 665/1267, the Nizārīs became tributaries of Baybars, paying him what they previously sent to the Hospitallers, for which payment Baybars had already reproached them.[247] In effect, the Nizārīs had now placed themselves under the suzerainty of the Mamlūk state, and it did not take long before they lost even their nominal independence completely as Baybars maintained his pressure on the community. Indeed, Baybars soon began to appoint and dismiss the chief *dāʿī*s of the Nizārī community, as the lords of Alamūt had done previously.

In 668/1270, while Baybars was travelling to Krak des Chevaliers (Ḥiṣn al-Akrād) in the vicinity of the Nizārī castles, the Nizārī *dāʿī* Najm al-Dīn, unlike other *amīr*s in the area, did not present himself before the sultan to pay homage. Baybars was greatly offended by this act and reacted by deposing him. When Najm al-Dīn shortly afterwards sent his son-in-law Ṣārim al-Dīn Mubārak, the governor of ʿUllayqa, as an envoy to Baybars, evidently in the hope of receiving a reduction in the Nizārī tribute paid to the Mamlūks, the sultan designated Ṣārim al-Dīn himself to the headship of the Nizārī community.[248] The sultan now demanded possession of Maṣyāf, which was to be entrusted to one of his own *amīr*s, ʿIzz al-Dīn al-ʿAdīmī. Ṣārim al-Dīn, who was to hold the Nizārī castles as the deputy of Baybars, proceeded to take charge of them in Jumādā II 668/February 1270. His authority was initially contested by Najm al-Dīn, who soon yielded however.

But Ṣārim al-Dīn, too, angered the sultan by through trickery taking possession of Maṣyāf, in violation of the sultan's instructions. Once inside, he put to death a large number of the residents of Maṣyāf, who, abiding by the sultan's orders, had refused to yield the castle to him. On Baybars' request, al-Malik al-Manṣūr, the ruler of Ḥamā, dislodged the rebellious Ṣārim al-Dīn from Maṣyāf and sent him as a prisoner to Cairo, where he later died. Baybars then reinstated Najm al-Dīn, who had meanwhile apologized to the sultan, although his son Shams al-Dīn was kept in Cairo.

In Rajab 669/February 1271, when Baybars was besieging the Frankish castle of Krak des Chevaliers, two Nizārīs from ʿUllayqa, who allegedy had been sent to kill the sultan, were apprehended. It became known that the *fidāʾī*s had initially visited Bohemond VI, the sultan's enemy, with whose assistance they were to carry out their mission. The discovery of this plot put an end to any existing entente between Sultan Baybars and the Nizārī leadership in Syria. Baybars now decided to deal more effectively with the Ismāʿīlīs. Shams al-Dīn was imprisoned on charges of collaborating with the Franks against the sultan. Najm al-Dīn pleaded successfully with Baybars for the release of his son, but he was forced to give up his leadership position and surrendered control of the Nizārī castles to the Mamlūks. Najm al-Dīn, then ninety years of age, accompanied Baybars to Cairo, where he died in 672/1274.[249] Shams al-Dīn, who had acted as his father's chief assistant and probably had also held the office of chief *dāʿī* conjointly with him, was allowed to return temporarily to Syria in order to settle the affairs of the Nizārī *daʿwa* and castles there. However, for a time he tried in vain to organize the Nizārīs against Baybars. The Nizārī castles now began to submit in rapid succession to Baybars, who used military blockades, threats, negotiation, and tempting promises in dealing with them.[250] ʿUllayqa and Ruṣāfa surrendered in Shawwāl 669/May 1271 and by Dhu'l-Qaʿda 671/May 1273, Khawābī, Qulayʿa, Manīqa and Qadmūs had also capitulated. Meanwhile, Shams al-Dīn, discouraged by his efforts to launch a revolt, gave himself up to the Mamlūks and was sent again to Cairo. Only the garrison of Kahf mustered some resistance, and with the fall of that castle in Dhu'l-Ḥijja 671/July 1273 the last independent Nizārī outpost in Syria fell into the hands of the Mamlūks, less than three years after the garrison of Girdkūh had surrendered to the Mongols in Persia.

Having acquired complete control of their strongholds, Baybars, unlike the Mongols in Persia, tolerated the Nizārīs and did not attempt to exterminate them. The Nizārīs were in fact permitted to remain in their traditional abodes in the Jabal Bahrāʾ, but only under the watchful eyes of Mamlūk commanders. Indeed, there are reports that Baybars and his successors employed the Nizārīs against their own enemies.[251] Already prior to the submission of all the Nizārī castles, the Mamlūk sultan is alleged to have used the services of the Nizārī

*fidāʾī*s against his opponents. Baybars is reported to have threatened the count of Tripoli with assassination in Shaʿbān 669/April 1271, while the murder of Philip of Montford, lord of Tyre, in 1270 and the unsuccessful attempt on the life of Prince Edward of England in 1272 are also said to have been instigated by him.[252] Amongst the sources speaking of the use of Nizārī *fidāʾī*s by the early Mamlūks, an elaborate account is related by the celebrated Moorish traveller Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, who passed through Syria for the first time in his travels in 726/1326. He names Manīqa, ʿUllayqa, Qadmūs, Kahf and Maṣyāf as fortresses which were still in the hands of the Ismāʿīliyya (Fidāwiyya), and then proceeds to give interesting details on the arrangements existing between the *fidāʾī*s and al-Nāṣir Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad, the Mamlūk sultan who reigned intermittently between 693/1294 and 741/1340.[253]

The Syrian Nizārīs were thus allowed to live in a semi-autonomous fashion as loyal subjects of the Mamlūks and their successors. This gave the Syrian Nizārī community the opportunity to maintain its identity, and its traditions and practices, by contrast to the Persian Nizārīs who never really recovered from the Mongol catastrophe. For all practical purposes, however, by the time of the Mongol invasions the Nizārī Ismāʿīlīs were no longer a serious power to be reckoned with as in the days of Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ in Persia and Rāshid al-Dīn Sinān in Syria. Whatever diminished political significance the Nizārīs had retained precariously during the late Alamūt period was irrevocably lost when the Mongols and the Mamlūks dealt their decisive blows to the Persian and Syrian sections of the Nizārī community. With the fall of Alamūt, the majestic mountain fortress selected by Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ as the original headquarters of the Nizārī Ismāʿīlī state and *daʿwa*, the Nizārī Ismāʿīlīs had indeed entered a different and often obscure phase of their history, surviving as a minority Shīʿī Muslim community without their earlier political prominence.

7

The post-Alamūt centuries and modern developments in Nizārī Ismāʿīlī history

This final chapter will present a survey of the main developments and trends in the history of the Nizārī Ismāʿīlīs during the entire post-Alamūt period, from the fall of Alamūt in 654/1256 to the present time, covering more than seven centuries. In this period, several Nizārī communities developed in various regions and more or less independently of one another. These communities, scattered widely from Syria to Persia, Central Asia and South Asia, elaborated a diversity of religious and literary traditions in different languages.

Patterns and research problems in post-Alamūt Nizārī history

The first five centuries after the collapse of the Nizārī state in Persia and the fall of Alamūt represent the longest obscure phase in the entire history of the Ismāʿīlīs. Many aspects of Nizārī activities and thought in this period are still not sufficiently studied, due mainly to lack of primary sources and to a certain degree of complexity in the issues involved. A variety of factors, related to the very nature of post-Alamūt Nizārī Ismāʿīlism, have combined to create special research problems here.

In the aftermath of the destruction of their state, the Nizārīs, who had in fact survived the Mongol catastrophe, were essentially deprived of the centralized leadership they had enjoyed during the Alamūt period. The Nizārī imamate had, indeed, continued in the progeny of Rukn al-Dīn Khurshāh, the last lord of Alamūt. But the imams remained in hiding and inaccessible to their followers for about two centuries. Under the circumstances, various Nizārī communities developed regionally and more or less in isolation from one another, each community elaborating its own distinctive traditions. The Nizārī communities of Central Asia and the Indian subcontinent expanded significantly, gradually overshadowing their co-religionists in Persia and Syria. The origins and early formation of

the religious traditions of the Nizārī Khojas of South Asia are among the least understood areas of post-Alamūt Ismāʿīlism.

More complex research difficulties arise from the widespread adoption of *taqiyya* or precautionary dissimulation, in different forms and at different times, and by the Nizārī Ismāʿīlīs of different regions. In general, during much of their post-Alamūt history the Nizārīs have been obliged to dissimulate rather strictly in order to safeguard themselves against widespread persecution. To that end, they not only concealed their true beliefs as well as religious literature, but also resorted to a wide variety of Sunnī, Sufi, Twelver Shīʿī and Hindu disguises in the midst of hostile surroundings in the Iranian world and the Indian subcontinent. It is important, in this connection, to distinguish between short-term or temporary *taqiyya* practices, used traditionally by Ismāʿīlīs and Twelver Shīʿīs, and their long-term adoption that acquired near permanency among certain Nizārī communities during the post-Alamūt period of their history. The latter phenomenon, with its lasting consequences, has not been sufficiently studied by modern scholars. It is undeniable that *taqiyya* practices under any form but for extended periods will lead to irrevocable influences on the traditions and on the very religious identity of the dissimulating community. In time, these influences manifested themselves in different forms for the Nizārīs, ranging from total acculturation or full assimilation of Nizārīs of a particular locality into a community or tradition chosen initially as a dissimulating cover, to various degrees of interfacing between 'Nizārī' and 'other' traditions without the actual loss of Nizārī identity. The very concept of 'acculturation' has been used by cultural anthropologists to explain how 'composite' forms of religion could emerge through mutual exchanges and influences occurring in a more or less spontaneous manner, whilst others have referred to the complex phenomena in question as 'syncretistic' or 'liminal'.[1]

At any rate, risks of complete assimilation or total disintegration were particularly high during the early post-Alamūt centuries when the scattered Nizārī communities were deprived of any form of unified and central leadership, including especially the guidance of the Nizārī imams, who have provided throughout their history the most important single source for a cohesive religious identity in the midst of changing circumstances. Even after the Nizārī imams emerged at Anjudān in central Persia, in the middle of the 9th/15th century, initiating a revival in Nizārī *daʿwa* and literary activities, many isolated Nizārī groups may have failed to establish contacts with the imam's headquarters in Anjudān or with his newly appointed regional representatives. In time, many such groups must have disappeared in various ways, contributing to the decline in the overall size of the Nizārī population between the time of the Mongol massacres and the early Anjudān period.

It is not surprising that the dissimulating Nizārīs did not generally attract the attention of historians. Indeed, for several of the post-Alamūt centuries, only a few regional histories contain sporadic references to the Nizārīs. The difficulties of studying post-Alamūt Nizārī Ismāʿīlism are further aggravated by the fact that, as in Alamūt times, the Nizārīs themselves produced few doctrinal works, while upon the demise of their state they abandoned their earlier interest in historiography. The few doctrinal treatises written during the post-Alamūt period essentially retain the Nizārī teachings of the late Alamūt period. At the same time, only the Syrian Nizārīs preserved a certain number of the classical Ismāʿīlī texts of the Fāṭimid period.

As a result of the modern progress in Nizārī studies, initiated by W. Ivanow, three main periods can be distinguished in the history of post-Alamūt Nizārī Ismāʿīlism. The earliest period, covering roughly the first two centuries after the fall of Alamūt, remains rather obscure. It was during this period that a succession dispute in the family of the imams split the Nizārī community into two rival factions, the Muḥammad-Shāhīs and the Qāsim-Shāhīs. The Muḥammad-Shāhī imams, who, initially, seemingly had the support of the Nizārī majority in certain regions, emigrated to India during the earlier part of the 10th/16th century, but by the beginning of the 13th/19th century this line of the Nizārī imams had become discontinued. The Qāsim-Shāhī imams, who were gradually acknowledged by the Nizārī majoritarian community, emerged in Anjudān, a village in central Persia, at least by the second half of the 9th/15th century. This marks the beginning of the second period in the history of post-Alamūt Nizārīs, designated by Ivanow as the Anjudān revival, a renaissance in Nizārī thought and *daʿwa* activity. During this phase, lasting for about two centuries, the Nizārī imams of the Qāsim-Shāhī line successfully attempted to extend their control over the various Nizārī communities in Syria, Central Asia and India, where great numbers had hitherto acknowledged the Muḥammad-Shāhī imams or had come to owe their immediate allegiance to the hereditary dynasties of local leaders, *pīr*s, *shaykh*s, *mīr*s, etc.

Under the more favourable conditions created by the adoption of Twelver Shīʿism as the state religion in Ṣafawid Persia, the Qāsim-Shāhī imams conducted their *daʿwa* activities more openly. The Anjudān period also witnessed a revival in literary activities amongst the Nizārīs of Persia and some adjoining areas, who now produced the first doctrinal treatises after the fall of Alamūt. In the second half of the 12th/18th century, the Qāsim-Shāhī imams, who had meanwhile moved from Anjudān to the nearby village of Kahak and thence to Kirmān, began to acquire political prominence in Persia under the Zand and Qājār dynasties. By the middle of the 13th/19th century, when the Nizārī imam had become known to the outside world as the Āghā Khān (Aga Khan) and the seat of the Nizārī imamate had been transferred to India, the Nizārīs entered the modern phase of their

history. This period in Nizārī history has been characterized by the progressive leadership of the Nizārī imams, who introduced numerous policies together with appropriate institutional reforms for the socio-economic and educational development of the Nizārī Ismāʿīlīs.

On the basis of a mixture of geographical, linguistic, ethnological, and other criteria, the Nizārī literature of the post-Alamūt period can be classified into four main categories, namely, the Persian, the Central Asian, the Syrian and the Indian sources. The sources produced in Persia, Afghanistan and the upper Oxus region are written entirely in the Persian language, while the Syrian sources are in Arabic. The Nizārīs of the Indian subcontinent have utilized various Indian languages and dialects in committing their religious doctrines and traditions to writing. It should also be noted that our discussion of the post-Alamūt Nizārī sources refers mainly to the doctrinal works produced by the followers of the Qāsim-Shāhī Nizārī imams. The Muḥammad-Shāhī Nizārīs evidently produced very few works in Syria, Central Asia and India, which have not as yet been studied adequately.[2]

The Nizārīs of Persia and the adjacent regions, who use the Persian language in their religious literature, evidently did not produce any doctrinal works during the first two centuries after the fall of Alamūt. From that early post-Alamūt period, we have only the poetical works of Nizārī Quhistānī, a poet and government functionary from Bīrjand who died around 720/1320. He was perhaps the first post-Alamūt Nizārī author to choose verse and Sufi forms of expression for the camouflaging of his Ismāʿīlī ideas. It was only during the Anjudān revival that a number of better-educated Nizārīs living in and around Persia began to produce the first doctrinal works of the post-Alamūt period in the Persian language. The earliest and most noteworthy amongst such authors were Abū Isḥāq Quhistānī, probably a native of the district of Muʾminābād, who flourished during the second half of the 9th/15th century,[3] and Khayrkhwāh-i Harātī, a *dāʿī* and prolific writer with limited poetical talent who died after 960/1553.[4] These two were followed by Imām Qulī Khākī Khurāsānī, who died after 1056/1646, and his son ʿAlī Qulī Raqqāmī Khurāsānī (or Dizbādī),[5] amongst others. Khākī and his son, too, living in Dizbād, a village in the mountains between Mashhad and Nīshāpūr, resorted to poetry and Sufi expressions to disguise their Nizārī ideas.

In modern times, a few more doctrinal works have been written in the Persian language by Nizārī authors. These works, produced in Persia, Afghanistan and India, marked a new revival in Nizārī literary activities. This new revival, which faded away in the opening decades of the twentieth century, had been encouraged by the Āghā Khāns following the transfer of their residence to India. Amongst such modern Nizārī works written in Persian, mention may be made of some

short treatises composed by Shihāb al-Dīn Shāh al-Ḥusaynī, the eldest son of Āqā ʿAlī Shāh, the second Āghā Khān.[6] He spent the greater part of his life in Bombay and Poona, and predeceased his father by a few months in 1302/1884 whilst still in his early thirties. In Persia, the most learned Nizārī author of recent times was Muḥammad b. Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn Khurāsānī, who adopted the poetical *takhalluṣ* or pen name of Fidāʾī and was also referred to as Ḥājjī Ākhūnd by the Persian Nizārīs. He was a descendant of Khākī Khurāsānī and lived in the important Nizārī village of Dizbād near Mashhad, where his relatives are still residing. Fidāʾī travelled to India three times between 1313 and 1324/1896–1906, to see the Nizārī imam of the time, Sulṭān Muḥammad Shāh Aga Khan III, who treated him most kindly and appointed him to an important teaching position in the Persian Nizārī community. He died at Dizbād in 1342/1923 and was buried next to Khākī Khurāsānī. The site of his grave was modestly repaired in 1966.

Fidāʾī composed several doctrinal works, including the *Irshād al-sālikīn*, completed in 1317/1900, the *Kashf al-ḥaqāʾiq*, written in 1332/1914, the *Kitāb-i dānish-i ahl-i bīnish*, and the *Ḥadīqat al-maʿānī*, a treatise on *fiqh*. Copies of these works were either given or shown to the present writer in Dizbād and Mashhad in the summer of 1985 by Fidāʾī's grandson Ṣadr al-Dīn b. Mullā Shams al-Dīn Mīrshāhī. However, none of these works are listed in the Ismāʿīlī bibliographies of Ivanow and Poonawala.[7] Fidāʾī was also a prolific poet and his *Dīwān* of poetry, collected by his descendants, contains about 12,000 verses. Fidāʾī was the only contemporary Persian Nizārī to write a history of Ismāʿīlism, the already-cited *Kitāb-i hidāyat al-muʾminīn al-ṭālibīn*, completed around 1320/1903. Fidāʾī's history, extending from the origins of Ismāʿīlism to the imams of the post-Alamūt period, and filled with anachronisms and inaccuracies, was revised and updated to around 1328/1910 by Mūsā Khān b. Muḥammad Khān Khurāsānī (d. 1937), whose family had been in the service of the imams. Mūsā Khān had access to the library of the Aga Khans in Bombay and had heard many of the oral traditions of the community, including those circulating in the imam's own family. The portion added by Mūsā Khān to Fidāʾī's history deals mainly with the lives of the Aga Khans and their miraculous deeds.

As noted, within Persian Nizārī Ismāʿīlism, the Nizārī community in Badakhshan and the adjacent areas in the upper Oxus region has retained a specific literary tradition. This tradition represents several strata of Ismāʿīlī literature, though the Central Asian Nizārīs have been particularly attached to Nāṣir-i Khusraw and his works. Consequently, they have preserved and transmitted the anonymous *Umm al-kitāb*, the writings of Nāṣir-i Khusraw, and the Persian Nizārī works of the Alamūt and post-Alamūt periods, including the treatises representing the coalescence of Ismāʿīlism with Sufism and many anonymous works whose

authorship cannot definitely be attributed to Nizārīs. The Nizārīs of Badakhshan have played an important part in preserving the Nizārī literature written in the Persian language. As noted, a large number of Nizārī manuscripts were recovered during 1959–1963 by a Soviet research expedition sent to the Gorno-Badakhshan region in Tajikistan.[8] These manuscripts, all written in Persian, have been preserved mainly by the Nizārīs of Shughnān in western Pamir, whose own native language is a Tajik dialect. More such manuscripts have been recovered from Tajik Badakhshan since the 1990s through the efforts of The Institute of Ismaili Studies in London. During the post-Alamūt period, the Nizārīs of Badakhshan did not produce any noteworthy authors after Sayyid Suhrāb Valī Badakhshānī, who wrote around 856/1452,[9] although they did compile some local histories.

The Persian Nizārīs did not attract the attention of the Persian historians of the post-Alamūt period, who, like Juwaynī, thought that the Mongols had completely extirpated the sectaries. Only a few Persian chroniclers writing during the first three post-Alamūt centuries, including the historians of the Caspian region, occasionally refer to the Persian Nizārīs. It was after the latter part of the 12th/18th century, when the Nizārī imams had acquired political prominence in Persia, that the chroniclers of the Zand and Qājār dynasties began to make frequent references to the Nizārī imams and their political activities, especially in the province of Kirmān. Amongst such later chroniclers, mention may be made of Aḥmad ʿAlī Khān Vazīrī Kirmānī (d. 1295/1878), Riḍā Qulī Khān Hidāyat (d. 1288/1871), Muḥammad Taqī Lisān al-Mulk Sipihr (d. 1297/1880), and Muḥammad Ḥasan Khān Iʿtimād al-Salṭana (d. 1313/1896).

The Syrian Nizārīs, who adhered almost entirely to the Muḥammad-Shāhī line of the Nizārī imams until the 13th/19th century, retained their own literature written in Arabic. During the post-Alamūt period, as in earlier times, the Syrian Nizārīs developed their literature independently of the Persian Nizārīs. The Syrian community preserved many of the Ismāʿīlī works of the Fāṭimid period, and consequently some of the traditions of the Fāṭimid Ismāʿīlīs continued to be represented in the Nizārī texts of Syrian provenance. However, the Syrian community, too, produced only a few authors and genuine treatises during the period under survey.[10] The most prominent Syrian Nizārī author of this period was the *dāʿī* Abū Firās Shihāb al-Dīn b. al-Qāḍī Naṣr al-Maynaqī, who died either in 937/1530–1531 or 947/1540–1541.[11] The Nizārīs of Syria led an uneventful life under the Ottomans, who mention them and their *qilāʿ al-daʿwa*, the Nizārī castles west of Ḥamā, in their land registers for Syria. The Syrian Nizārīs did not attract the attention of outsiders until the early decades of the nineteenth century, when they were reported to be in conflict with their rulers and their Nuṣayrī neighbours. It was also around that time that European diplomats, travellers and orientalists began to make references to the Syrian Nizārī community.

The Nizārīs of South Asia, too, developed their own indigenous religious literature, the *ginān*s.[12] They did not produce any elaborate theological or philosophical treatises, nor did they translate the Persian and Arabic texts of other Nizārī communities into their own languages. The word *ginān* (*gnān*) is evidently a popularization of *jñāna*, a Sanskrit word generally defined to mean sacred knowledge or wisdom. The *ginān*s have attained a special status within the Nizārī Khoja community. Composed in a number of Indian languages and dialects of Sind, Panjāb and Gujarāt, these hymn-like poems vary in length from four to over a thousand verses. The *ginān*s continued to be composed and revised until the early decades of the twentieth century and now they amount to a total of about 800 separate compositions. Originally, the *ginān*s were transmitted only orally, but in time, starting at least in the first half of the 10th/16th century, they began to be collected and recorded mainly in the Khojkī script developed in Sind by the Khoja community. Since the middle of the nineteenth century, an increasing number of *ginān*s preserved by the Nizārī Khojas have been published, mainly in Gujarātī script. They are composed in verse form, and are meant to be sung and recited melodically. Much controversy surrounds the authorship of the *ginān*s, which is generally ascribed to a few early missionaries, or *pīr*s as *dāʿī*s were called in the Indian subcontinent.[13]

The *ginān* literature contains a diversity of missionary, mystical, mythological, didactic, cosmological and eschatological themes. Many *ginān*s contain ethical and moral instructions for the conduct of religious life and guiding the spiritual quest of the believers. As an oral tradition, some *ginān*s also relate anachronistic, hagiographic and legendary accounts of the activities of *pīr*s and their converts and, as such, they are not generally reliable as historical sources of information. Be that as it may, the *ginān*s have continued to occupy a central role in the religious life and rituals of the Nizārī Khojas, as they are held to contain the teachings of their *pīr*s.[14] Since the nineteenth century, a number of Nizārī Khojas have produced works dealing with the history and beliefs of the Indian Nizārīs. The majority of these works, written in Gujarātī, are however polemical and reflect the oral traditions of the specific Nizārī subgroups of the Indian subcontinent.

In the light of the complex problems in this area of Ismāʿīlī studies and the gaps in our knowledge, the results of modern scholarship on post-Alamūt Nizārī Ismāʿīlism until modern times should be generally treated as provisional. Further progress here will ultimately depend on acquiring a better understanding of the history as well as the religious and literary traditions of various major Nizārī communities of the post-Alamūt period, especially those in Central Asia and South Asia where the bulk of Nizārīs resided by early modern times. Only then will it be possible to compile a coherent and connected history of post-Alamūt Nizārī Ismāʿīlism in its myriad dimensions and traditions.

Early post-Alamūt centuries and Nizārī relations with Sufism

Despite the claims of Juwaynī, who was an eyewitness to the Mongol destruction of Alamūt, the Persian Nizārīs were not totally extirpated by the Mongols.[15] But they did become completely disorganized in the aftermath of the destruction of their state and fortresses in the year 654/1256. Those who survived the Mongol massacres in Rūdbār and Quhistān entered a new phase of their history, living clandestinely outside their traditional fortress communities. The news of the execution of Rukn al-Dīn Khurshāh, the last lord of Alamūt and the twenty-seventh Nizārī imam, in Mongolia in 655/1257 must have dealt another demoralizing blow to the confused and displaced Nizārīs who had been accustomed to having access to their imam or his local representatives. The Nizārī communities of Persia were now deprived of any form of the central leadership which hitherto had been provided by the headquarters of the Nizārī *daʿwa* at Alamūt. Henceforth the Nizārī communities were to develop on a local basis and independently of one another.

In Persia, during the period when the garrison of Girdkūh was still holding out against the Mongols and their local allies in the Caspian region, the Nizārīs had come to be located almost entirely in Daylam and Quhistān. The isolated Nizārīs of other areas in Persia either migrated to these regions or were gradually assimilated into the surrounding, mainly Sunnī, dominant communities. At the same time many of the Quhistānī Nizārīs who survived the Mongol massacres migrated to Afghanistan, Central Asia, Sind, Panjāb and other parts of the Indian subcontinent, where Ismāʿīlī communities already existed. Under these circumstances, the scattered Nizārī communities outside Syria resorted once again to the strict observance of *taqiyya*. It is important to bear in mind that the observance of *taqiyya* in this period, marked by an absence of a viable central leadership organization, was not imposed on the community. Deeply rooted in their Imāmī Shīʿī teachings and traditional practices, it was a measure adopted by the Nizārīs on their own initiative and as necessitated by the exigencies of the times. The Nizārīs had become experienced in adopting different external guises as required to safeguard themselves. For a while in the Alamūt period, as will be recalled, they had even adopted the *sharīʿa* in its Sunnī form. Many Nizārī groups in the eastern Iranian world, where Sunnī Islam prevailed, now disguised themselves once again as Sunnīs.

It seems that the Nizārīs of Rūdbār soon succeeded in reorganizing themselves under some sort of local leadership, and by less than two decades after the fall of Alamūt they had acquired a military force that continued to be active for quite some time. The Nizārīs of northern Persia made periodic attempts to

reoccupy Alamūt and other key fortresses of Rūdbār which evidently had not been completely demolished, despite the reports given by Juwaynī and reiterated by later Persian historians of the Īlkhānid period. The Mongols themselves had in fact reconstructed Alamūt and Lamasar for their own use. In 674/1275–1276, five years after the fall of Girdkūh, the Rūdbārī Nizārīs were strong enough to recapture Alamūt in coalition with a descendant of the Khwārazmshāhs. They retained Alamūt for almost one year before they were dislodged by a force sent against them by Hülegü's son and successor in the Īlkhānid dynasty, Abaqa (663–680/1265–1282).[16]

According to Nizārī tradition, a group of their dignitaries had managed, before the fall of Alamūt, to safely conceal Rukn al-Dīn Khurshāh's minor son, Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad, who had received the *naṣṣ* to the imamate. Shams al-Dīn, who succeeded to the imamate on his father's death in 655/1257, was then taken to Ādharbayjān. There, he grew up and lived clandestinely and precariously as an embroiderer, whence his nickname of Zardūz. Certain allusions in the still unpublished *Safar-nāma* (*Travelogue*) of Nizārī Quhistānī, the first post-Alamūt Nizārī poet, indicate that Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad, and possibly his immediate successor, lived in concealment in Ādharbayjān. But the Nizārīs of Quhistān never recovered from the Mongol onslaught, which left all of Khurāsān in ruins. They survived clandestinely in villages around Bīrjand, Qāʾin and other towns of Quhistān formerly in their possession.[17] Ḥakīm Saʿd al-Dīn b. Shams al-Dīn (or Jalāl al-Dīn) b. Muḥammad, better known as Nizārī Quhistānī, was born in Bīrjand in 645/1247–1248 into a land-owning Ismāʿīlī family.[18] Nizārī's father, a poet himself, had lost much of his wealth in the Mongol invasions of Quhistān. Quhistān was incorporated into the territories of the Mongol Īlkhānids who ruled over Persia until the middle of the 8th/14th century. For a few decades after the overthrow of the Ismāʿīlī strongholds in Quhistān, however, the Mongols allotted Quhistān to the Sunnī Karts, their vassals. The Karts soon extended their influence throughout eastern Khurāsān and northern Afghanistan from their seat at Harāt. In his youth, Nizārī Quhistānī evidently served in the administration of the founder of the Kart dynasty, Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad I (643–676/1245–1277), and his successor. With their rising political fortunes the Mihrabānid Maliks of neighbouring Sīstān (or Nīmrūz), themselves originally vassals of the Mongols, also extended their own influence throughout Quhistān. The Mihrabānids, in fact, succeeded the Karts in eastern Persia. By 688/1289, the Mihrabānid Malik Naṣīr al-Dīn Muḥammad (653–718/1255–1318) had conquered all of Quhistān, which he then gave as an appanage to his son Shams al-Dīn ʿAlī.[19] Nizārī Quhistānī served for a while at the court and chancery of Shams al-Dīn ʿAlī, governor of Quhistān until his untimely demise in battle in 706/1306. Nizārī panegyrized this Mihrabānid ruler, referring to him as Shams-i Dīn Nīmrūz ʿAlī and ʿAlī

Shāh. Both in his official capacity and on his own initiative, Nizārī travelled widely. In Shawwāl 678/February 1280, he set off from Tūn on a long journey to Ādharbayjān, Arrān, Georgia, Armenia and Baku, which lasted for two years (678–681/1280–1282). It was during this journey that Nizārī evidently saw the Imam Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad, possibly in Tabrīz in 679/1280.[20] Tabrīz, it may be noted, was then the capital of the Īlkhānid rulers of Persia. Nizārī relates the account of this journey in his versified *Safar-nāma*, written in *mathnawī* form and containing about 1200 verses.

Nizārī Quhistānī eventually lost the favour of his Mihrabānid patron, who dismissed him from his posts and confiscated his properties. The poet's subsequent efforts to regain the Mihrabānid ruler's goodwill proved futile and his lamentable situation remained unchanged when the governorship of Quhistān passed to Shams al-Dīn ʿAlī's son Tāj al-Dīn. Disillusioned and impoverished Nizārī took up agriculture during his final years. He died destitute in 720/1320 in his native Bīrjand. His grave was destroyed when the cemetery of Bīrjand was turned into a park in 1344/1925. In recent times, a new mausoleum has been constructed in Bīrjand for Nizārī.

Nizārī Quhistānī's persecution was probably related to his Ismāʿīlī religion and the failure of his *taqiyya* practices in a highly hostile Sunnī environment. Belonging to a family whose Ismāʿīlī affiliation was a known fact before the arrival of the Mongols, Nizārī may have found it rather difficult to dissimulate his true religious identity in later life. Indeed, he does refer frequently to the intrigues of his enemies and the fact that he had been considered a *mulḥid* or heretic. At any rate, Nizārī discreetly praises the Nizārī imam of the time in many of his poems, with countless references to Ismāʿīlī idioms and terminologies like *ẓāhir*, *bāṭin*, *taʾwīl*, *qiyāma* and *qāʾim*. He also occasionally refers to himself as a *dāʿī*, perhaps in a metaphorical sense.

It was in the early post-Alamūt times that Persian Nizārīs, as part of their *taqiyya* practices, concealed themselves under the mantle of Sufism, without establishing formal affiliations with any one of the Sufi orders then spreading in Mongol Persia. The origins and early development of this phenomenon remain very obscure. But the practice soon gained wide currency among the Nizārīs of different regions. The earliest recorded evidence of it is found in the writings of Nizārī Quhistānī. In fact, he may have been the very first post-Alamūt author to have chosen poetic and Sufi forms of expression for concealing Ismāʿīlī ideas, a model adopted by many later Nizārī authors of Persia, Afghanistan and Central Asia. Be that as it may, Nizārī Quhistānī is also the first Nizārī Ismāʿīlī to use Sufi terminology such as *khānaqāh*, *darwīsh* (dervish), *ʿārif* (gnostic), *qalandar* (wandering dervish) as well as *pīr* and *murshid*, terms used by Sufis in reference to their spiritual guide.[21] Nizārī's works are unequivocally Shīʿī in outlook, emphasizing

the veneration of the *ahl al-bayt*, the ʿAlids, and the necessity of the imam's teaching and spiritual guidance. They also contain ideas more specifically associated with Ismāʿīlism, including especially the Nizārī teachings of the Alamūt period. In the latter category, mention may be made of Nizārī Quhistānī's adherence to a spiritual interpretation of *qiyāma*, Paradise and Hell.

Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad, synonymous in legendary Ismāʿīlī accounts with Shams-i Tabrīz, the spiritual guide of Mawlānā Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī (d. 672/1273), died around 710/1310 in Ādharbayjān, after an imamate of almost half a century.[22] Between Shams al-Dīn's death and the second half of the 9th/15th century, when the Qāsim-Shāhī Nizārī imams emerged in Anjudān, there lies an obscure period in the history of Nizārī Ismāʿīlism. Practically nothing is known about the imams who, according to Nizārī traditions, succeeded one another in Persia during this period of more than one and a half centuries. Only the names of these imams have been preserved by later Nizārīs. Indeed, the Nizārī traditions present an unbroken chain of succession to the Nizārī imamate during the post-Alamūt period, although later lists of these imams differ concerning their names, number and sequence. The official list currently circulating amongst the Qāsim-Shāhī Nizārīs was evidently finalized only during the latter part of the nineteenth century.

After Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad, there occurred once again a dispute over the succession to the imamate, splitting the line of the Nizārī imams and their followers into what became known as the Muḥammad-Shāhī (or Muʾminī) and Qāsim-Shāhī branches. The Muḥammad-Shāhī line of imams, whose most famous figure was Shāh Ṭāhir Dakkanī, was discontinued about two centuries ago, while the Qāsim-Shāhī line has endured to the present day. The Qāsim-Shāhī imams, who in modern times have carried the title of Aga Khan, an honorific meaning chief master or lord, are now the sole Nizārī imams. The origins of this schism, which further divided the Nizārī communities of the post-Alamūt period, have remained rather obscure, especially since the existing Nizārī sources do not discuss the matter in detail. The Qāsim-Shāhī sources, constituting almost all of the extant Nizārī sources, do not refer to this schism at all. The few surviving Muḥammad-Shāhī works, furthermore, merely mention the schism without explaining the circumstances surrounding it. The Muḥammad-Shāhī sources themselves do not agree on the precise date of the succession dispute in the family of the imams.

According to the oral tradition of the Muḥammad-Shāhīs of Syria, where the bulk of the Nizārī community continued to adhere to this line of imams until the second half of the nineteenth century and where the only remnants of this Nizārī group are still to be found, the schism occurred on the death of Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad.[23] The succession to Shams al-Dīn, considered the twenty-fifth

imam of the Muḥammad-Shāhīs, was disputed by his eldest and youngest sons, namely, ʿAlāʾal-Dīn Muʾmin Shāh and Qāsim Shāh. A middle son, Kiyā Shāh, did not evidently play any part in the dispute. According to this Syrian tradition, Qāsim Shāh was merely to act as the *ḥujja* of his elder brother, Muʾmin Shāh, who in due course was succeeded by his own son Muḥammad Shāh. The members of this branch in Syria, therefore, more commonly referred to themselves as al-Muʾminiyya or the Muʾminī Nizārīs, in contrast to al-Qāsimiyya, since it was with Muʾmin Shāh rather than his son Muḥammad Shāh that they split off from the Qāsim-Shāhī Nizārīs. On the other hand, according to the *Irshād al-ṭālibīn*, a Muḥammad-Shāhī work written in Badakhshan in 929/1523 by a certain Muḥibb ʿAlī Qunduzī, the schism took place after the imamate of Muʾmin Shāh, who had succeeded his father, Shams al-Dīn. According to this source, corroborated by the versified *Lamaʿāt al-ṭāhirīn*, the sole extant Muḥammad-Shāhī work produced in India in 1110/1698–1699 by Ghulām ʿAlī b. Muḥammad, Muḥammad Shāh and Qāsim Shāh were in fact brothers, both being the sons of Muʾmin Shāh.[24] And on their father's death, each of the two sons claimed his succession. The issue is further complicated by the fact that the earliest extant Qāsim-Shāhī Nizārī sources also name Muʾmin Shāh as the son and successor of Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad. According to these sources, Muʾmin Shāh was in turn succeeded by his son Qāsim Shāh.[25] But Muʾmin Shāh's name is omitted altogether from the later Qāsim-Shāhī lists of their imams as well as from the list currently accepted by the Nizārī followers of the Aga Khan. Thus, it is not clear whether Muḥammad Shāh and Qāsim Shāh were the sons of Muʾmin Shāh, or whether Muʾmin Shāh b. Shams al-Dīn was himself the elder brother of Qāsim Shāh. Be this as it may, Muʾmin Shāh b. Shams al-Dīn, who died around 738/1337, was the father of Muḥammad, who soon after Shams al-Dīn's death led a faction of the Nizārī community in rivalry with his paternal uncle (or brother) Qāsim Shāh.

This split in the family of the imams further divided the Nizārīs into two branches. The Muḥammad-Shāhī imams initially seem to have acquired a greater number of followers than the Qāsim-Shāhī imams in northern Persia and Central Asia. Almost the entire community in Syria as well as large numbers in Persia, especially in Daylam and also in Badakhshan, upheld the Muḥammad-Shāhī cause for some time. In India, too, where Shāh Ṭāhir and his successors, the final ten imams of the Muḥammad-Shāhī line, resided, this Nizārī branch had a significant following. By the early Anjudān period, however, an increasing number of Nizārīs began to acknowledge the Qāsim-Shāhī imams, who had remained in Persia and who by then were making systematic efforts to extend their influence to the various Nizārī communities. Paucity of information does not enable us to always differentiate accurately between the two rival Nizārī

communities in the early post-Alamūt period. It remains true, however, that all Nizārīs dissimulated in Persia and adjacent regions during those centuries.

The Nizārīs continued to be active in Daylam during the Īlkhānid and Tīmūrid times. In fact, it did not take long after the Mongol conquest of Persia before the various petty local rulers began to assert their authority over different parts of the Caspian region. This situation provided suitable opportunities for renewed Nizārī activities in Daylam. The post-Alamūt Nizārīs of northern Persia evidently concentrated their efforts in Daylamān proper, the mountainous region to the south of Lāhījān and to the east of Safīdrūd, one of the largest districts of Gīlān. By 770/1368–1369, Daylamān was ruled by Kiyā Sayf al-Dīn Kūshayjī, who resided at Marjikūlī, and was, like his forefathers, a Nizārī Ismāʿīlī.[26] His open advocacy of Ismāʿīlism in Daylamān soon aroused the hostile reactions of the neighbouring rulers, especially the Zaydī Sayyid ʿAlī Kiyā, who asked him to abandon the Ismāʿīlī creed. As Kiyā Sayf al-Dīn persisted in his religious beliefs, the troops of Gīlān were despatched against him in 779/1377–1378 by Sayyid ʿAlī Kiyā b. Amīr Kiyā Malāṭī, who had become the master of Biyapīsh in eastern Gīlān in 769/1367–1368 and who subsequently, with the help of the Marʿashī Sayyids of Māzandarān, extended his authority over Daylamān, Ashkawar, Kuhdum and as far as Ṭārum and Qazwīn. Sayyid ʿAlī Kiyā effectively founded a new local Zaydī dynasty of the Amīr (or Kār) Kiyāʾī Sayyids, also known as the Malāṭī Sayyids, who ruled over Daylamān and adjacent territories from Biyapīsh until 1000/1592 when Gīlān was seized by the Ṣafawids. Kiyā Sayf al-Dīn was defeated in battle and killed soon afterwards by Amīr ʿAlī, Sayyid ʿAlī Kiyā's new lieutenant in Daylamān who also began persecuting the local Nizārīs. Some of the Nizārīs of Daylamān, joined by the remaining forces of Sayf al-Dīn and other Kūshayjī *amīr*s who had meanwhile succeeded in murdering Amīr ʿAlī, now moved to Qazwīn from where they began to conduct raids into Daylamān. In 781/1379, Sayyid ʿAlī Kiyā chased these Nizārīs and their Kūshayjī allies out of Qazwīn and retained control of that city for seven years until 788/1386, when he was obliged to surrender Qazwīn, as well as Ṭārum and its castle of Shamīrān, to Tīmūr (771–807/1370–1405), the founder of the Tīmūrid dynasty of Persia and Transoxania.[27]

In the meantime, a certain Nizārī leader known as Khudāwand Muḥammad, who may perhaps be identified with the Muḥammad-Shāhī Nizārī Imam Muḥammad Shāh b. Muʾmin Shāh (d. 807/1404), had appeared in Daylam, where the bulk of the local Nizārīs acknowledged him and his successors as their imams for some time. With the help of his adherents in Daylamān, Rūdbār of Qazwīn, Pādiz, Kūshayjān and Ashkawar, Khudāwand Muḥammad soon began to play an active part in the local alliances and quarrels of Daylam.[28] In particular, he became involved in serious entanglements with Sayyid ʿAlī Kiyā, the most important ruler of the time in Daylamān and its environs. As Sayyid ʿAlī Kiyā then aimed

at subduing Kiyā Malik Hazāraspī of Ashkawar, he promised to give Daylamān to Khudāwand Muḥammad on the condition that he would publicly abjure Nizārī Ismāʿīlism. Doubtless, Sayyid ʿAlī had no objection to utilizing the local influence of this Nizārī leader against his own enemies. Khudāwand Muḥammad accepted this offer and went to Lāhījān to renounce Ismāʿīlism in the presence of Sayyid ʿAlī and his circle of jurists. Thereupon, Sayyid ʿAlī had his *fuqahā*ʾ issue a declaration to the effect that Khudāwand Muḥammad had repented and returned to the fold of Islam. Soon afterwards in 776/1374–1375 Kiyā Malik and the forces he had gathered in Daylamān were defeated by the Gīlānī troops of Sayyid ʿAlī led by the latter's brother Sayyid Mahdī Kiyā. Kiyā Malik himself fled to Alamūt. However, Sayyid ʿAlī Kiyā now broke his word and instead of appointing Khudāwand Muḥammad to the governorship of Daylamān, he gave Daylamān and Ashkawar to his own brother Sayyid Mahdī. As a result, Khudāwand Muḥammad, too, went to Alamūt and joined Kiyā Malik, who promised to give the fortress to the Nizārī leader if he helped the Hazāraspid ruler to recapture Ashkawar. Khudāwand Muḥammad now allied himself with Kiyā Malik against Sayyid ʿAlī Kiyā. He gathered the Nizārīs of Alamūt and Lamasar, and in the company of Kiyā Malik headed for Ashkawar where Sayyid Mahdī Kiyā was defeated in battle. Sayyid Mahdī was captured and sent as a prisoner to Tabrīz to the court of Sultan Uways (757–776/1356–1374), the Jalāyirid ruler of Ādharbayjān, ʿIrāq and Kurdistān whose dynasty had been one of the successors of the Mongol Īlkhānids in Persia. Kiyā Malik Hazāraspī reinstated himself as ruler of Ashkawar, and gave Alamūt and its environs to Khudāwand Muḥammad.

A year and a half later, Sayyid Mahdī Kiyā was released by the Jalāyirids, on the intercession of Tāj al-Dīn Āmulī, one of the local Hārūnī Zaydī Sayyids of Tīmjān, and was thereupon appointed to the governorship of Rānikūh by his brother Sayyid ʿAlī. Soon after, Sayyid ʿAlī himself led his troops to Ashkawar and defeated the Hazāraspid Kiyā Malik, who fled to Alamūt in the hope of being aided once again by Khudāwand Muḥammad. Being ill received by the Nizārī holder of Alamūt, however, Kiyā Malik sought refuge with Tīmūr, who eventually sent him to reside in Sāwa. Meanwhile, the troops of Sayyid ʿAlī Kiyā laid siege to the fortress of Alamūt whilst pursuing Kiyā Malik. Sayyid ʿAlī seized the district of Alamūt and soon forced Khudāwand Muḥammad to surrender the castle. Khudāwand Muḥammad was given safe conduct and sought refuge with Tīmūr, who later sent him to confinement in Sulṭāniyya. Meanwhile, Sayyid ʿAlī reinstated Sayyid Mahdī as the governor of Ashkawar and seized Lamasar, which had been held by Kiyā Malik.

After Sayyid ʿAlī Kiyā was defeated and killed at Rasht in 791/1389 by the Nāṣirwands of Lāhījān and other *amīr*s of Gīlān, Kiyā Malik Hazāraspī returned to Daylamān, seizing Alamūt from the Amīr (Kār) Kiyāʾī Sayyids. Subsequently,

amidst further confusion following the murder of Kiyā Malik by his own grandson and successor Kiyā Jalāl al-Dīn Hazāraspī, Khudāwand Muḥammad reappeared in Daylamān, and with the help of the local Nizārīs once again seized Alamūt.[29] But he soon surrendered the stronghold to Malik Kayūmarth b. Bīsutūn, one of the Gāwbāra rulers of Rustamdār. During the following years, Alamūt passed into the hands of the rulers of Lāhījān. In 813/1410–1411, Sayyid Raḍī Kiyā (798–829/1395–1426), a son of Sayyid ʿAlī Kiyā and one of the most powerful rulers of Lāhījān, expelled the Hazāraspī and Kūshayjī *amīr*s from Daylamān, also dealing a severe blow to the Nizārīs of that region and killing a few of the descendants of the Nizārī imam and lord of Alamūt, ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Muḥammad, who were still amongst them. The subsequent fate of Khudāwand Muḥammad himself is unknown, but his descendants were still living in Sulṭāniyya during the final decades of the 9th/15th century.[30] Meanwhile, the Nizārīs continued to be active in some limited manner in Daylam, especially in Daylamān which remained under the suzerainty of the rulers of Biyapīsh until after the advent of the Ṣafawids in 907/1501.[31]

One of the latest references to the Nizārīs of Daylam, who retained some local importance until the end of the 10th/16th century, is provided by Mullā Shaykh ʿAlī Gīlānī, who wrote a history of Māzandarān in 1044/1634.[32] In discussing the Banū Iskandar rulers of Kujūr, he states that Sultan Muḥammad b. Jahāngīr, who succeeded his father in 975/1567, was a Nizārī Ismāʿīlī. According to this source, Sultan Muḥammad officially encouraged the spread of Ismāʿīlism throughout Rustamdār. He seized Nūr and other localities in Māzandarān and spread his creed as far as Sārī. Sultan Muḥammad died in 998/1589–1590 and was succeeded by his eldest son Jahāngīr, who also adhered to Ismāʿīlism. Jahāngīr was obliged to go to the court of the Ṣafawid Shāh ʿAbbās I, following the latter's conquest of Gīlān and other Caspian provinces in 1000/1591–1592. Later, Jahāngīr returned briefly to Rustamdār but he was subsequently captured by the local lieutenant of Shāh ʿAbbās who led a large force against him. Jahāngīr was sent to Qazwīn where he was executed in 1006/1597–1598. By that year, Daylam was completely subdued by Shāh ʿAbbās, who appointed his own governors in various parts of that region. With the establishment of Ṣafawid authority in northern Persia, the Nizārīs, like other local dynasties, lost their influence in Daylam. Only a few isolated Nizārī groups survived a while longer in the Caspian region during the Ṣafawid period, when the fortress of Alamūt was utilized as a state prison, especially for rebellious members of the Ṣafawid family.

Meanwhile, the Qāsim-Shāhī imams, who succeeded one another regularly by the rule of the *naṣṣ*, had been secretly engaged in their own *daʿwa* and reorganization activities, in rivalry with the Muḥammad-Shāhī imams. Nothing definite is known about the Qāsim-Shāhī imams until the second half of the 9th/15th

century when they emerged in Anjudān posing as Sufi *shaykh*s or *pīr*s. All that is available on Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad's first three successors in this line are their names and a few unreliable dates and details preserved in the traditions of the Qāsim-Shāhī Nizārīs.[33] According to these traditions, Qāsim Shāh, the twenty-ninth imam and the eponym of this line, succeeded to the imamate around 710/1310. As noted, he was either the son or the grandson of Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad, and it was in his time that the Nizārīs split into two factions. Qāsim Shāh apparently lived in Ādharbayjān and devoted his long imamate of some sixty years mainly to defending the legitimacy of his line. He died around 771/1369–1370 and was succeeded by his son Islām Shāh, also called Aḥmad Shāh. Islām Shāh, a contemporary of Khudāwand Muḥammad and Tīmūr, died in about 829/1425–1426 and was succeeded by Muḥammad b. Islām Shāh.

It was evidently Islām Shāh who transferred the residence of the Qāsim-Shāhī imams to certain localities around Qumm and Maḥallāt, in central Persia, during the earliest decades of his imamate of almost fifty-five years. He may indeed have been the first imam of his line to establish a foothold in Anjudān, which shortly afterwards became the permanent residence of the Qāsim-Shāhī imams. The Persian chroniclers of Tīmūr's reign do refer to Nizārī activities in Anjudān and mention an interesting expedition led by Tīmūr himself in Rajab 795/May 1393 against the Nizārīs of Anjudān, who apparently belonged to the Qāsim-Shāhī branch and had by then attracted enough attention to warrant this action.[34] Tīmūr was then engaged in his campaigns in Persia, and whilst en route from Iṣfahān to Hamadān and Baghdad his attention was diverted to the Nizārīs of the Anjudān area where he spent a few days. Tīmūr's soldiers killed many Nizārīs and pillaged their properties. According to Sharaf al-Dīn ʿAlī Yazdī (d. 858/1454), the rebellious Anjudānī Nizārīs attempted in vain to seek shelter in their special underground tunnels, and most of them lost their lives when they were flooded out by Tīmūr's troops. It may also be added that a year earlier, at the end of 794/1392, whilst passing through Māzandarān, Tīmūr had put to the sword many of the Nizārīs of that region who probably belonged to the Muḥammad-Shāhī faction.[35] It was with Muḥammad b. Islām Shāh's son and successor Mustanṣir bi'llāh II, who assumed the imamate around 868/1463–1464, that the Qāsim-Shāhī imams became firmly established at Anjudān, initiating the Anjudān revival in post-Alamūt Nizārī Ismāʿīlism.

As noted, the coalescence between Persian Nizārism and Sufism dates to the early post-Alamūt period. The origins and early development of this complex association remain rather obscure in the absence of adequate studies. The subject itself was brought to the attention of modern scholars only a few decades ago, following our better understanding of the development of Sufism in Persia and our access to the post-Alamūt Persian Nizārī literature. This meagre literature

and the traditions of the Persian and Central Asian Ismāʿīlīs attest to the fact that after the fall of Alamūt Nizārī Ismāʿīlism became increasingly infused in Persia with Sufi teachings and terminology, for which the ground had been prepared during the Alamūt period. At the same time, the Sufis themselves, who relied on the *bāṭinī taʾwīl* or esoteric exegesis like the Ismāʿīlīs, began to use ideas which were more widely ascribed to the Ismāʿīlīs. As a part of this coalescence, the Nizārī Ismāʿīlīs began to adopt Sufi ways of life even externally. Thus, it is said that Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad and his immediate successors in the Qāsim-Shāhī line, lived clandestinely for the most part as Sufi *pīr*s, while their followers adopted the typically Sufi title of *murīd* or disciple. Doubtless, this was done partly for reasons of *taqiyya* which enabled the imams and their followers to survive anonymously under hostile circumstances. Nonetheless, the adoption of a Sufi exterior by the Nizārīs would not have been readily possible if these two esoteric traditions in Islam had not had common ground. At any rate, due to the close relationship between Persian Nizārī Ismāʿīlism and Sufism, it is often difficult to ascertain whether a certain post-Alamūt Persian treatise was written by a Nizārī author influenced by Sufism, or whether it was produced in Sufi milieux exposed to Ismāʿīlī teachings.

As an early instance of the Ismāʿīlī–Sufi interaction, mention may be made of the celebrated Sufi treatise entitled *Gulshan-i rāz (The Rose-Garden of Mystery)* and a later commentary on it by a Nizārī author. The versified *Gulshan-i rāz* was composed in 717/1317 by Saʿd al-Dīn Maḥmūd Shabistarī, a relatively obscure Sufi *shaykh* and poet from Ādharbayjān. He was born around 686/1287 in Shabistar near Tabrīz, and died after 740/1339–1340. Thus, he was a contemporary of Nizārī Quhistānī who was probably the first Nizārī to express his religious ideas in the guise of Sufi expressions and poetry. Maḥmūd Shabistarī produced his *Gulshan-i rāz*, a *mathnawī* containing about one thousand couplets, in reply to a number of questions put to him on Sufi teachings by Ḥusaynī Sādāt Amīr (d. after 729/1328), a Sufi master of Harāt. This short summary of Sufi symbolic terminology, one of the earliest of its kind, has remained very popular in Sufi circles. Consequently, many commentaries have been written on it, the most detailed and famous one being that produced by Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā Lāhījī (d. 912/1506), an eminent *shaykh* of the Nūrbakhshī Sufi order.[36] The Nizārī Ismāʿīlīs of Persia and Central Asia, however, consider the *Gulshan-i rāz* as belonging to their own literature, and as such, it was chosen to be partially commented upon in Persian by at least one Nizārī author. This anonymous Nizārī commentary consists of the Ismāʿīlī interpretations or *taʾwīlāt* of selected passages of Shabistarī's work. The authorship of this commentary may possibly be attributed to Shāh Ṭāhir, the most famous imam of the Muḥammad-Shāhī Nizārī line, who in fact wrote a work entitled *Sharḥ-i gulshan-i rāz*.[37] Similarly, as

a result of their close relationship with Sufism in post-Alamūt times, the Nizārīs have regarded some of the greatest mystic poets of Persia as their co-religionists, and selections of their works have been preserved by the Nizārīs of Badakhshan and Persia. In this category, mention may be made of Sanāʾī (d. ca. 535/1140), Farīd al-Dīn ʿAṭṭār (d. ca. 627/1230), and Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī (d. 672/1273), as well as lesser Sufi personalities such as Qāsim al-Anwār (d. ca. 837/1433).[38] The Nizārīs of Badakhshan also consider ʿAzīz al-Dīn Nasafī as a co-religionist. Nasafī was a celebrated Sufi master and author of Central Asia who later emigrated to Persia and died there around 661/1262. His Sufi treatise entitled the *Zubdat al-ḥaqāʾiq* has been preserved in Badakhshan as an Ismāʿīlī work.[39] The Nizārī Ismāʿīlīs of Persia, Afghanistan and Central Asia have continued to use verses of the mystical poets of the Iranian world in their social and religious ceremonies.

It should also be noted that Twelver Shīʿism developed its own rapport with Sufism in Persia during the period stretching from the fall of Alamūt to the rise of the Ṣafawid dynasty. The earliest instance of this non-Nizārī Shīʿī–Sufi association is reflected in the works of Sayyid Ḥaydar Āmulī, the eminent Ithnāʿasharī theologian, theosopher and gnostic (*ʿārif*) from Māzandarān who died after 787/1385. Strongly influenced by the teachings of Ibn al-ʿArabī (d. 638/1240), one of the greatest Sufis of Islam whom the Nizārīs consider as another of their co-religionists,[40] Ḥaydar Āmulī combined Shīʿī theology with certain gnostic-mystical traditions, especially as developed in Persia and ʿIrāq. More than anyone else before him, he emphasized the common grounds of Shīʿism and Sufism and prepared the ground for the doctrines held by many of the Persian Sufi orders.[41] Thus, according to Āmulī, a Muslim who combines *sharīʿa* with *ḥaqīqa* and *ṭarīqa*, the spiritual path followed by the Sufis, is not only a believer but a believer put to the test (*al-muʾmin al-mumtaḥan*). Such a gnostic Muslim or Sufi, who is also a true Shīʿī, would preserve a balance between the *ẓāhir* and the *bāṭin*, equally avoiding the literalist interpretations of Islam undertaken by jurists as well as the antinomian tendencies of the radical groups such as the Shīʿī *ghulāt*. Ḥaydar Āmulī, who upheld the legitimacy of Ithnāʿasharī Imāmī Shīʿism, denounced the Ismāʿīliyya and the Shīʿī *ghulāt*, amongst other Muslim groups, as heretics, because, according to him, they undermined the *ẓāhir* (*sharīʿa*) in favour of the *bāṭin* (*ḥaqīqa*).[42] Aspects of this interaction between Twelver Shīʿism and gnosis (*ʿirfān*), in combination with different philosophical (theosophical) traditions, later culminated in the works of Mīr Dāmād (d. 1040/1630), Mullā Ṣadrā (d. 1050/1640) and other Shīʿī gnostic theosophers belonging to the so-called 'school of Iṣfahān'. Similar to the 'philosophical Ismāʿīlism' expounded by the Iranian *dāʿī*s of Fāṭimid times, the members of this school, who produced a metaphysical synthesis of a variety of philosophical, theological and gnostic traditions within a Shīʿī perspective, elaborated an original intellectual tradition in

'philosophical Shīʿism' known as *al-ḥikma al-ilāhiyya* (Persian, *ḥikmat-i ilāhī*), generally translated as divine wisdom or theosophy. It may be noted in passing here that with the persecution of the Sufis in early Ṣafawid times, the advocates of mystical experience in Islam used the term gnosis or *ʿirfān* in preference to Sufism (*taṣawwuf*).

Several Sufi orders, which contributed significantly to the circulation of Shīʿī ideas in pre-Ṣafawid Persia, were founded during the early post-Alamūt period. We shall have more to say on these orders, especially on the Niʿmat Allāhiyya with which the Nizārī imams were to develop close relations. At the same time, several extremist movements with Shīʿī tendencies now appeared in Persia. In this connection reference should be made in particular to the Ḥurūfī movement, which dates to the second half of the 8th/14th century. This movement, whose doctrines were derived from Persian Sufism and Ismāʿīlism, amongst other traditions, was founded by a certain Faḍl Allāh Astarābādī, who was born in 740/1339–1340 into an Imāmī family and began his early career as a Sufi wanderer. Faḍl Allāh was expert in the interpretation of dreams, and, like the Ismāʿīlīs, adhered to a cyclical view of history. He started to preach his own ideas on prophecy and religious history around 780/1378, and by 788/1386 he announced that the period of prophecy had been superseded by that of the manifestation of the divinity (*ẓuhūr-i kibriyāʾ*) in man, particularly in Faḍl Allāh himself. He acquired numerous disciples and followers amongst the artisan classes and the wandering dervishes or *qalandar*s in many parts of Persia and adjoining areas. Faḍl Allāh eventually aroused the apprehension of Tīmūr and his Sunnī jurists, who sentenced him to death at Samarqand. He then sought refuge in the Caucasus with Tīmūr's son Mīrānshāh, who had him executed in 796/1394. The Ḥurūfīs, too, with their strong cabalistic-gnostic tendencies, adopted the *bāṭinī taʾwīl* and stressed the hidden meaning of the letters of the Arabic script (*ḥurūf*), whence the name of the group. From early on, Ḥurūfism spread to Anatolia due to the initial missionary efforts of ʿAlī al-Aʿlā (d. 822/1419), one of Faḍl Allāh's original disciples and the author of several Ḥurūfī books. In fact, Anatolia soon became the main stronghold of Ḥurūfism, and the Ḥurūfī doctrines were adopted there by several Sufi orders, especially by the Bektāshiyya. Subsequently, the Ḥurūfīs disappeared in Persia, but their doctrines have continued to be upheld by the Bektāshī dervishes of Turkey, who have also preserved the earlier literature of the group.[43]

Several groups split off from the Ḥurūfiyya, notably the Nuqṭawiyya or Ahl-i Nuqṭa who had close relations with Persian Sufism and Nizārī Ismāʿīlism. The Nuqṭawīs were influenced by the Nizārī doctrines of the Alamūt period, and later apparently opposed the organized Twelver Shīʿism adopted by the Ṣafawids as the official religion of Persia. At least some eminent Nuqṭawīs may even have

been crypto-Ismāʿīlīs. The Nuqṭawiyya sect, also called the Pasīkhāniyya and the Maḥmūdiyya, was founded around 800/1397–1398 by Maḥmūd Pasīkhānī (d. 831/1427–1428), one of Faḍl Allāh Astarābādī's disciples in Gīlān. The movement became very popular in Persia, and by the time of the early Ṣafawids, it had numerous followers in the Caspian region and in the cities of Qazwīn, Kāshān, Iṣfahān and Shīrāz. Shāh Ṭahmāsp I (930–984/1524–1576) persecuted the Nuqṭawīs during the final years of his reign, but it was Shāh ʿAbbās I who took severe measures against them in 1002/1593–1594, killing many of the sectarians and their leaders, including Darwīsh Khusraw Qazwīnī, and Mīr Sayyid Aḥmad Kāshī, who was put to the sword in Kāshān by the Ṣafawid king himself.[44] The Nuqṭawī sect evidently disintegrated completely in Persia after the persecutions of Shāh Abbās, while many Nuqṭawīs, including a number of poets, took refuge in India where the sect survived for some time longer. Amongst the prominent Persian Nuqṭawīs who migrated to Mughal India, the most prominent was Mīr Sharīf Āmulī, who rose to hold high positions in the service of the emperor Akbar.[45]

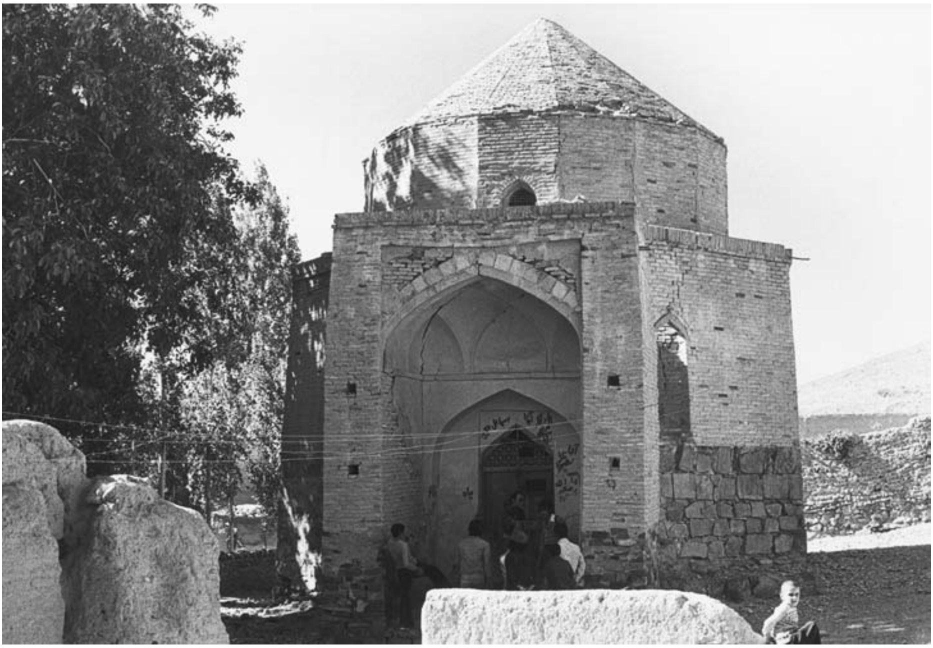
In contrast to Ḥurūfism, which emphasized the secrets of the letters of the alphabet, Maḥmūd Pasīkhānī elaborated a system based on points (singular, *nuqṭa*). The Nuqṭawīs believed in metempsychosis and, like the Persian Nizārīs of the *qiyāma* times, interpreted the resurrection, Paradise and Hell spiritually. Evidently the Nuqṭawīs dispensed with the commandments of the *sharīʿa*, which, in the eyes of Shāh ʿAbbās and his Twelver *fuqahāʾ*, amounted to intolerable heresy or *ilḥād*. Qāsim al-Anwār was amongst the well-known Sufi poets suspected of Ḥurūfism. He was expelled from Harāt following an unsuccessful attempt there in 830/1427 on the life of Tīmūr's son and successor Shāhrukh.[46] There was also Abu'l-Qāsim Muḥammad Kūhpāyaʾī, better known as Amrī Shīrāzī, a Sufi poet of the Ṣafawid period who served Shāh Ṭahmāsp I for thirty years before falling into disfavour. In 973/1565–1566, Amrī was blinded on charges of heresy. Later in 999/1590–1591, he was executed in Shīrāz as a Nuqṭawī heretic by the order of Shāh ʿAbbās I. The Persian Nizārīs, however, regard Amrī as a co-religionist. Ivanow, who examined Amrī's scattered poems in some Ismāʿīlī anthologies, reports on the poet's eulogies of his contemporary Nizārī imams, including Murād Mīrzā. It is possible then that Amrī Shīrāzī may have been a Nizārī, or perhaps a crypto-Nizārī who appeared as a Nuqṭawī.[47]

The Anjudān revival in Nizārī Ismāʿīlism

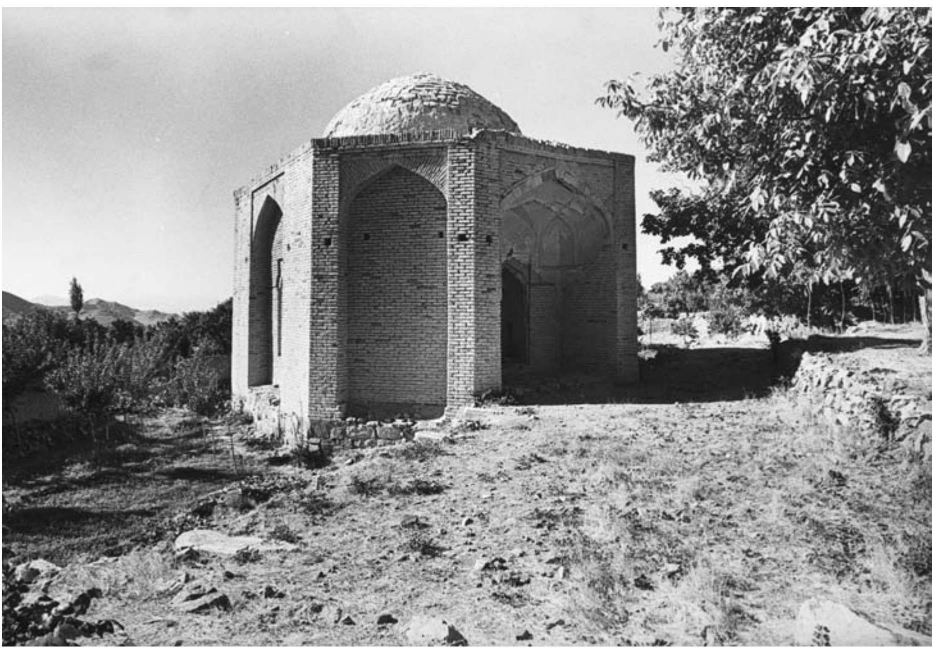
The Anjudān period in the history of post-Alamūt Nizārīs started in the latter part of the 9th/15th century. The thirty-second imam of the Qāsim-Shāhīs, ʿAlī Shāh,

better known as Mustanṣir bi'llāh II, is the first Nizārī imam who is definitely connected with Anjudān. The locality remained the seat of the Qāsim-Shāhī Nizārī imams until the end of the 11th/17th century, a period of two centuries coinciding with the greater part of the Ṣafawid period in Persian history. Anjudān, or Anjidān, is situated at the foot of a relatively low rocky range thirty-seven kilometres east of Arāk (former Sulṭānābād) and about the same distance westward from Maḥallāt in central Persia. One of the important villages of the district of Mushkābād in the agriculturally prosperous plain of Farāhān, Anjudān was probably a more populous place when the Nizārī imams emerged there. Currently, it has a population of about a thousand persons who are Ithnāʿasharī and Persian-speaking, engaged mainly in orchard cultivation. The Nizārī antiquities of Anjudān, discovered in 1937 by Ivanow, include an old mosque and three mausoleums containing the tombs of several imams and their relatives. By the time the author visited Anjudān in 1976, some of the architectural remains described by Ivanow had already disappeared, having been abandoned in a dilapidated state.[48] It is interesting to note in passing that when Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh Qājār, the Persian monarch, visited Anjudān in Dhu'l-Qaʿda 1309/June 1892, he did not suspect the locality's past connections with Nizārī Ismāʿīlism.[49]

Mustanṣir bi'llāh II succeeded to the imamate around 868/1463 and died in 885/1480. The latter date is inscribed on the wooden box (*ṣanduq*) placed on the grave of this imam. The octagonal mausoleum of Mustanṣir bi'llāh, still locally referred to as Shāh Qalandar, is the oldest surviving Nizārī monument in Anjudān. Nizārī tradition places Mustanṣir's death in 880/1475–1476,[50] which is in close agreement with the date given in his mausoleum, built during the imamate of his son and successor ʿAbd al-Salām Shāh. But Nizārī oral tradition erroneously holds that Mustanṣir bi'llāh II and his next few successors resided at Shahr-i Bābak in Kirmān. The grave of ʿAbd al-Salām, who, according to traditional accounts, died in 899/1493–1494, has not been discovered. However, the mausoleum of his son and successor, ʿAbbās Shāh, who also carried the title of Mustanṣir bi'llāh, is preserved at Anjudān. This imam, the thirty-fourth in the series, was also known as Gharīb Mīrzā and is still referred to as Shāh Gharīb by the Anjudānīs who are unaware of the true identity of the Nizārī dignitaries buried in their village. Taking into account the Fāṭimid caliph-imam and his own grandfather, Gharīb Mīrza was in fact the third Ismāʿīlī imam to bear the title of Mustanṣir bi'llāh. According to the Nizārīs, he died in 902/1496–1497 after a brief imamate, corroborated by the date of Muḥarram 904/August 1498 which was inscribed on the wooden box constructed for the grave of Shāh Mustanṣir b. Shāh ʿAbd al-Salām. In recent decades the box was dismantled by intruders, hence only pieces of it still remain in his mausoleum. There are, however, five tombstones inset in one of the walls of this octagonal mausoleum, including



13. The mausoleum of Imam Mustanṣir bi'llāh II (Shāh Qalandar), Anjudān,



14. The mausoleum of Imam Mustanṣir bi'llāh III (Shāh Gharīb), Anjudān

that of Shāh Khalīl Allāh II the thirty-ninth imam, who according to his epitaph died in Dhu'l-Ḥijja 1090/January 1680. The structure of the chamber adjoining this mausoleum, containing two more graves, including that of a certain Nūr al-Dahr Khalīl Allāh (d. 1082/1671), who may be identified with the thirty-eighth imam, has disappeared. According to the traditional sequence of the Qāsim-Shāhī Nizārī imams, the successors of Gharīb Mīrzā (Mustanṣir bi'llāh III), who died in 904/1498, were Abū Dharr ʿAlī (Nūr al-Dīn), Murād Mīrzā, Dhu'l-Faqār ʿAlī (Khalīl Allāh I), Nūr al-Dahr (Nūr al-Dīn) ʿAlī, and Khalīl Allāh II (d. 1090/1680), the last imam to reside in Anjudān.[51]

The Anjudān period witnessed a revival in the *daʿwa* and literary activities of the Nizārīs. This renaissance of Qāsim-Shāhī Nizārī Ismāʿīlism can be traced to the time of Mustanṣir bi'llāh II, the thirty-second imam in the Qāsim-Shāhī line. The Nizārīs were still obliged, in predominantly Sunnī Persia, to practise *taqiyya* and camouflage their beliefs mainly in the guise of Sufism. Nevertheless, the general religio-political situation of Persia had now become more favourable for the activities of the Nizārīs and some other movements penetrated by Shīʿī ideas. As a result, with the emergence of the imams in Anjudān around the middle of the 9th/15th century, the Qāsim-Shāhī Nizārī *daʿwa* activities could be conducted somewhat more openly and with greater intensity. This revival soon led to the spread of the Nizārī *daʿwa* and the reassertion of the direct control of the imams of this branch over the various outlying Nizārī communities. The Anjudān revival, however, did not occur abruptly, as may be thought. The ground for the revival had been gradually prepared ever since the fall of Alamūt, especially after the collapse of the Īlkhānid dynasty in the first half of the 8th/14th century. By the middle of the 9th/15th century, at least the imams of the Qāsim-Shāhī branch of Nizārī Ismāʿīlism, like the leaders of certain other religious groups, were able to take advantage of the improved religio-political atmosphere of Persia, an atmosphere characterized by political fragmentation and the spread of Shīʿī tendencies and ʿAlid loyalism, especially through certain Sufi *ṭarīqa*s or orders.

Īlkhānid rule, which had been extended to all of Persia, effectively ended with Abū Saʿīd (717–736/1317–1335), the last great member of the dynasty. Subsequently, until the advent of the Ṣafawids, Persia became increasingly fragmented, with the exception of certain periods during the reigns of Tīmūr (d. 807/1405), who reunited the Persian lands, and that of his son Shāhrukh (807–850/1405–1447). During this turbulent period in the history of Persia, in the absence of any strong central authority, different parts of the country were held by local dynasties, including the minor Īlkhānids, the later Tīmūrids, the Jalāyirids, and the Qara Qoyunlu and Aq Qoyunlu dynasties, based on federations of Turkoman tribes. The political fragmentation of Persia doubtless provided more favourable conditions for the activities of various religio-political movements, most of which

were essentially Shīʿī or influenced by Shīʿī ideas. The same political atmosphere was conducive to the rising tide of Shīʿism in post-Mongol Persia. Indeed, at times some of the local rulers of Persia who were in constant rivalry with one another openly supported Shīʿism, at least for political reasons. At any rate, the Nizārīs and certain Shīʿī-related movements with millenarian aspirations such as those of the Sarbadārs, the Ḥurūfiyya, the Nuqṭawiyya and the Mushaʿshaʿ, as well as some Sufi organizations, now found a respite in Persia during the 8th/14th and 9th/15th centuries when they could organize or reorganize themselves, though they were still occasionally persecuted by different local rulers who detected a revolutionary message of opposition to the established order in their activities.

Meanwhile, the Shīʿī tendencies that had been spreading in Persia since the 7th/13th century also rendered the country's religious milieu more favourable to the activities of the Nizārīs and various crypto-Shīʿī or Shīʿī-related extremist movements. These movements normally entertained millenarian or Mahdist aspirations for the deliverance of the oppressed and the economically underprivileged, who rallied in large numbers, especially after Tīmūr's death, to support the leaders of these movements, who often came from Shīʿī–Sufi backgrounds. It should be emphasized, however, that instead of the outright propagation of any particular form of Shīʿism, a new type of Shīʿism was now arising in pre-Ṣafawid Persia. Being of a popular and eclectic nature and expressed largely in Sufi forms, this Shīʿism ultimately culminated in Ṣafawid Shīʿism. Marshall Hodgson has designated this popular Shīʿī phenomenon as '*ṭarīqah* Shīʿism', since it was disseminated mainly through certain Sufi orders.[52] The Sufi orders in question, most of which were formed in post-Mongol Persia, remained outwardly Sunnī for quite some time after their foundation. They followed one of the Sunnī *madhhab*s, usually the Shāfiʿī school, whilst being particularly devoted to ʿAlī and the *ahl al-bayt* and acknowledging ʿAlī's spiritual guidance. ʿAlī was in fact included at the head of their *silsila*s or chains of spiritual masters. In time, some of these Sufi *ṭarīqa*s came to profess Shīʿism formally. In this atmosphere of religious eclecticism, ʿAlid loyalism, initially espoused by certain Sufi *ṭarīqa*s and Shīʿī movements, soon became more widespread. As a result, Shīʿī elements began to be superimposed on Sunnī Islam. By the 9th/15th century there was a general increase in Shīʿī allegiance throughout Persia, where the bulk of the population still adhered to Sunnism. Claude Cahen has referred to this process as the 'Shīʿitization of Sunnism', as opposed to the conscious propagation of Shīʿism of any specific form, Twelver or otherwise.[53] It was through such a process that the religious outlook of the populace came to be increasingly moulded by this type of *ṭarīqa*-diffused Shīʿī–Sunnī syncretism, preparing Persia for the official adoption of Shīʿism under the Ṣafawids.[54]

Amongst the Sufi orders that played a leading role in bridging the gap between Sunnism and Shīʿism and in spreading Shīʿism in Persia, mention should be made of the Nūrbakhshiyya and the Niʿmat Allāhiyya *ṭarīqa*s. Both orders, as well as the Ṣafawiyya, which played the most active and direct political role in establishing a Shīʿī state in Persia, eventually became fully Shīʿī Sufi *ṭarīqa*s. The Nūrbakhshī order was founded by Sayyid Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh, known as Nūrbakhsh. He was born in 795/1393 at Qāʾin into an Imāmī Shīʿī family that had migrated from Baḥrayn to Quhistān. In his youth, Nūrbakhsh was initiated into the Kubrawiyya, one of the major Sufi orders of the time in Central Asia and northeastern Persia, founded by Shaykh Najm al-Dīn Kubrā (d. 617/1220). ʿAlāʾal-Dawla Simnānī (d. 736/1336), the celebrated Sunnī Sufi and one of the Kubrawī *shaykh*s, had already emphasized the special position of ʿAlī, allowing him primacy amongst the early caliphs. But ʿAlid loyalism and Shīʿī ideas were introduced more directly into the Kubrawī order by Isḥāq Khuttalānī (d. 826/1423), a later *shaykh* who was also politically active and planned an unsuccessful revolt against the Tīmūrids. Khuttalānī appointed Muḥammad Nūrbakhsh as his successor, also designating him as the Mahdī. The majority of the Kubrawīs accepted Nūrbakhsh's leadership as their *quṭb* or *khalīfa* and became known as the Nūrbakhshiyya, while a minority supported a certain ʿAbd Allāh Barzishābādī (d. ca. 856/1452) and later became designated as the Dhahabiyya. Nūrbakhsh professed Shīʿism openly, and in his teachings he aimed at fusing Shīʿism and Sunnism through Sufism, claiming also to be the Mahdī for some time. Due to his Shīʿī ideas and the increasing popularity of his Sufi order, Nūrbakhsh was arrested and exiled several times on Shāhrukh's orders. He died in 869/1464 at Rayy, where he had spent his final years. The Nūrbakhshiyya flourished into the Ṣafawid period, as a fully Shīʿī order under Nūrbakhsh's son and successor, Shāh Qāsim Fayḍbakhsh (d. 917/1511), and other *shaykh*s.[55] Shams al-Dīn Lāhījī, the author of the best-known commentary on the *Gulshan-i rāz* who died in 912 AH, led a section of the Nūrbakhshiyya from Shīrāz in succession to Nūrbakhsh himself. The Nūrbakhshiyya did not stretch far into the Ṣafawid period as an organized Sufi order in Persia, though their mystical tradition continued for a while. On the other hand, the Dhahabī order has survived in Persia as a minor Shīʿī Sufi *ṭarīqa*, with chief centres in Shīrāz and Tehran, to the present time.

The Niʿmat Allāhiyya, too, played a vital role in spreading ʿAlid loyalism and Shīʿī sentiments in Persia, though the order remained outwardly Sunnī until after the advent of the Ṣafawids. This Sufi order became widespread during the lifetime of its founder, Shāh Niʿmat Allāh Walī, and in the course of the 9th/15th century it acquired numerous initiates in different parts of Persia, including Kirmān, Yazd, Fārs and Khurāsān.[56] At the same time, its influence spread to the Indian subcontinent, where it received the patronage of the Bahmanid rulers

of the Deccan. From the 8th/14th century onwards, the term Shāh came to be prefixed or suffixed to the name of many Sufi saints, in combination with ʿAlī or Walī, reflecting ʿAlid loyalism and their recognition of the *wilāya* and spiritual guidance of ʿAlī. Accordingly, Nūr al-Dīn Niʿmat Allāh b. ʿAbd Allāh is commonly referred to as Shāh Niʿmat Allāh Walī. A prolific writer on mystical subjects and also a poet, the eponymous founder of the Niʿmat Allāhī order traced his Fāṭimid ʿAlid genealogy to Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl b. Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq, the seventh imam of the Ismāʿīlīs.[57] This is perhaps why Shāh Niʿmat Allāh has been considered as a co-religionist by certain Ismāʿīlī circles, and the Central Asian Nizārīs have preserved some of his works, including a commentary on one of Nāṣir-i Khusraw's *qaṣīda*s.[58] This may also partly explain why the Nizārī imams later chose this particular order for their Sufi affiliation.

Shāh Niʿmat Allāh was born in Aleppo in 731/1330. His father ʿAbd Allāh was an Arab Sayyid and his mother came from the Fārs region in Persia. From early on, he was attracted to Sufism (*taṣawwuf*) and gnosis (*ʿirfān*) and searched for a perfect spiritual master (*murshid-i kāmil*), wandering and serving different Sufi *shaykh*s. He is said to have finally found his spiritual master in ʿAbd Allāh al-Yāfiʿī (d. 768/1367), the founder of the Yāfiʿiyya branch of the Qādirī Sufi order. After spending several years with al-Yāfiʿī in Mecca, Shāh Niʿmat Allāh began to travel extensively, a common practice among the Sufis during a certain phase in their career. He went to Egypt and then journeyed to Ādharbayjān, where he may have met Qāsim al-Anwār. Subsequently, he wandered to Transoxania where he settled near Samarqand. After some time, Niʿmat Allāh was banished from Transoxania by Tīmūr. Later in Harāt he married the granddaughter of Ḥusaynī Sādāt Amīr, who had induced the composition of the *Gulshan-i rāz*. She was to become the mother of the Shāh's only son and successor Khalīl Allāh, born near Kirmān in 775/1374. After leaving Harāt Shāh Niʿmat Allāh spent the last twenty-five years of his life mainly in Māhān, about forty kilometres south of Kirmān, where he established the headquarters of the Niʿmat Allāhī *ṭarīqa*. The saint's relations were friendly with Tīmūr's son Shāhrukh, especially after the Tīmūrid conquest of Kirmān in 819/1416. By that time, Shāh Niʿmat Allāh Walī had become quite well known, having acquired numerous *murīd*s or disciples in different parts of Persia, whilst his *ṭarīqa* had extended to India. Aḥmad I Walī (825–839/1422–1436), the Bahmanid ruler of the Deccan who adopted the title of *walī* (saint) given to him by Shāh Niʿmat Allāh and who may have converted to Shīʿism around 833/1429, called himself a disciple of this saint. Aḥmad Shāh persistently invited Shāh Niʿmat Allāh to visit him in India. The Sufi master, however, declined the invitations due to his old age and instead sent a grandson, Nūr Allāh, who settled in the Deccan and married one of the Bahmanid ruler's daughters. Shāh Niʿmat Allāh had a Sunnī background, and, in his lifetime, the outward form

of his *ṭarīqa* remained Sunnī, though it became increasingly imbued with ʿAlid loyalism. As most Sufis would attest even today, the inward structure of the Niʿmat Allāhiyya and many other *ṭarīqa*s, being Sufi, remained above the Shīʿī–Sunnī boundaries raised by non-Sufis. Shāh Niʿmat Allāh, whose most lasting contribution to Sufism was the order he founded, died in 834/1431, a centenarian, in Kirmān. He was buried at Māhān in the proximity of the *khānaqāh* he had constructed there. The original structures of his mausoleum, still piously visited by Sufis, were constructed through donations made by Aḥmad Shāh Bahmanī and his successor ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Aḥmad II (839–862/1436–1458).

Shāh Niʿmat Allāh had designated his sole son Burhān al-Dīn Khalīl Allāh to succeed him as the *quṭb* or pole, one of the terms used by Sufis to describe their spiritual master. After a few years in Māhān and then in Harāt where he was Shāhrukh's guest, Shāh Khalīl Allāh settled permanently in the Deccan. He rightly expected to benefit from the patronage and devotion of the Bahmanid rulers towards his family and *ṭarīqa*, having probably experienced certain difficulties in Tīmūrid dominions. He left one of his four sons, Shams al-Dīn, in Māhān to take care of the affairs of the Persian Niʿmat Allāhīs, and took with him to the Deccan another two of his sons, Muḥibb al-Dīn Ḥabīb Allāh and Ḥabīb al-Dīn Muḥibb Allāh, who became the third *quṭb* of the order after Khalīl Allāh's death in 860/1456. Shāh Khalīl Allāh's mausoleum near Bīdar became known as Khalīliyya and later other members of the family were buried there. Shāh Ḥabīb al-Dīn, who married one of the daughters of the Bahmanid Aḥmad II, became Shīʿī outwardly.

Shāh Niʿmat Allāh's descendants and successors were treated with respect in the Deccan, where the Niʿmat Allāhī *quṭb*s resided for more than three centuries.[59] The *quṭb*s established a *khānaqāh* (Arabic, *zāwiya*) or Sufi centre at Bīdar, which served as the Indian seat of the order until the latter part of the 12th/18th century, when the position of *quṭb* had already passed out of Shāh Niʿmat Allāh's family and the order was revived in Persia by emissaries sent from the Deccan. Meanwhile, the Persian wing of the order, increasingly Shīʿī, helped the Ṣafawid Shāh Ismāʿīl to power. Soon after the establishment of Ṣafawid rule, the Niʿmat Allāhiyya declared themselves to be Shīʿīs. Shāh Niʿmat Allāh's descendants in Persia intermarried with the Ṣafawid house and acquired prominence, often being appointed to the governorship of Yazd. The Persian section of the order, with its new headquarters at Taft near Yazd, became probably the most highly organized Persian Sufi order in the 10th/16th century. But it subsequently lost its significance mainly due to the adverse policies of the Ṣafawids, a fate shared by other *ṭarīqa*s in Persia. At present, the Niʿmat Allāhī order, with its several branches, is the most widespread Sufi *ṭarīqa* in Persia, having initiates also in Pakistan and other Muslim countries, especially amongst the Twelver Shīʿīs.

Amongst the Sufi orders that contributed to the 'Shīʿitization' of Persia, the most direct role was however played by the Ṣafawī *ṭarīqa*, because of the unique position it occupied in terms of the political ambitions of its masters.[60] The political and military success of the Ṣafawiyya eventually culminated in the accession of the Ṣafawī *shaykh* to the throne of Persia. The Ṣafawī *ṭarīqa* was founded by Shaykh Ṣafī al-Dīn (d. 735/1334), an eminent Sufi *shaykh* of the Īlkhānid period and a Sunnī of the Shāfiʿī *madhhab*. It was only after the establishment of the Ṣafawid state that the dynasty claimed an ʿAlid genealogy, tracing Shaykh Ṣafī's ancestry to the seventh imam of the Twelver Shīʿīs, Mūsā al-Kāẓim. The Ṣafawī order, centred in Ardabīl, soon spread throughout Ādharbayjān, eastern Anatolia, Syria and Khurāsān. It is related that Qāsim al-Anwār, too, became an initiate of this order in the time of Shaykh Ṣafī's son and successor Ṣadr al-Dīn (d. 794/1391). Most significantly, the order acquired deep influence over several Turkoman tribes in Ādharbayjān and adjoining areas. With Shaykh Ṣafī's fourth successor, Junayd, the Ṣafawī order was transformed into a militant revolutionary movement with a policy of conquest and domination. The order's *murīd*s amongst the Turkomans were gradually organized into a dedicated fighting force of Sufi soldiers (*ghuzāt-i ṣūfiyya*) and were initially used especially against the surrounding non-Muslim powers. Junayd was also the first Ṣafawī *shaykh* to display Shīʿī sentiments combined with radical religious notions of the type held by the Shīʿī *ghulāt*. Junayd fought the Caucasian Christians around Ādharbayjān and lost his life in 864/1460 in one of these battles.

Shaykh Junayd's policies and political ambitions were maintained by his son and successor Ḥaydar, who was killed in the course of one of his own military expeditions in 893/1488. Shaykh Ḥaydar was responsible for instructing his followers to adopt the scarlet headgear of twelve gores (triangular pieces of cloth), commemorating the twelve Ithnāʿasharī imams, which led to their being designated by the Turkish term Qizil-bāsh (Red-head). Sulṭān ʿAlī, Ḥaydar's son and successor, also fell in battle, in 898/1493. By that time, the Ṣafawī order enjoyed a strong military organization, supported by many loyal adherents and powerful Turkoman tribes, which constituted the backbone of the Qizil-bāsh soldiery. Consequently, Ismāʿīl, Sulṭān ʿAlī's youthful brother and successor as the master of the Ṣafawiyya, easily managed to take Ādharbayjān from the Aq Qoyunlu dynasty. Thereupon, in the summer of 907/1501, Ismāʿīl entered Tabrīz, the capital of the deposed dynasty, and proclaimed himself Shāh Ismāʿīl, the first ruler of the new Ṣafawid dynasty, which was to last until 1135/1722. The eclectic Shīʿism of the Qizil-bāsh Turkomans manifested itself more clearly under Ismāʿīl, who represented himself to his Qizil-bāsh followers as the representative of the hidden imam of the Twelvers, or even the awaited Mahdī himself, also claiming divinity. Shāh Ismāʿīl I brought the whole of Persia under his control during the

ensuing decade and thus established the Ṣafawid state in the territories hitherto ruled by different dynasties. Under Ismāʿīl (907–930/1501–1524), Persia became a 'national' state for the first time since the Arab conquests in the first century of Islam. Immediately upon his accession, Ismāʿīl proclaimed Twelver Shīʿism as the official religion of his realm, inaugurating a new era for Shīʿism and the activities of the Shīʿī movements and scholars in Persia.

It was under such circumstances, when Shīʿī sentiments were gaining increasing popularity in Persia, that the Anjudān revival of Nizārī Ismāʿīlism commenced around the middle of the 9th/15th century, in the imamate of Mustanṣir bi'llāh II. The very titles adopted by this Qāsim-Shāhī imam and his grandson indicate that the Nizārī imams now clearly strove to revive the old glories of the Ismāʿīlīs. Despite the improved conditions, however, the imams and their followers were still obliged to practise *taqiyya* and to utilize the guise of Sufism. Mustanṣir bi'llāh II, the thirty-second imam whose Sufi name was Shāh Qalandar, may in fact have been the first Qāsim-Shāhī imam to associate with the Niʿmat Allāhī Sufi order, though concrete evidence is lacking. The formal association of the Qāsim-Shāhī imams with the Niʿmat Allāhī *ṭarīqa* actually began more than two centuries later. But even at the beginning of the Anjudān revival, the Nizārīs utilized the guise of Sufism, presenting themselves as a Sufi order, one amongst many such orders then spreading in Persia. For this purpose, the Nizārīs readily adopted the master-disciple (*murshid-murīd*) terminology and relationship of the Sufis. To the outsiders, the Nizārī imams appeared as Sufi *murshid*s, *shaykh*s, *pīr*s or *quṭb*s, and they were generally regarded, it seems, also as pious Ḥusaynid Sayyids, descendants of the Prophet through Fāṭima. Similarly, the followers of the imams posed as their *murīd*s, who were guided along the *ṭarīqa* or path to *ḥaqīqa* by their revered spiritual master. With Shīʿī ideas and ʿAlid loyalism then spreading in many Sufi orders and religious movements, the veneration of ʿAlī and other early Ḥusaynid imams by the Nizārīs did not cause any particular alarm regarding their true identity. Thus in the course of the Anjudān period it also became customary for the Qāsim-Shāhī imams to adopt Sufi names, like Shāh Qalandar and Shāh Gharīb, often also adding the terms Shāh and ʿAlī to their names, like the Sufi masters.

It seems that the Qāsim-Shāhī Nizārī imams selected Anjudān after a thorough search for a suitable locality to establish their residence and *daʿwa* headquarters. Anjudān had a central position whilst at the same time it was removed from the seats of the main Sunnī powers then controlling western and eastern parts of Persia, notably the Aq Qoyunlu and the later Tīmūrids who ruled chiefly from Tabrīz and Harāt, respectively. Furthermore, Anjudān was conveniently close to the cities of Qumm and Kāshān, also known as the *dār al-muʾminīn* (abode of the faithful), that were traditional Shīʿī centres in Persia. The Qāsim-Shāhī Nizārī

daʿwa was now reorganized and reinvigorated from Anjudān, not only to win new converts in remote lands and from amongst those Nizārīs who had hitherto given their allegiance to the rival Muḥammad-Shāhī line of imams, but also to reassert the central authority of the imams over the various regions, especially India and Central Asia, which had increasingly come under the control of their local dynasties of *pīr*s.

During the earliest post-Alamūt centuries when the imams were deprived of direct contacts with their followers, different Nizārī communities in Persia and adjoining regions as well as in India had gradually come under the authority of their local leaders, who were often referred to by the Sufi term *pīr*, the Persian equivalent of *shaykh*. These *pīr*s or chief *dāʿī*s were either appointed by the imams, who accorded them extensive powers, or were selected locally by the particular Nizārī community. In most communities the position of the local *pīr* had gradually become hereditary, with the result that some dynasties of *pīr*s had become effectively independent of the imams whose precise whereabouts were often unknown to the bulk of their followers. The hereditary *pīr*s operated particularly autonomously in the areas farthest removed from the residence of the imams, notably in Afghanistan, Badakhshan and other localities in Central Asia, as well as the Indian subcontinent. Needless to add that often the local *pīr*s in charge of the affairs of a community acquired financial independence as well, relying on the religious dues which they collected. It was for these reasons that the imams of the Anjudān period directed a good part of their efforts towards undermining the position of these powerful *pīr*s, with the objective of replacing them by their own loyal appointees. Mustanṣir bi'llāh II began sending a number of trusted *dāʿī*s to various localities in Khurāsān, Afghanistan, Badakhshan and elsewhere, a policy continued by his successors, who, in addition, seem to have regularly summoned the regional *dāʿī*s for consultation and instruction to Persia.[61]

In order to reorganize the *daʿwa* and re-establish their control over different Nizārī communities, the imams required adequate financial resources and loyal *dāʿī*s who would act according to their guidance. These points are indeed reiterated throughout the *Pandiyāt-i javānmardī* (*Admonitions on Spiritual Chivalry*), the sermons of Mustanṣir bi'llāh II containing the admonitions (Persian, *pandiyāt*) of this imam to the true believers or *muʾmin*s, and to those seeking high standards of ethical behaviour and spiritual chivalry (Persian, *javānmardī*).[62] These sermons or religious admonitions were compiled and written down in Persian by an anonymous Nizārī author during the imamate of Mustanṣir bi'llāh's son and successor, ʿAbd al-Salām Shāh.[63] The Nizārī Khojas, who have preserved Sindhī (Khojkī) and Gujarātī versions of the *Pandiyāt*, maintain that the book was sent to India by the imam of the time for their

religious guidance. It is possible that this book was subsequently despatched to other Nizārī communities so as to reinforce their allegiance to the Qāsim-Shāhī line of imams. Copies of the Persian version of the *Pandiyāt* are still preserved in the Nizārī manuscript collections of Badakhshan and adjoining regions, including Hunza and other northern areas of Pakistan as well as in Chinese Turkistān.[64]

In the *Pandiyāt*, the Nizārīs are referred to by Sufi expressions such as *ahl-i ḥaqq* and *ahl-i ḥaqīqat*, or 'the people of the truth',[65] whilst the imam himself is designated as *pīr*, *murshid* and *quṭb*.[66] Permeated with Sufi ideas, the imam's admonitions in the *Pandiyāt* start with the *sharīʿat–ṭarīqat–ḥaqīqat* categorization of the Sufis, portraying *ḥaqīqat* as the *bāṭin* of *sharīʿat* which would be attained by the faithful through the spiritual path or *ṭarīqat*. In line with the Nizārī teachings of the time, rooted in the earlier doctrine of the *qiyāma*, the *Pandiyāt* further explains that *ḥaqīqat* essentially consists of recognizing the spiritual reality of the current imam.[67] The *Pandiyāt* continuously stresses the duty of the faithful to recognize and obey the current imam,[68] stating that no sacrifice is too great for making the *dīdār* journey to see the imam.[69] An equal emphasis is placed on the obligation of the true believer to pay his religious dues, notably the tithe (Persian, *dah-yik*), amounting to 10 per cent of his annual earnings, to the imam of the time.[70] These admonitions find expression also in the works of Khayrkhwāh-i Harātī, who wrote in the middle of the 10th/16th century, a few decades after Mustanṣir bi'llāh II and ʿAbd al-Salām Shāh.[71] The latter imam himself, following in the footsteps of his father, invited the Muḥammad-Shāhī Nizārīs of Badakhshan and Afghanistan to transfer their allegiance to the true line of the imams, viz., the Qāsim-Shāhīs. This invitation by the thirty-third Qāsim-Shāhī imam is reflected in at least one extant *farmān* or epistle issued in 895/1490.[72]

The Anjudān renaissance in Nizārī Ismāʿīlism also brought about a revival of literary activity amongst the Nizārīs, especially in Persia. The earliest fruits of these efforts, which include the first Persian doctrinal treatises produced after the fall of Alamūt, are those written by Abū Isḥāq Quhistānī, a contemporary of Mustanṣir bi'llāh III (Gharīb Mīrzā) b. ʿAbd al-Salām Shāh (d. 904/1498), and Muḥammad Riḍā b. Khwāja Sulṭān Ḥusayn Ghūriyānī Harātī, better known as Khayrkhwāh-i Harātī, who flourished a few decades later and died after 960/1553.[73] Khayrkhwāh was a prolific writer and a poet with the pen name (*takhalluṣ*) of Gharībī who apparently plagiarized Abū Isḥāq's *Haft bāb* into the *Kalām-i pīr*, attributing it to Nāṣir-i Khusraw. As Ivanow has argued, Khayrkhwāh seems to have introduced certain ideas of his own, especially on the status of the *ḥujja*, into the Nizārī works that passed through his hands. Khayrkhwāh was an ambitious man and according to his own account was appointed, whilst only nineteen years old, by

the imam of the time to succeed his father as a Nizārī *pīr* in his native province in western Afghanistan and possibly some adjoining areas. The writings of Abū Isḥāq and Khayrkhwāh, which constitute the chief Qāsim-Shāhī Persian treatises of the Anjudān period, have been preserved by the Nizārīs of Central Asia and elsewhere.

Khayrkhwāh's works, especially his untitled *Risāla*,[74] are of historical value and shed light on various aspects of the Nizārī communities of his time in Khurāsān and Afghanistan. He also reveals that by the first half of the 10th/16th century direct contacts had been established between the Qāsim-Shāhī Nizārī imams and their followers in those regions as well as in the Indian subcontinent, from where *dāʿī*s and other Nizārī dignitaries regularly travelled to the headquarters of the *daʿwa* to see the imam. Khayrkhwāh relates how the imam had sent a messenger, Mīr Maḥmūd, summoning his father, Khwāja Sulṭān Ḥusayn, who resided at Harāt, and another Nizārī dignitary called Khwāja Qāsim who lived in Quhistān because the imam evidently intended to designate Khayrkhwāh's father as the *dāʿī* of Khurāsān, Badakhshan and Kābul.[75] Khwāja Sulṭān Ḥusayn was, however, murdered in Khurāsān, whilst journeying to Anjudān. Khayrkhwāh himself was then taken in his father's place for the *dīdār* of the imam despite the objection of some elder members of the community who disapproved of his young age and lack of religious qualifications. Khayrkhwāh does not mention Anjudān by name but from some of the nearby localities mentioned by him, like Maḥallāt,[76] it is clear that he went to Anjudān for an audience with the imam, whose name is not divulged. By Khayrkhwāh's time, the term *pīr* had acquired a wide application among the Nizārīs and was used in reference to *dāʿī*s of different ranks, the heads of any Nizārī community, as well as to the persons of the imam himself and his *ḥujja*. Khayrkhwāh vividly describes how different *pīr*s arrived at Anjudān during the fortnight that he spent there, bringing along the religious dues of their communities. He has interesting details on how carefully the imam checked and appraised these dues and how he punished those who had misappropriated the funds (*ḥaqq-i imām*).[77] Having been assured of the trustworthiness of Khayrkhwāh, the imam appointed him as the *dāʿī* of Khurāsān and adjoining lands, a post possibly held by or intended for his father.[78] Khayrkhwāh in fact claims to have been designated as the chief *pīr (pīr-i kull)*.[79] In any event, he explains how his appointment to such a high rank in the *daʿwa* proved disappointing to those members of his community who regarded themselves as more deserving of the post. Indeed, Khayrkhwāh's autobiographical account attests to the existence of intense rivalry amongst various Nizārī dignitaries or *pīr*s who challenged each other's competency and continuously attempted to win the favour of the imam, who had by then greatly reasserted his authority over the Nizārī communities.[80]

Meanwhile, the advent of the Ṣafawids and the proclamation of Twelver Shīʿism as their state religion in 907/1501 promised yet more favourable opportunities for the activities of the Nizārīs and other Shīʿī movements in Persia. The Nizārīs did in fact reduce the intensity of their *taqiyya* practices during the initial decades of Ṣafawid rule. At the time, the Muḥammad-Shāhīs were led by Shāh Ṭāhir, their most famous imam, and Nūr al-Dīn Muḥammad, known as Abū Dharr ʿAlī, had succeeded to the imamate of the Qāsim-Shāhīs.[81] Abū Dharr ʿAlī, who succeeded Gharīb Mīrzā as the thirty-fifth imam of the Qāsim-Shāhī line, was contemporary with Shāh Ismāʿīl I and with Ismāʿīl's son and successor Shāh Ṭahmāsp I. In fact it seems he married a sister or daughter of Ṭahmāsp I.

The new optimism of the Nizārīs was short-lived however. The Ṣafawids, as noted, originally adhered to an eclectic type of Shīʿism which was gradually disciplined and brought into conformity with the tenets of 'orthodox' Twelver Shīʿism. In order to enhance their legitimacy, Shāh Ismāʿīl and his immediate successors claimed variously to represent the hidden Mahdī, in addition to fabricating an ʿAlid genealogy for their dynasty. From early on, the Ṣafawids also strove to eliminate any major religio-political challenge to their hegemony. As a result, under Shāh Ismāʿīl I and Shāh Ṭahmāsp I, the Ṣafawids articulated a religious policy for the elimination of all millenarian and extremist movements, persecution of Sufi orders and popular dervish groups and suppression of Sunnism, while actively propagating Twelver Shīʿism. The Ṣafawids also persecuted the various Shīʿī movements that fell outside the boundaries of Ithnāʿasharī Shīʿism. Their repressive policies were directed even against the Qizil-bāsh, who had brought the Ṣafawid dynasty into power. The conversion of Persia to Twelver Shīʿism, mainly at the expense of Sunnism, proceeded rather slowly under Ismāʿīl I and Ṭahmāsp I, who brought into Persia a number of Imāmī theologians and jurists from the Arab centres of Twelver scholarship, notably ʿIrāq, Baḥrayn and the Jabal ʿĀmil. Most of the Sufi orders of Persia were severely persecuted in early Ṣafawid times, with the major exceptions of the Niʿmat Allāhiyya, Nūrbakhshiyya and Dhahabiyya, which instead gradually declined in importance.

It seems that the true religious identity of the Nizārī imams and their followers had become somewhat better known after the establishment of Ṣafawid rule, despite their continued use of the Sufi guise. The increased and more overt activities of the Nizārī Ismāʿīlīs soon came to the attention of the earliest Ṣafawid monarchs and their Twelver *ʿulamāʾ*, who reacted by subjecting them to renewed persecution. We have records of two particular instances of such persecution taking place during the first Ṣafawid century. Shāh Ismāʿīl, as we shall see, eventually issued an order for the execution of Shāh Ṭāhir, who had become popular in Kāshān, obliging him to flee to India where the later imams of the Muḥammad-Shāhī line resided. And Shāh Ṭahmāsp persecuted the Qāsim-Shāhī Nizārīs in

the time of their thirty-sixth imam, Murād Mīrzā, the son and successor of Abū Dharr ʿAlī. The *Taʾrīkh-i alfī*, an extensive history of the Muslim world from the death of the Prophet to around the year 1000/1591–1592, which was compiled in India by several authors at the request of the emperor Akbar, refers under the same year 981/1573–1574 to the persecution of the Nizārīs of Anjudān in the time of a certain Murād who claimed their imamate.[82] More details of the same episode, occurring in the reign of Shāh Ṭahmāsp, are recorded under the year 981 AH by Qāḍī Aḥmad al-Qummī, a contemporary Ṣafawid chronicler who died after 1015/1606.[83] Both sources relate that Murād had numerous followers also in India, who sent him large sums of money from Sind and elsewhere. Murād Mīrzā and his predecessor evidently did not reside permanently at Anjudān, where the headquarters of the Qāsim-Shāhī Nizārī *daʿwa* had been located. Murād Mīrzā was engaged in political activity outside Anjudān, possibly in collaboration with Nuqṭawīs, and he had acquired supporters in Kāshān and elsewhere in central Persia. Being alarmed by the activities of Murād Mīrzā, early in 981/1573 Shāh Ṭahmāsp ordered Amīr Khān Mūṣilū, the governor of Hamadān, to proceed to the Anjudān area to capture Murād and deal with his followers (*murīdān*). Amīr Khān killed a large number of the Nizārīs of Anjudān and its surroundings and took much booty from them, but Murād Mīrzā himself, who was then staying at a fortress in the district of Kamara around Anjudān, managed to escape. Soon afterwards, he was captured and imprisoned near the royal quarters. In Jumādā II 981/October 1573, Murād Mīrzā escaped from prison with the assistance of Muḥammad Muqīm, a high Ṣafawid official who had come under the influence of the Nizārī imam. Murād proceeded to the vicinity of Qandahār, receiving help on the way from his followers in Fārs, Makrān and Sind. A few months later, he was recaptured in Afghanistan by a contingent of Ṣafawid guards commanded by Dīdār Beg. Murād was brought before Shāh Ṭahmāsp, who had him executed along with Muḥammad Muqīm. It is interesting to note that Khayrkhwāh, a contemporary of Ṭahmāsp I as well as Murād Mīrzā and the latter's predecessor, states that one of the Nizārī imams of his time went into hiding (*satr*) for seven years, probably making reference to Murād Mīrzā.[84] At any rate, the Persian Nizārīs experienced new difficulties during the reigns of Ismāʿīl I and Ṭahmāsp I, and the graves of Abū Dharr ʿAlī and Murād Mīrzā, who were imams from around 904/1498 to 981/1574, have not been located anywhere in Anjudān.

With the third Ṣafawid ruler, Ismāʿīl II (984–985/1576–1577), who attempted unsuccessfully to re-establish Sunnism during his brief reign, and his elder brother and successor, Muḥammad Khudābanda (985–995/1577–1587), the Ṣafawids came to have their own dynastic disputes and domestic strifes, which almost brought about the downfall of their newly founded dynasty. The religious movements that had survived the persecutions of the first two Ṣafawid kings now

received a respite which was particularly timely for the Nizārīs. Order was restored to the Ṣafawid state only during the reign of Shāh ʿAbbās I (995–1038/1587–1629), who systematically repressed the disruptive Qizil-Bāsh tribes. By the time of Shāh ʿAbbās, the Ṣafawids' claim to any divine authority or to representing the Mahdī had faded, while the Sufi orders had disappeared almost completely from Persia. On the other hand, Twelver Shīʿī rituals and practices had gained wide currency. ʿAbbās I, whose long reign marked the golden age of Ṣafawid rule, introduced numerous administrative reforms and patronized the arts. It was also this greatest of the Ṣafawid monarchs who transferred the Ṣafawid capital from Qazwīn to Iṣfahān in 1006/1598. Although Shāh ʿAbbās I continued his predecessors' policy against the Sunnīs, the majority of the Sufi orders and some of the radical Shīʿī movements like the Nuqṭawiyya, he was tolerant towards certain minoritarian organizations and religious groups, including the Nizārīs, who were henceforth not molested by the Ṣafawids.

In the meantime, the Qāsim-Shāhī Nizārī imams after Murād Mīrzā had once again appeared at Anjudān, from where they quietly conducted the affairs of their community without involving themselves in political activities. The imams of the later Anjudān period developed friendly relations with the Ṣafawids. Murād Mīrzā's successor as the thirty-seventh imam, Khalīl Allāh I, who also carried the Sufi name of Dhu'l-Faqār ʿAlī, married a Ṣafawid princess, possibly a sister of Shāh ʿAbbās I. The close relationship existing between this imam and the Ṣafawids is attested by an epigraph, recovered in 1976 at Anjudān by the author, which reproduces the text of a royal edict issued by Shāh ʿAbbās I in Rajab 1036/March–April 1627. According to this edict, originally installed in the main mosque of Anjudān and addressed to Amīr Khalīl Allāh Anjudānī, the current Qāsim-Shāhī imam, the Shīʿīs of Anjudān, named as a dependency of the *dār al-muʾminīn* of Qumm, were exempted, like other Shīʿīs around Qumm, from paying certain taxes. It is interesting to note that in this edict the Anjudānī Shīʿīs were regarded as Ithnāʿasharīs, indicating that by that time the Persian Nizārīs had successfully adopted the cover of Twelver Shīʿism, in addition to Sufism, as a form of *taqiyya*.

Dhu'l-Faqār ʿAlī (Khalīl Allāh I) may be identified with that Khalīl Allāh, who, according to his tombstone at Anjudān, died at the age of sixty-eight in Ramaḍān 1043/March 1634, seven years after the above-mentioned edict was issued. Imam Khalīl Allāh I's successor, too, carried a Sufi-sounding name, Nūr al-Dahr (Nūr al-Dīn) ʿAlī. This imam, the thirty-eighth in the series, may be identified with Nūr al-Dahr (b.) Khalīl Allāh, who died in Rajab 1082/November 1671 and was buried in Anjudān. The Nizārī poet Khākī Khurāsānī, a contemporary of both of these imams who died after 1056/1646,[85] repeatedly eulogizes Shāh Dhu'l-Faqār (Khalīl), possibly also named Ḥaydar,[86] and Shāh Nūr al-Dahr b. Dhu'l-Faqār.[87] He also names Anjudān as their place of residence, which he apparently visited



15. An epigraph dated 1036/1627 reproducing the edict of the Ṣafawid Shāh ʿAbbās I addressed to Imam Amīr Khalīl Allāh Anjudānī

himself.[88] Fidāʾī Khurāsānī quotes some poems in praise of Shāh Dhu'l-Faqār by two Nizārī poets of this imam's time, viz., ʿAzīz Allāh Qummī and a certain Niyāzī who was also a *dāʿī*.[89] Khākī refers to his imam's followers and spreading influence in Khurāsān and ʿIrāq-i ʿAjam as well as in Multān and Hind. By the second half of the 11th/17th century, the Anjudān revival of the Qāsim-Shāhī Nizārī *daʿwa* had resulted in definite successes. Maḥmūd ʿAlī, a Nizārī poet from Muʾminābād and a contemporary of the Imam Nūr al-Dahr, in a long poem names the Qāsim-Shāhī *dāʿī*s, teachers or *muʿallim*s, and lesser functionaries, in numerous localities in Khurāsān, Quhistān, ʿIrāq-i ʿAjam, Kirmān, Afghanistan, Badakhshan, Turkistān and the Indian subcontinent, including Multān, Lahore and Gujarāt. This and other poems of this poet, not listed in the Ismāʿīlī bibliographies of Ivanow and

Poonawala, were kindly given to the author in 1985 by the leaders of the Nizārī community in Khurāsān. Nūr al-Dahr's son and successor, Shāh Khalīl Allāh II, was the last Qāsim-Shāhī imam to reside at Anjudān. This imam, the thirty-ninth in the series, died in Dhu'l-Ḥijja 1090/January 1680, and his tombstone is still preserved in one of the walls of Gharīb Mīrzā's mausoleum at Anjudān. With Khalīl Allāh II's successor, Shāh Nizār, the seat of the Qāsim-Shāhī *daʿwa* was transferred from Anjudān to the nearby village of Kahak, initiating a new phase in the post-Alamūt history of Nizārī Ismāʿīlism.

During the earliest post-Alamūt centuries when the Nizārī imams were in hiding, different Nizārī communities developed independently. Each of these communities gradually came to own the authority of a chief *dāʿī* or *pīr*, who was usually selected locally, if he did not belong to the hereditary dynasties of such *dāʿī*s. Under these circumstances, the central headquarters of the *daʿwa* represented little more than the places of residence of the imams. Matters began to change, however, with the Anjudān renaissance, at least in the Qāsim-Shāhī branch of Nizārī Ismāʿīlism. From the earliest decades of the Anjudān period, the Qāsim-Shāhī *daʿwa* was reorganized not only for reinvigorating the *daʿwa* activities, but also for the connected purposes of asserting the central authority of the imams over the scattered communities and undermining the position of the local dynasties of *dāʿī*s and *pīr*s. Nonetheless, the *daʿwa* hierarchy of the Qāsim-Shāhī Nizārīs remained rather simple as compared to the elaborate organization adopted by the Fāṭimid Ismāʿīlīs. It also represented further the simplification of the organization undertaken by the Nizārīs of the Alamūt period.

The Qāsim-Shāhī *daʿwa* hierarchy of the Anjudān period was naturally headed by the manifest imam, who now made every effort to establish direct contact with his followers. As can be gathered from the few contemporary Qāsim-Shāhī works, there were five ranks, after the imam, in the *daʿwa* organization of this Nizārī branch.[90] The imam was followed by a single *ḥujja*, designated as *ḥujjat-i aʿẓam*, or the great *ḥujja*. Normally residing at the headquarters of the *daʿwa*, like the imam himself, he was the highest religious and administrative officer of the *daʿwa* and the imam's chief assistant. The *ḥujja* was often selected from amongst the close relatives of the imam, from persons who were not in the direct line of succession to the imamate. Next, there was a single category of *dāʿī*, a propagandist at large who was not apparently restricted to any particular region or community. Selected from amongst the better educated Nizārīs, the *dāʿī* was mainly responsible for periodically inspecting the different communities and reporting their conditions to the imam in addition to conveying the directives of the *daʿwa* headquarters to the local leaders. Furthermore, the *dāʿī* was in charge of propagating the *daʿwa* in places beyond the jurisdiction of particular Nizārī communities. There were presumably many such *dāʿī*s operating as roaming

propagandists and inspectors of the community, travelling from locality to locality in the service of the *daʿwa*. The next lower rank in the hierarchy was that of *muʿallim* or teacher, who was normally in charge of the *daʿwa* activities in a particular community or region. The earlier Ismāʿīlī term *jazīra* (plural, *jazāʾir*) was again utilized during the Anjudān period in reference to the various *daʿwa* regions. The *muʿallim*s were appointed by the *ḥujja*, doubtless in consultation with the imam, and by considering only obedient persons for this position the imam could assert his control over the remote groups of his followers. Every *muʿallim* was normally assisted by two categories of *maʾdhūn*. The senior one, or *maʾdhūn-i akbar*, was allowed to teach the Nizārī doctrines and to convert anyone on his own judgement and initiative. But the junior assistant, *maʾdhūn-i aṣghar*, who held the lowest rank in the hierarchy, could perform these tasks only on receiving the *muʿallim*'s permission. The ordinary initiates, as in earlier times, were referred to as *mustajīb*s. On acquiring proper qualifications, a *mustajīb*, who as such did not hold a rank in the *daʿwa* organization, could be appointed by the *muʿallim* to the position of *maʾdhūn-i aṣghar*. Appointments to the higher *daʿwa* ranks were made, at least ideally, by the *ḥujja* and the imam, extending the central authority of the *daʿwa* headquarters. It may be noted, however, that not all of the lower *daʿwa* ranks were occupied at all times and in every community, especially in the smaller Nizārī milieux. By the middle of the 10th/16th century, the term *pīr* had come to be generally used in reference to the higher ranks in the *daʿwa* organization, notably the imam himself as well as *ḥujja*, *dāʿī* and *muʿallim*. The ordinary members of the community, the *mustajīb*s, were often designated as *murīd*s, reflecting the Sufi guise of the *daʿwa* organization. Khayrkhwāh, the chief doctrinal author of the Anjudān period, in particular uses the terms *ḥujja* and *pīr* interchangeably. The term *pīr*, however, rapidly fell into disuse in Persia after the end of the Anjudān period, while it was retained by the Central Asian and Indian Nizārīs.

The Qāsim-Shāhī Nizārīs of the Anjudān period essentially retained the teaching of the late Alamūt period as elaborated after the declaration of the *qiyāma*. But the Ismāʿīlī works of the Fāṭimid age, which had also influenced Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī's Ismāʿīlī thought, were apparently no longer available to the Nizārīs living outside Syria. Consequently by the time of the Anjudān revival, the Nizārīs had completely lost the earlier Ismāʿīlī interest in cosmology and in speculating about the creation in general, while they made only passing references to cyclical prophetic history.[91] In other words, the post-Alamūt Nizārīs, in contrast to the Ṭayyibīs, were not interested in the *ḥaqāʾiq*, which comprised the essence of the esoteric thought of the early and the Fāṭimid Ismāʿīlīs as well as the Ṭayyibī Ismāʿīlīs. However, the Nizārīs of Badakhshan, greatly influenced by Nāṣir-i Khusraw's work, did retain some of the earlier interest in cosmology. The

Qāsim-Shāhī Nizārīs of the Anjudān period, as noted, retained the doctrine of the *qiyāma* as reinterpreted during the final decades of the Alamūt period. The current imam continued to have a central role in the Nizārī teachings.[92] Furthermore, the current imam had to be recognized in his true spiritual reality, and the attainment of that knowledge and vision was the ultimate religious quest of the faithful. In other words, the Nizārīs were expected, through improving their religious knowledge and attaining better recognition of the true essence of the imam, to journey from the physical *ẓāhirī* world to the spiritual world of the *ḥaqīqa*. Thus they passed from merely understanding the apparent meaning of the *sharīʿa* to comprehending the unchangeable religious truths hidden in its *bāṭin*, and as interpreted by the person of the present imam.[93] And those who recognized the true spiritual reality of the imam would thus penetrate the *ẓāhir* of the law.[94]

The role of the *ḥujja*, already stressed in late Alamūt times, was further elaborated in the doctrinal works of the Anjudān period, especially by Khayrkhwāh-i Harātī, who claimed the position for himself.[95] The Nizārīs of the later Alamūt period had held that even in the time of *satr* and *taqiyya*, the *ḥaqīqa* and the true essence of the imam could be known at least to one person or a few individuals in the community. The Nizārīs of the Anjudān period definitely reduced this elite group into a single person, the *ḥujja*. They held that the *ḥujja*, like the imam himself, was born to his status, and as such, he too was *maʿṣūm* or sinless and received divine support (*taʾyīd*).[96] The *ḥujja* was, indeed, held to be almost of the same essence as the imam.[97] The *ḥujja*, by virtue of his miraculous knowledge (*muʿjiz-i ʿilmī*), not available to the holders of the lower *daʿwa* ranks, knew the true essence of the imam and was, thus, the revealer of the spiritual truth for the Nizārīs. He was the sole means of access to the imam, and it was only through him that the Nizārīs could recognize fully the current imam and attain salvation.[98] The *ḥujja* or chief *pīr*, was the only person, besides the imam himself, who was not bound by the *sharīʿa*.[99] Reminiscent of the view of the early Ismāʿīlīs, the doctrine of the Anjudān period also emphasized that the imam and his *ḥujja* could not both be hidden at the same time.[100]

The Qāsim-Shāhīs of the Anjudān period, like the Nizārīs of the *qiyāma* and later times in the Alamūt period, distinguished three categories of men, viz., the *ahl-i taḍādd*, *ahl-i tarattub* and *ahl-i vaḥdat*.[101] The *ahl-i taḍādd*, consisting of non-Muslims as well as all non-Nizārī Muslims, were the opponents of the imam. Refusing to acknowledge the Nizārī imam, they remained spiritually non-existent. The people of gradation, the *ahl-i tarattub*, also called *ahl-i ḥaqq* or *ḥaqīqat*, were the Qāsim-Shāhī Nizārīs who acquired access to partial truth. The *ahl-i tarattub* were themselves divided into the strong (*qawiyān*) and the weak (*ḍaʿīfān*). The strong group was comprised of the *dāʿī*s, *muʿallim*s and *maʾdhūn*s,

the holders of the *daʿwa* ranks below the *ḥujja*, while the weak group was restricted to the ordinary members of the community, the *mustajīb*s. Both factions of the *ahl-i tarattub* were expected to concentrate on the inner meaning of the so-called *khalqī* commandments of the *sharīʿa*, such as those related to praying, fasting, the *ḥajj* pilgrimage and so forth, especially when not practising *taqiyya*.[102] Finally, the *ahl-i vaḥdat* category consisted of the *ḥujja* alone. Only the *ḥujja* had truly entered the spiritual realm of the *ḥaqīqa*. The paradisal state made available to the Nizārīs of the Alamūt period by the announcement of the *qiyāma* could now, in the Anjudān period, be enjoyed by a single person, the most trusted associate of the imam.

The Nizārī Khojas and Satpanth Ismāʿīlism

In the meantime, the Nizārī *daʿwa* had spread successfully on the Indian subcontinent.[103] The origins and early development of Nizārī Ismāʿīlism in India remain rather obscure owing to the absence of reliable sources. For the earliest phase of Nizārī activities in India, we have to rely almost exclusively on the traditional accounts of the Nizārīs of South Asia, the Khojas, as expressed in their indigenous religious literature, the *ginān*s. The Nizārī Khojas, it may be added, always acknowledged the imams of the Qāsim-Shāhī Nizārī line. The *ginān*s are often inaccurate on chronological details and on the sequence of events, frequently mixing legend with reality. According to these accounts, the *daʿwa* in India was initiated by emissaries or *pīr*s despatched by the Nizārī imams from Persia. These emissaries, who probably began their missionary work during the late Alamūt period, at first concentrated their efforts chiefly in Sind.[104] It may be noted that the available information on the post-Alamūt *daʿwa* activities in India stem solely from the traditions preserved by the followers of the Qāsim-Shāhī line of imams and the Imām-Shāhīs who split off from the community.

Satgur Nūr is reported to have been the earliest Nizārī missionary or *pīr* sent from Persia to India, where the specific form of Nizārī Ismāʿīlism developed indigenously became known as Satpanth (*sat panth*) or the 'true path' (to salvation), a term used by Khojas and appearing throughout their *ginān*s.[105] According to the traditions, Satgur Nūr was mainly active in Pātan, Gujarāt. His shrine is located at Nawsarī near Sūrat, and his tombstone is dated 487/1094. The next important *pīr* is Shams al-Dīn, whose activities centred on Sind. In most of the religious poetry ascribed to him, Qāsim Shāh is named as the imam of his time.[106] Pīr Shams al-Dīn thus seems to have flourished in the middle of the 8th/14th century. He was particularly active in Multān and Uchchh, in Sind, and his mausoleum at Multān is locally known as that of Shams-i Tabrīz. The Nizārī community of the Shamsīs, who now acknowledge the Aga Khan and live as

goldsmiths chiefly in Multān and elsewhere in Panjāb, claim to have been converted by Pīr Shams al-Dīn. The work of Shams al-Dīn was continued by his son and grandson, Nāṣir al-Dīn and Shihāb (or Ṣāḥib) al-Dīn. Almost nothing is known about these two *pīr*s, who occupy the twenty-first and twenty-second places on the traditional lists of *pīr*s; it is merely reported that they conducted the *daʿwa* in secret. Pīr Shihāb al-Dīn was, in turn, succeeded by his son Ṣadr al-Dīn. By that time in the post-Alamūt period, the chief Nizārī *pīr*s in India had acquired a certain degree of autonomy and had also established a hereditary dynasty.

Pīr Ṣadr al-Dīn, to whom the largest number of *ginān*s is attributed, played a key role in the propagation and organization of the *daʿwa* in India. He is reported to have died sometime between 770/1369 and 819/1416.[107] He was thus contemporary with the Imam Islām Shāh.[108] Ṣadr al-Dīn converted large numbers of Hindus from the Lohana trading caste and gave them the name of Khoja, derived from the Persian word *khwāja*, an honorary title meaning lord or master. This name corresponded to the Hindu term *ṭhākur* (or *ṭhākkar*), meaning master, by which the Hindu Lohanas were addressed, since they were regarded as Kshatriyas. The Lohanas and Khojas still use the Hindu designation amongst themselves. Ṣadr al-Dīn is credited with building the first *jamāʿat-khāna* (literally, community house) in Kotri, Sind, for the religious and communal activities of the Khojas. Subsequently, he established two other Nizārī centres in Panjāb and Kashmir and appointed their *mukhi*s or leaders. The term *mukhi* (pronounced *mukī*) is derived from the Sanskrit word *mūkhya*, meaning most important or chief. Ṣadr al-Dīn, thus, laid the foundation of the communal organization of the Indian Nizārīs who henceforth became known mainly as Khojas. In time, he extended the *daʿwa* to Gujarāt and won success amongst the Lohanas and other trading Hindu castes of that region. The centre of Ṣadr al-Dīn's activities, however, remained in Uchchh, from where he conducted the *daʿwa* somewhat more openly. It may be noted in passing that Sind was at the time ruled by the Sammas, who around 752/1351 had succeeded the Sūmras who adhered to Ismāʿīlism. The Sūmras themselves had ruled from Thatta for almost three centuries from 443/1051. The later members of the Sūmra dynasty were probably influenced by the Nizārī *daʿwa* in Sind whilst maintaining an independent Ismāʿīlī tradition of their own, but the Sammas soon became Sunnī Muslims.[109] Pīr Ṣadr al-Dīn evidently visited the Imam Islām Shāh in Persia to submit to him the *dassondh* or tithes collected from the Nizārī community of India. Ṣadr al-Dīn's shrine is located near Jetpur, in the vicinity of Uchchh, to the south of Multān. The overseers of this shrine now consider themselves as Twelver Shīʿīs and refer to the *pīr* as Ḥājjī Ṣadr Shāh.

Ṣadr al-Dīn was succeeded as *pīr* by his eldest son Ḥasan Kabīr al-Dīn. According to a well-known hagiographical work written in India by ʿAbd al-Ḥaqq b. Sayf al-Dīn Dihlawī (d. 1052/1642), Kabīr al-Dīn travelled extensively before settling

down in Uchchh, which served as the seat of the Satpanth *daʿwa* in India.[110] He too apparently visited the contemporary imam in Persia and converted a large number of Hindus during his tenure. The death dates mentioned for this *pīr* vary from 853/1449 to 896/1490–1491, but most probably he died around 875/1470. This year is mentioned in the as-yet unpublished *Manāzil al-aqṭāb*, the history of the Imām-Shāhī sect compiled around 1237/1821 in Gujarāt by Qāḍī Raḥmat Allāh b. Ghulām Muṣṭafā.[111] Kabīr al-Dīn's shrine is outside Uchchh and is locally known as Ḥasan Daryā. It is interesting to note that this *pīr* is reported to have been affiliated with the Suhrawardī Sufi order, which was prevalent at the time in the region of Multān. In fact, Pīr Kabīr al-Dīn's name appears in the list of the *shaykh*s of this Sufi *ṭarīqa*.[112] Indeed, the available evidence reveals that in India, too, the Nizārīs developed close relations with Sufism. Multān and Uchchh in Sind, in addition to serving as centres of Satpanth Ismāʿīlī activities, were the headquarters of the Suhrawardī and Qādirī Sufi orders. The Suhrawardiyya was the most important Sufi order of Sind during the 7th–8th/13th–14th centuries, while the Qādirīs began to acquire prominence in the 9th/15th century. The same doctrinal affinities that existed between Persian Ismāʿīlism and Sufism also existed between Satpanth Ismāʿīlism and Sufism in India. As a result, close relations developed between these two esoteric traditions in South Asia, especially in Sind where both Satpanth and Sufi traditions had deep roots. The adoption of Sufi terminology, such as *murshid* and *murīd*, by the Nizārī Khoja community as well as strong parallels between the poetic and mystical expressions found in the *ginān*s and in Sufi poetry composed in Panjābī and Sindhī facilitated Satpanth–Sufi relations.

Thus, Nizārī Khojas were able to represent themselves for extended periods as one of the many mystically oriented communities of Sind, where such communities existed among both the predominantly Sunnī Muslim and Hindu milieux. This enabled the Khojas to blend more readily into the religious, cultural and social structure of Sind, attracting less attention as Ismāʿīlīs and escaping persecution by the region's Sunnī rulers. However, in contrast to the situation in Persia, the *pīr*s and their Khoja followers may not have consciously and deliberately developed their Sufi connections for *taqiyya* purposes. The Nizārī Khojas, by contrast to their co-religionists in Persia, were already safeguarded against Sunnī persecution by the Hindu elements which were integral parts of their Satpanth tradition. More cannot be said in our present state of knowledge on Ismāʿīlī–Sufi interactions in South Asia. It may be added that close relations between the Khojas and Sufis of India in post-Alamūt times are also attested to by a lengthy didactic poem in medieval Hindustani known as *Bujh Nirañjan* (*Knowledge of the One*). As Ali Asani has shown,[113] this long poem about the mystical path actually originated in the Qādirī Sufi circles of Sind and then entered the *ginān*

literature of the Khojas, who attribute it to Pīr Ṣadr al-Dīn. The Khoja appropriation of this work was doubtless facilitated by the fact that its mystical themes and terms readily lent themselves to Ismāʿīlī interpretations even though there are no specifically Ismāʿīlī elements in this poem.

After Ḥasan Kabīr al-Dīn, the Nizārī Khoja community began to experience internal dissensions which eventually led to an important schism. Ḥasan Kabīr al-Dīn is said to have had eighteen sons, but his brother Tāj al-Dīn was appointed as the next *pīr* by the Nizārī imam, perhaps as a further measure to weaken the hereditary authority of the *pīr*s. This appointment was opposed by some of Kabīr al-Dīn's sons, who were at the time also quarrelling amongst themselves. When Tāj al-Dīn returned from a visit to the imam in Persia, where he had gone to deliver the tithes (*dassondh*) of the Khojas, he was accused by his nephews of embezzling a portion of the religious dues. Thereupon, the *pīr* is said either to have died of grief or committed suicide. He died towards the end of the 9th/15th century, not long after Kabīr al-Dīn. His grave is located in Jhun in Sind. He is not recognized as a *pīr* by the later Imām-Shāhīs.

After Tāj al-Dīn, Imām al-Dīn ʿAbd Raḥīm b. Ḥasan, better known as Imām Shāh, a son of Kabīr al-Dīn and the eponym of the Imām-Shāhī sect, tried in vain to succeed to the leadership of the Nizārī Khojas in Sind.[114] Later, he saw the imam in Persia but was not designated by him to the position of *pīr*.[115] On returning to India, Imām Shāh settled in Gujarāt where he spent the rest of his life and had much success in converting the local Hindus, especially from amongst the agricultural communities, to Satpanth Ismāʿīlism. According to some legendary accounts, he also converted the sultan of Gujarāt, Maḥmūd Begrā (863–917/1459–1511), who gave his daughter in marriage to Imām Shāh's eldest son Nar Muḥammad. Imām Shāh, who according to some unreliable accounts seceded from the Nizārī community and himself became the founder of the Imām-Shāhī sect, is not recognized as a *pīr* by the Nizārī Khojas, who regard him merely as a *sayyid*. He died in 919/1513 in Pīrāna, the town founded by him near Aḥmadābād, where his shrine is located. Meanwhile, owing to continuing conflicts in the family of Pīr Ḥasan Kabīr al-Dīn and aiming to assert his own direct control, the imam had not appointed any more new *pīr*s after Tāj al-Dīn. Instead, a book of guidance, occupying the twenty-sixth place on the traditional lists of *pīr*s, was sent to the Nizārī Khoja community. This book, the already-noted *Pandiyāt-i javānmardī* containing the religious admonitions of Imam Mustanṣir bi'llāh II, appears to have reached Sind around the middle of the 10th/16th century. At the time, it will be recalled, the Qāsim-Shāhī imams were successfully endeavouring to assert their authority over the Nizārī communities of India and other regions. Khayrkhwāh, for instance, refers to the pilgrimages of the Indian *dāʿī*s for seeing the imam at Anjudān, also noting that the Nizārī Khojas by then

greatly outnumbered their Persian co-religionists.[116] The *Pandiyāt-i javānmardī* was in due course translated into Sindhī and Gujarātī and transcribed in Khojkī for the benefit of the Nizārī Khojas.

Meanwhile, Imām Shāh had been succeeded in Gujarāt by his son Nar (Nūr) Muḥammad. Imām Shāh himself had apparently remained loyal to the imams in Persia, but Nar Muḥammad seceded from the Nizārī Khoja community, founding an independent sect known as the Imām-Shāhīs, named after his father. At an unknown date not long after 919/1513, Nar Muḥammad demanded that the *dassondh* or tithes should henceforth be delivered to him in Gujarāt, instead of being sent through Sind to the imam in Persia. Nar Muḥammad now in fact claimed the imamate for himself, and, retrospectively, for his father by claiming to represent the incarnation of the imam, a concept familiar to Hindus and the contemporary Khojas. This caused a schism in the Nizārī community of Gujarāt. In particular, Nar Muḥammad's requests and claims were rejected by a certain Kheta, who was the *mukhi* of some 18,000 converted Hindus. But the majority of Nar Muḥammad's followers in Gujarāt sided with him and formed the separate Imām-Shāhī sect, also known as Satpanthī. A minority of Nar Muḥammad's earlier followers, together with the bulk of the Nizārīs of Gujarāt, remained loyal to the Nizārī imams and the main Satpanth *daʿwa* in India. Nar Muḥammad died in 940/1533–1534, and was buried in his father's mausoleum in Pīrāna. The Imām-Shāhīs, who produced their own version of the *ginān*s, soon denied any connection with Ismāʿīlism, though they continued to acknowledge the line of the Ismāʿīlī imams until Islām Shāh, the thirtieth Qāsim-Shāhī Nizārī imam. They do not, however, recognize some of the Nizārī imams, such as Rukn al-Dīn Khurshāh, Muḥammad b. Islām Shāh, and the latter's successors until the schism. They claim that the early *pīr*s, until Ḥasan Kabīr al-Dīn, were in fact Twelver Shīʿīs. They do not acknowledge Tāj al-Dīn as one of their *pīr*s, and Nar Muḥammad is regarded as their last imam.

After Nar Muḥammad, there occurred several splits in the Imām-Shāhī community owing to succession disputes over the position of the *pīr*. Different factions followed different lines of *pīr*s from amongst Nar Muḥammad's descendants. In Awrangzīb's reign, the *sajjāda-nishīn* or leader of the Imām-Shāhī community centred in Pīrāna was a certain Shāhjī Mīrān Shāh. In 1067/1657, he succeeded his father, Muḥammad Shāh, a descendant of Nar Muḥammad's son Saʿīd Khān, as the *pīr* of the so-called Āṭhṭhiyā branch of the sect. Having heard about the heretical beliefs of Shāhjī, Awrangzīb summoned the aged saint to have his beliefs examined by the Sunnī jurists of his court. Shāhjī was forced to set off for Awrangzīb's court by the local governor of Gujarāt. But he died on the way, possibly poisoning himself, near Pīrāna or in Aḥmadābād. Thereupon, Shāhjī's numerous followers, especially from amongst the Matiya Kanbis caste, launched

a revolt and seized the fort of Broach.[117] They proclaimed Shāhjī Mīrān's son and successor, Sayyid Muḥammad Shāh (d. ca. 1130/1718), as king of Broach. This rebellion, which occurred around 1100/1688–1689, was eventually suppressed by Awrangzīb. The leadership of this Imām-Shāhī group remained in the hands of Shāhjī's direct descendants until Bāqir ʿAlī, the last *pīr* of the Āṭhṭhiyā, who died around 1251/1835. Shāhjī Mīrān's wife, Rājī Ṭāhira, founded a separate branch of the Imām-Shāhīs. The Imām-Shāhīs, through their various branches, have tended to revert towards Hinduism. The adherents of this syncretist sect, who are now mainly located in the rural communities of Gujarāt, Khāndesh and western Madhya Pradesh, near Burhānpūr, consider themselves chiefly as Twelver Shīʿīs or Sunnīs rather than Ismāʿīlīs.

In the aftermath of the dissensions in the Khoja community, the imams evidently appointed one more *pīr*, after Taj al-Dīn (and the *Pandiyāt-i javānmardī*). This *pīr*, named Dādū, was sent in the second half of the 10th/16th century to Sind for the purpose of preventing the reversion of the Nizārī Khojas to Hinduism or their conversion to Sunnism, the dominant religions of the contemporary Indo-Muslim society. Around 992/1584, however, Dādū was obliged to leave for Navanagar (Jamnagar) in Gujarāt, where he settled down with some of the Sindhī Nizārīs who had fled with him. Subsequently, Dādū moved to Bhuj, where he died in 1001/1593. Dādū played an important role in reorganizing the Indian Nizārī community and in strengthening the ties of that community with the imam and the central *daʿwa* headquarters in Anjudān. Dādū's name is, however, omitted from the later lists of the Satpanth *pīr*s. With the ending of the line of *pīr*s, the imams came to be represented locally in India by *wakīl*s and *bāwā*s. The latter term probably represents the Khojkī pronunciation of the Turkish and Persian word *bābā*, meaning father, and used also as an honorific for older men. Dissatisfied with the dynasty of *pīr*s, the imams of the Anjudān period now attempted to acquire more direct control over the Nizārī Khojas. One of the most important duties of the *wakīl* and other local representatives of the imams was the collection of the religious dues and their proper transference to the central treasury of the *daʿwa* in Persia, located at the imam's place of residence. At the same time, some local families of Sayyids, that is, descendants of Pīr Ḥasan Kabīr al-Dīn, maintained their influence in the Khoja community, sometimes holding the position of *wakīl*. Remaining faithful to the imams, they also conducted the *daʿwa* on their behalf and performed certain teaching functions in the Khoja community. The Kadiwala Sayyids, who also composed *ginān*s, represent one of the most important families of such Sayyids. They are still active in Sind. Their ancestor, Sayyid Fāḍil Shāh, a descendant of Raḥmat Allāh b. Ḥasan Kabīr al-Dīn, was originally active in the town of Kadi in Cutch, Gujarāt, around the middle of the 11th/17th century, before the family moved to Sind. In Sind, the family eventually settled

around 1194/1780 in Tando Muḥammad Khān, where the Kadiwala Sayyids still reside.

Meanwhile, the Nizārī *daʿwa* continued in Gujarāt. One group of Khojas in Gujarāt, who remained loyal to the imams and their representatives in India, came to be known as Mōmnas, a designation derived from the word *muʾmin*. This term has also been used in reference to some of the Imām-Shāhī groups.[118] The Nizārī Mōmnas allege that in time they came to obey the Kadiwala Sayyid Fāḍil Shāh, who collected their tithes and sent them to Persia. Pīr Mashāyikh and Ḥasan Pīr, sons of Sayyid Fāḍil, played important roles amongst the Nizārī Mōmnas of northern Gujarāt. According to the Nizārī Mōmna tradition, Mashāyikh was designated as the local head of the Nizārī *jamāʿat* or community in northern Gujarāt, where he attempted to suppress the Hindu practices of the Khojas. Mashāyikh eventually settled down in Aḥmadābād and asserted his independence from the *daʿwa* headquarters in Anjudān. He kept the tithes collected in the community for himself and also renounced his allegiance to the imam in Persia. Indeed, some sources report that he even converted to Sunnism and visited Awrangzīb in the Deccan. Pīr Mashāyikh is also said to have sided with this Mughal emperor against the Shīʿī rulers of Bījāpūr. Many of Mashāyikh's adherents, who later followed his descendants, converted to Sunnism, while the Nizārī Mōmnas came to support the Kadiwala Sayyids. Pīr Mashāyikh died in 1108/1697 in Aḥmadābād, and his followers later quarrelled as to whether he had been a Sunnī or a Shīʿī, causing further divisions. The matter is obscure, as Mashāyikh's writings reflect both Sunnī and Shīʿī tendencies. Azim Nanji has made the interesting suggestion that Pīr Mashāyikh may in fact have transferred his allegiance to the Muḥammad-Shāhī Nizārī imams, who then resided in the Deccan, professing Sunnism for the purpose of *taqiyya*.[119] Pīr Mashāyikh's brother Ḥasan, who was active in Kathiawar, remained loyal to the Nizārī imam and became the saint of the Nizārī Mōmnas. In addition to his mausoleum in Thanapipli near Jūnāgarh, the Nizārī Khojas and Mōmnas in 1129/1717 constructed a shrine in Ganod, Gujarāt, as a tribute to Ḥasan Pīr. The Mōmnas, now found chiefly in Gujarāt, are sub-divided into various groups adhering to Sunnism, Twelver Shīʿism, Nizārī Shīʿism, and admixtures of these traditions.

The origins and early development of the particular form of Ismāʿīlism known as Satpanth, and its religious literature, the *ginān*s, remain obscure. In particular, it not known whether Satpanth Ismāʿīlism as it developed in South Asia resulted from the conversion policies of the early *pīr*s or whether it represented an indigenous tradition that had evolved gradually over several centuries from Fāṭimid times, with the Nizārī missionaries or preacher-saints adapting their preaching to an existing religious situation. The weight of evidence favours the latter alternative. Ismāʿīlism survived in a subdued form in Sind after the collapse of the

Ismāʿīlī principality of Multān and the persecution of the Ismāʿīlīs there by Sultan Maḥmūd of Ghazna at the beginning of the 5th/11th century. But nothing is known about its particular form, while the Ismāʿīlīs of Sind and surrounding areas evidently remained outside the Nizārī–Mustaʿlī boundaries until the late Alamūt period, which was similar to the situation of the Central Asian Ismāʿīlīs. Under the circumstances, modern scholars of Satpanth have generally attributed the mixed, Hindu–Muslim, interfacing of this Ismāʿīlī tradition to the preaching strategy of the *pīr*s, who are held to have designed suitable Hindu-oriented policies for the purpose of converting Hindus to Ismāʿīlism.[120] According to this view, not readily substantiable on the basis of available evidence, Satpanth Ismāʿīlism is said to have evolved primarily out of the ingenious conversion policies of *pīr*s, who aimed to make their message understandable and attractive to a Hindu audience concentrated mainly in rural areas. Be that as it may, Satpanth Ismāʿīlism does represent an indigenous tradition reflecting certain historical, social, cultural and political circumstances prevailing in medieval India, especially in Sind and other northern areas of the subcontinent. The background of Satpanth, especially in terms of thematic admixtures, may indeed have already existed by the time the Nizārī *pīr*s became active in Sind in the late Alamūt period. Thus, the *pīr*s themselves may have adapted their policies to an existing and ongoing situation.

At any rate, the Nizārī *daʿwa* was reinvigorated in Sind by a succession of *pīr*s, culminating in the successes of the Anjudān period when the imams played a more direct role in the affairs of the Nizārī Khoja community. On the evidence of the *ginān*s, however, the *pīr*s did attempt to maximize the appeal of their preaching in a Hindu ambience, for the Nizārī *daʿwa* in India was addressed mainly to the rural, and largely uneducated, lower castes. Therefore, the *pīr*s from early on turned to Indian vernaculars, rather than the Arabic and Persian used by the educated classes, in order to enhance the effectiveness and popularity of their message. For the same reason, the *pīr*s used Hindu idioms and mythology, interfacing their Islamic and Ismāʿīlī tenets with myths, images and symbols already familiar to the Hindus. In other words, according to this view, the *pīr*s adopted a strategy of acculturation that proved very successful and won large numbers of converts from amongst Sind's lower castes. In time, Satpanth Ismāʿīlism developed its own set of themes and theological concepts emanating from an interfacing of Hinduism with Ismāʿīlī Shīʿism and a number of other traditions and mystical movements prevalent in the Indo-Muslim milieux of India, including Sufism, Tantrism and the Bhakti tradition.

The Hindu cover of the Nizārī Khojas, as expressed by Hindu elements in the Satpanth tradition, in addition to encouraging conversions, also served *taqiyya* purposes and made the Khojas less conspicuous in their predominantly Hindu

and Sunnī environments. In a sense, then, Satpanth Ismāʿīlism represented a complex form of dissimulation and acculturation adapted to the religious, social, cultural and political realities of the Indian subcontinent. In this context, dissimulation meant something much more than the concealment of one's true religious identity or superficial adoption of an exterior guise. It involved, in fact, the creative application of *taqiyya* through a complex process of indigenization, adhesion and syncretism.[121] All this explains why the Satpanth tradition of the Nizārī Khojas differs significantly from the Nizārī traditions elaborated in Central Asia, Persia and Syria.

The Satpanth tradition drew on a multitude of indigenous concepts and motifs prevalent in the Indo-Muslim context. The teachings of Satpanth Ismāʿīlism are abundantly reflected in the *ginān* literature. The *pīr*s transformed Hindu mythology and motifs into narratives explaining their Ismāʿīlī teachings.[122] In particular, they expounded within a Hindu framework the doctrine of the imamate as held by the Nizārī Ismāʿīlīs of the post-*qiyāma* times. This found expression in an important *ginān* entitled *Dasa Avatāra*, which has been recorded in three separate versions attributed to Pīr Shams al-Dīn, Pīr Ṣadr al-Dīn and Imām Shāh.[123] The *Dasa Avatāra*, which like other *ginān*s with strong Hindu influences is no longer in use in the Nizārī Khoja community, presents the imam as the long-awaited saviour within a Vaishnavite framework concerning the ten descents (*dasa avatāra*) of the Hindu deity Vishnu through the ages.

The *pīr*s condemned idol worship, but a variety of correspondences were established in some *ginān*s between Hindu and Islamic concepts and figures, facilitating the transformation of the religious identity of the converts from Hinduism to Satpanth Ismāʿīlism. The *pīr*s taught that it was only through recognition of the 'true path' (*sat panth*) that the converts would be liberated from the Hindu cycles of rebirth and attain salvation in Paradise. The Qurʾān was represented as the last of the Vedas or sacred scriptures, whose true meaning was known only to the *pīr*s representing the imams. The *ginān*s, indeed, portray the *pīr* as the 'true guide' (*sat guru*) who can lead the faithful in their spiritual quest in order to attain knowledge of the imam and the true path to salvation. All this explains the particular reverence the Nizārī Khojas hold for the *pīr*s and their teachings as expounded in the *ginān*s.

Satpanth Ismāʿīlism did not always evolve coherently and progressively in the Indian subcontinent. Recent research has shown that, in addition to secessionary movements like that of the Imām-Shāhīs, certain communities which originally may have adhered to Satpanth Ismāʿīlism did revert to Hinduism. For instance, this complex phenomenon seems to have occurred in the case of the Kāmaḍ or Kāmaḍiyya of Rajasthan, the untouchable worshippers of a deified saint known as Ramdev Pīr.[124] Removed from the religious centres of Satpanth in Uchchh

and Multān, and perhaps originally converted only in a superficial or incomplete manner, the Kāmaḍ experienced a process of 're-Hinduization', redefining and shifting their identity. In the event, they completely forgot their Satpanth Ismāʿīlī heritage, while their devotional poems are replete with Ismāʿīlī references. As a different case of shifting identities, it may be noted that many isolated Persian Nizārī groups dissimulating as Twelver Shīʿīs eventually became fully integrated into their predominantly Twelver Shīʿī environment of post-Ṣafawid times.

The Muḥammad-Shāhī imams and the Nizārīs of Central Asia

The available information on the Muḥammad-Shāhī Nizārī imams and their *daʿwa* activities is meagre. The bulk of the Nizārī community in Syria adhered, until the latter part of the nineteenth century, to this line of imams. There were large numbers of Muḥammad-Shāhīs, at least through the 10th/16th century, in Persia, especially in Daylam, as well as in Afghanistan and the adjacent areas in Badakhshan and the upper Oxus. With the migration of the Muḥammad-Shāhī imams to India early in the 10th/16th century, this Nizārī subgroup acquired followers also on the Indian subcontinent for a few centuries. In the absence of adequate sectarian sources, however, most of the Muḥammad-Shāhī imams continue to remain obscure figures, with only their names having been preserved in oral traditions especially as handed down by the Syrian Nizārīs.[125] We have already made references to Muḥammad Shāh b. Muʾmin Shāh, the twenty-seventh imam of this line, who may be identified with Khudāwand Muḥammad. The latter led his Nizārī followers in Daylam, often from Alamūt, and played an active part in that region's alliances and conflicts until he was exiled to Sulṭāniyya by Tīmūr. Khudāwand Muḥammad's descendants, including perhaps his immediate successors, lived in Sulṭāniyya until the final decades of the 9th/15th century. Meanwhile, Muḥammad Shāh b. Muʾmin Shāh had been succeeded by his son Raḍī al-Dīn (d. 838/1434). The latter imam was, in turn, succeeded by Ṭāhir b. Raḍī al-Dīn (d. 868/1463–1464) and Raḍī al-Dīn II b. Ṭāhir, the thirtieth imam of this line and the father of the celebrated Shāh Ṭāhir Dakkanī. Imam Raḍī al-Dīn II may perhaps be identified with Shāh Raḍī al-Dīn, the Nizārī leader who early in the 10th/16th century appeared in Badakhshan, a mountainous region situated on the left bank of the upper reaches of the Oxus (Āmū Daryā), or more accurately of the Panj, the source of the Oxus.

The Ismāʿīlīs of Badakhshan and other parts of Central Asia, who remained particularly devoted to Nāṣir-i Khusraw, had remained outside the Nizārī–Mustaʿlī disputation and the confines of the Nizārī state. They acknowledged the Nizārī

daʿwa sometime during the late Alamūt period, as a result of the activities of *dāʿī*s sent from Quhistān. This is essentially corroborated by the local traditions of the Nizārīs of Badakhshan who place the beginning of the Nizārī *daʿwa* there in the middle of the 6th/12th century.[126] According to the tradition preserved in Shughnān, the main district of Badakhshan, the Nizārī *daʿwa* was begun by two *dāʿī*s sent by the Nizārī imams of the Alamūt period. The first of these *dāʿī*s, a certain Sayyid Shāh Malang, went to Shughnān from Khurāsān and took control of the area by deposing its ruler. Shāh Malang was followed by a second Nizārī *dāʿī*, Mīr Sayyid Ḥasan Shāh Khāmūsh, who was a Ḥusaynid ʿAlid tracing his descent to the Imam Mūsā al-Kāẓim. These *dāʿī*s founded the local dynasties of *pīr*s and *mīr*s who ruled over Shughnān, Rūshān and other districts of Badakhshan until modern times. Meanwhile, Badakhshan, protected by the Pamirs and the Hindu Kush mountains, escaped the Mongol catastrophe and remained in the hands of its own local rulers. The region was annexed to the Tīmūrid empire in the time of Tīmūr's great-grandson Abū Saʿīd (855–873/1451–1469). Still later, at the beginning of the 10th/16th century, Badakhshan was conquered by the Özbegs, whose rule was persistently resisted by different local dynasties, including the Ismāʿīlī *mīr*s of Shughnān and the lesser Tīmūrids led by a certain *amīr* Mīrzā Khān (d. 926/1520). It was under these chaotic circumstances that, in 913/1507, the already-mentioned Shāh Raḍī al-Dīn b. Ṭāhir, a Nizārī dignitary who had earlier led the Quhistānī Nizārīs and who may be identified with the thirtieth imam of the Muḥammad-Shāhīs, came from Sīstān to Badakhshan.[127] With the help of the local Nizārīs, he established his rule over a large part of Badakhshan. In the midst of the quarrels that soon broke out amongst his supporters, however, Shāh Raḍī al-Dīn was killed in the spring of 915/1509 and his head was taken to Mīrzā Khān, the local Tīmūrid ruler who resided at the fortress of Ẓafar situated on the left bank of the Kokcha. After defeating another local ruler called Zubayr Rāghī, Mīrzā Khān and his Tīmūrid successors severely persecuted the Nizārīs of Badakhshan who then belonged to the Muḥammad-Shāhī branch.

Imam Raḍī al-Dīn II was succeeded by his son Shāh Ṭāhir al-Ḥusaynī Dakkanī, the thirty-first and the most famous imam of the Muḥammad-Shāhī line. Shāh Ṭāhir was a learned theologian as well as a poet, a stylist and an accomplished diplomat who rendered valuable services to the Niẓām-Shāhī dynasty of Aḥmadnagar in the Deccan. The most detailed account of this imam is related by Muḥammad Qāsim Hindū Shāh Astarābādī, better known as Firishta, in his well-known work entitled *Gulshan-i Ibrāhīmī*, commonly called *Ta'rīkh-i Firishta*, a general history of India completed in 1015/1606–1607.[128] Firishta, who was aware of Shāh Ṭāhir's position as a Nizārī Ismāʿīlī imam, states that his ancestors had acquired a large following in Persia, where they resided in a locality called Khund

(Khwānd) near Qazwīn. In time, Shāh Ṭāhir became the *sajjāda-nishīn* or head of his family and following. He was a highly gifted personality and attained much popularity due to his learning and piety, eclipsing his predecessors. The Ṣafawid Shāh Ismāʿīl, too, heard about Shāh Ṭāhir and became apprehensive of his popularity. But through the intercession of Mīrzā Ḥusayn Iṣfahānī, an influential dignitary at the Ṣafawid court and a supporter of Shāh Ṭāhir, the Nizārī imam was invited to join other scholars at Shāh Ismāʿīl's court in Sulṭāniyya. However, Shāh Ṭāhir's religious following began to arouse Shāh Ismāʿīl's suspicion. Once again, on the intercession of Mīrzā Ḥusayn Iṣfahānī, who may have been a secret convert to Nizārī Ismāʿīlism of the Muḥammad-Shāhī faction, Shāh Ṭāhir was permitted to settle down in Kāshān. There, Shāh Ṭāhir became a religious teacher (*mudarris*) at the local theological seminary and acquired many students and disciples. It seems that many of Shāh Ṭāhir's followers (*murīdān*) proceeded to Kāshān to attend the lectures of their master. Shāh Ṭāhir's success soon aroused the hostility of the local officials and the Twelver Shīʿī scholars, who forwarded malicious reports to Shāh Ismāʿīl about the 'heretical' teachings of Shāh Ṭāhir. He was also accused of leading the Ismāʿīlīs and other heretical sectarians and of corresponding with foreign rulers against the Ṣafawid monarch.

Shāh Ismāʿīl, who had been waiting for a suitable opportunity to deal with Shāh Ṭāhir, now issued an order for the imam's execution. But Shāh Ṭāhir was warned in time by his friend at the Ṣafawid court, Mīrzā Ḥusayn Iṣfahānī. In 926/1520, the imam fled from Kāshān with his family, barely missing the guards who had been sent after him. He went to Fārs and then sailed to India, landing in Goa. Shāh Ṭāhir immediately proceeded to the court of Ismāʿīl ʿĀdil Shāh (916–941/1510–1534), who ruled from Bījāpūr over one of the five states succeeding the Bahmanid kingdom in the Deccan. Ismāʿīl's father Yūsuf was the first Muslim ruler in India to adopt Shīʿism as the religion of his state. But Ismāʿīl ʿĀdil Shāh himself did not have deep religious convictions and did not pay any particular attention to Shāh Ṭāhir. Disappointed about his poor reception at Bījāpūr, the imam then decided to make the pilgrimage to Mecca and to the Shīʿī shrines in ʿIrāq before returning to Persia. On his way to the seaport, Shāh Ṭāhir stopped at the fort of Paranda where he came in contact with Khwāja Jahān, the famous vizier of the Bahmanid kings who was then in the service of the Niẓām-Shāhs of Aḥmadnagar, another of the dynasties succeeding the Bahmanids. At Paranda, Shāh Ṭāhir also met Pīr Muḥammad Shīrwānī, a Ḥanafī Sunnī scholar of Aḥmadnagar who had been sent by Burhān I Niẓām Shāh (915–961/1509–1554) on some errand to Khwāja Jahān. Pīr Muḥammad was much impressed by Shāh Ṭāhir's scholarship and reported the matter to Burhān Niẓām Shāh, who invited Shāh Ṭāhir to Aḥmadnagar.

In 928/1522, Shāh Ṭāhir arrived in Aḥmadnagar, the capital of the Niẓām-Shāhī state, which was to become his permanent abode. Soon Shāh Ṭāhir became

the most trusted adviser of Burhān Niẓām Shāh and attained a highly privileged position at his court. At the request of Burhān Niẓām Shāh, Shāh Ṭāhir started delivering weekly lectures on different religious subjects inside the fort of Aḥmadnagar. These sessions, attended by numerous scholars and the ruler himself, spread Shāh Ṭāhir's fame throughout the Deccan. Firishta also relates interesting details on Shāh Ṭāhir's miraculous healing of Burhān Niẓām Shāh's young son, ʿAbd al-Qādir, which then led to the conversion of Burhān I from Sunnism to Shīʿism. The sources specify that Burhān Niẓām Shāh adopted Ithnāʿasharī Shīʿism, which, according to all authorities, was the form of Shīʿism propagated from the beginning by Shāh Ṭāhir. The propagation of Twelver Shīʿism by a Nizārī imam may seem rather strange. One must bear in mind, however, that Shāh Ṭāhir and other Nizārī leaders of the period were still obliged to observe *taqiyya* very strictly. It is certain that Shāh Ṭāhir propagated his form of Nizārī Ismāʿīlism in the guise of Twelver Shīʿism, which was more acceptable to the Muslim rulers of India, who were interested in cultivating friendly relations with the Twelver Shīʿī Ṣafawid dynasty of Persia. This may explain why he wrote several commentaries on the theological works of well-known Twelver Shīʿī scholars. Furthermore, like his rivals in the Qāsim-Shāhī line, Shāh Ṭāhir apparently expressed his Nizārī ideas in the guise of Sufism, though specific details are lacking on this matter. In this connection, it may be recalled that the authorship of the already-cited Ismāʿīlī commentary on the *Gulshan-i rāz* is sometimes attributed to Shāh Ṭāhir. At any rate, these associations are thoroughly reflected in the *Lamaʿāt al-ṭāhirīn*, a versified Muḥammad-Shāhī treatise composed in the Deccan around 1110/1698 by a certain Ghulām ʿAlī b. Muḥammad.[129] In the *Lamaʿāt*, the only Muḥammad-Shāhī work preserved in India, the author clearly camouflages his scattered Nizārī ideas under Ithnāʿasharī and Sufi expressions. He often eulogizes the twelve imams of the Ithnāʿasharīs whilst also alluding to the imams of the Muḥammad-Shāhī line.

Shāh Ṭāhir achieved his greatest religious success in the Deccan when Burhān Niẓām Shāh, shortly after his own conversion, proclaimed Twelver Shīʿism as the official religion of the Niẓām-Shāhī state in 944/1537. The ruler of Aḥmadnagar easily succeeded, with Shāh Ṭāhir's guidance, in subduing a rebellion led by Pīr Muḥammad Shīrwānī against this proclamation. Henceforth, an increasing number of Shīʿī scholars, including Shāh Ṭāhir's own brother Shāh Jaʿfar, gathered at Burhān I's court and received his patronage. The Ṣafawid court in Persia rejoiced at hearing about the official endorsement of Shīʿism in the Niẓām-Shāhī state, and Shāh Ṭahmāsp sent an emissary carrying presents to Burhān Niẓām Shāh. In return, Shāh Ṭāhir's son and future successor, Ḥaydar, was despatched on a goodwill mission from Aḥmadnagar to Persia. Firishta and other authorities relate many details of the diplomatic services rendered by Shāh Ṭāhir to Burhān

Niẓām Shāh. This Muḥammad-Shāhī Nizārī imam participated during more than two decades in many negotiations and mediations on behalf of his patron with the surrounding Muslim rulers in Gujarāt, Bījāpūr, Golconda and Bīdar. After an imamate of some forty years, Shāh Ṭāhir died in Aḥmadnagar between 952/1545–1546, the year mentioned by the contemporary Ṣafawid prince Sām Mīrzā, and 956/1549, the most probable date, recorded by Firishta. His remains were later transferred to Karbalāʾ and buried in the Imam al-Ḥusayn's shrine. Shāh Ṭāhir was the author of numerous works of theology and jurisprudence, which do not seem to be extant, although many of his poems have been preserved.

Shāh Ṭāhir was succeeded by his eldest son Shāh Ḥaydar, who at the time of his father's death was still at the court of Shāh Ṭahmāsp in Persia. Soon after, he returned to Aḥmadnagar as the *sajjāda-nishīn* of his community and acquired a respectful position at the court of the Niẓām-Shāhs. Besides Ḥaydar, Shāh Ṭāhir had three other sons, Shāh Rafīʿ al-Dīn Ḥusayn, Shāh Abu'l-Ḥasan and Shāh Abū Ṭālib, who had been born in India. They, too, received honour and respect at the courts of the ʿĀdil-Shāhs and other rulers of the Deccan. The Muḥammad-Shāhī imamate was handed down amongst the descendants of Shāh Ḥaydar (d. 994/1586), who continued to live in Aḥmadnagar and later in Awrangābād. According to the traditions of the Syrian Muḥammad-Shāhīs, the successors of Shāh Ḥaydar were Ṣadr al-Dīn Muḥammad (d. 1032/1622), Muʿīn al-Dīn (d. 1054/1644), ʿAṭiyyat Allāh, also known as Khudāybakhsh, who apparently took up residence in Badakhshan and died there in 1074/1663, ʿAzīz Shāh, who died at Awrangābād in 1103/1691, Muʿīn al-Dīn II (d. 1127/1715), Amīr Muḥammad al-Musharraf (d. 1178/1764), Ḥaydar (d. 1201/1786) and Amīr Muḥammad al-Bāqir. The last, counted as the fortieth in the series, was evidently the final Muḥammad-Shāhī imam.

Amīr Muḥammad al-Bāqir had his last contact with his Syrian followers in Shaʿbān 1210/February 1796.[130] The Syrian Nizārī community continued to acknowledge the Muḥammad-Shāhī imams, but after searching in vain in India to locate the descendants of Amīr Muḥammad al-Bāqir, in 1304/1887 the majority of the Syrian Muḥammad-Shāhī Nizārīs transferred their allegiance to the Qāsim-Shāhī line, then represented by Aga Khan III. With the settlement of the Muḥammad-Shāhī imams in the Deccan, the religious following of this line in Persia disintegrated in the course of the 10th/16th century. While some Persian Muḥammad-Shāhīs may have joined the Qāsim-Shāhī faction, the majority of the members of this Nizārī subgroup probably embraced Twelver Shīʿism, originally espoused as a form of *taqiyya*, and the 'politically correct' form of Shīʿism adopted as the official religion of Ṣafawid Persia. In this connection it is interesting to note that the members of the Shāh-Ṭāhirī family, who adhere to Twelver Shīʿism and currently reside in Qumm and some other towns in

Persia, claim descent from Shāh Ṭāhir. The Muḥammad-Shāhī imams continued to have supporters in Badakhshan and the Kābul area at least through the 11th/17th century. But by the beginning of the 13th/19th century, the Nizārīs of the upper Oxus region and Afghanistan seem to have generally adhered to the Qāsim-Shāhī line. The Nizārī communities of Badakhshan, including those formerly under Soviet domination, had continued to be led by their local dynasties of *pīr*s. In India, too, the followers of the Muḥammad-Shāhī line gradually disappeared after the 11th/17th century, following the general persecution of the Shīʿīs in the Deccan by Awrangzīb. At present, there do not seem to be any Muḥammad-Shāhīs in India. The only known members of this Nizārī group are currently located in Syria, centred in Maṣyāf and Qadmūs. These Muḥammad-Shāhīs, still awaiting the reappearance of their hidden imam (presumably Amīr Muḥammad al-Bāqir), have always followed the Shāfiʿī *madhhab* in the legal affairs of their community. Locally known as the Jaʿfariyya, today these sole Syrian remnants of the Muḥammad-Shāhī Nizārīs number around 15,000 persons.

The later Qāsim-Shāhī Nizārī imams

In the meantime, the Qāsim-Shāhī imams had succeeded by the end of the 11th/17th century in gaining the allegiance of the Nizārī majority in Afghanistan, Central Asia and the Indian subcontinent. Khalīl Allāh II, the thirty-ninth imam of this line, died in 1090/1680 and was succeeded by his son Shāh Nizār II.[131] By that time, the Qāsim-Shāhī imams had developed deep roots in central Persia, in Maḥallāt and other localities around Anjudān. Sometime during the earliest decades of his imamate (1090–1134/1680–1722) and for unknown reasons, Shāh Nizār transferred his residence and the headquarters of the *daʿwa* to Kahak, a village situated about thirty-five kilometres northeast of Anjudān and northwest of Maḥallāt. Anjudān, separated from Kahak by a number of shallow ranges, was now abandoned permanently by the imams. This marked the end of the Anjudān period in Nizārī Ismāʿīlism, which had lasted about two centuries. Shāh Nizār and his immediate successor lived in Kahak, which was later abandoned as the residence of the imams. However, they maintained a foothold in Kahak at least until the beginning of the 13th/19th century. Kahak is now an insignificant and isolated village, with an Ithnāʿasharī population of about 500 persons. But the locality seems to have enjoyed greater importance in former times as a resting place for caravans with a Ṣafawid caravanserai on the road between Qumm and Arāk.

The Qāsim-Shāhī imams evidently maintained some sort of association with the Niʿmat Allāhī Sufi order intermittently from Anjudān times, but the earliest



16. The restored mausoleum of Imam Shāh Nizār II, Kahak

definite evidence of this association can be traced back only to Shāh Nizār. He had close connections with this Sufi order, which at the time had not yet been revived in Persia, and adopted the *ṭarīqa* name of ʿAṭāʾAllāh. This also explains why his followers in certain parts of Kirmān came to be known as ʿAṭāʾAllāhīs.[132] These Nizārīs, originally nomadic tribesmen in Khurāsān, were settled in the district of Sīrjān and elsewhere in Kirmān on Shāh Nizār's own initiative. Imam Shāh Nizār II died, according to the inscription of his tombstone, in Dhu'l-Ḥijja 1134/September 1722, shortly before the Afghan invasion of Persia which extended also to Kahak. Nizārī sources place his death almost a century earlier, in 1038/1628. His mausoleum is still preserved at the western end of Kahak. The building, which is in fact a part of the former residence of the imam, has several chambers, each one containing a few graves. In the compound and in its adjacent garden there are several tombstones with inscriptions in Khojkī Sindhī characters, attesting to the pilgrimage of the Nizārī Khojas who regularly embarked on the long and dangerous journey from India to see their imam. Kahak is indeed cited in some *ginān*s as the abode of the Ismāʿīlī imams. By that time, close relations had developed between the Nizārī imams and their Khoja followers in Sind, Panjāb, Gujarāt and elsewhere in the Indian subcontinent. Shāh Nizār's mausoleum was restored, poorly, at the cost of destroying its carved wooden doors and other original fixtures, in 1966. A stone platform, discovered in 1937 by Ivanow, which



17. The tombstone of Imam Shāh Nizār II (d. 1134/1722), Kahak

was then situated in the former gardens of Shāh Nizār's residence, was no longer *in situ* when the author visited Kahak in 1976. It has been related that Shāh Nizār used to sit on this platform when he received his followers.

Shāh Nizār II was succeeded by his son Sayyid ʿAlī, whose grave is located in the largest chamber of the mausoleum at Kahak. According to his tombstone, Sayyid

ʿAlī died in 1167/1754 and he was, in turn, succeeded by Sayyid Ḥasan ʿAlī, also known as Sayyid Ḥasan Beg, the forty-second imam of his line. It was during Ḥasan ʿAlī's imamate that Nādir Shāh Afshār expelled the Afghan invaders from Persia, overthrew the Ṣafawid dynasty and proclaimed himself king, founding the short-lived Afshārid dynasty. Towards the end of Nādir Shāh's reign (1148–1160/1736–1747), Imam Ḥasan ʿAlī moved to Shahr-i Bābak in Kirmān, situated about 180 kilometres southwest of the city of Kirmān, between Rafsanjān and Sīrjān. This decision was apparently mainly motivated by the imam's concern for the safety of the Khoja pilgrims coming to Persia and the proper flow of the tithes from India to his treasury. Aḥmad ʿAlī Khān Vazīrī (d. 1295/1878), who wrote a detailed regional history of his native province of Kirmān, relates that in the chaotic conditions of Persia after the downfall of the Ṣafawids, the Khojas who regularly travelled to the Anjudān and Maḥallāt areas to visit their imam and remit to him their religious dues were often plundered and killed between Nāʾīn and Yazd by the Bakhtiyārī tribesmen, in addition to suffering extortion on the route by various officials.[133] Consequently, the imam decided to move to Shahr-i Bābak in southeastern Persia, a location closer to the Persian Gulf ports and the pilgrimage route of his Indian followers. Some Nizārīs already lived in Shahr-i Bābak, and with the imam's arrival there, the town became an important Nizārī centre.

With the improved flow of the tithes of the Khojas, Imam Ḥasan ʿAlī soon acquired extensive properties in Shahr-i Bābak, also establishing a winter residence in the city of Kirmān itself. He was, indeed, the first imam of his line to emerge from concealment and obscurity. He became actively involved in the affairs of Kirmān, and was treated with respect by the Afshārid Shāhrukh who ruled Kirmān province from the time of Nādir Shāh's murder in 1160/1747 until he himself was killed in 1172/1758–1759, when Kirmān was annexed to the territories of Karīm Khān Zand, the founder of another short-lived dynasty in Persia. The close association between Ḥasan ʿAlī and Shāhrukh culminated in the marriage between the imam's daughter and the Afshārid governor's son Luṭf ʿAlī Khān.[134] Imam Ḥasan ʿAlī was succeeded by his son Qāsim ʿAlī (Shāh), also known as Sayyid Jaʿfar, about whom no particular details are mentioned in the sources.[135]

Qāsim ʿAlī's son and successor as the forty-fourth imam of his line, Abu'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī (Shāh), also known as Sayyid Abu'l-Ḥasan Kahakī, became the governor of Kirmān during the Zand period (1163–1209/1750–1794).[136] He played an active part in the province's political life in the turbulent years when Āghā Muḥammad Khān (1193–1212/1779–1797), the future founder of the Qājār dynasty, was challenging Zand rule in various parts of Persia. Imam Abu'l-Ḥasan had friendly relations with Karīm Khān Zand (1164–1193/1751–1779), and the latter's governor of Kirmān, Mīrzā Ḥusayn Khān. The Nizārī imam was treated

most respectfully by Mīrzā Ḥusayn Khān, who placed several towns and districts of Kirmān, such as Sīrjān and Zarand, under his rule. Later, Sayyid Abu'l-Ḥasan advanced to the position of *beglerbegi* or governor of the city of Kirmān. He continued to be popularly referred to by the title of *beglerbegi* even after being appointed by Karīm Khān to the governorship of the entire province of Kirmān around 1170/1756. It has been reported that Abu'l-Ḥasan received, during his imamate, an annual sum of 20,000 *tūmān*s in religious dues from his followers in India. This enabled the imam both to acquire further property in Kirmān and spend generously for the benefit of the Kirmānīs, which won him increasing local popularity. Consequently, he was able to continue as the governor of Kirmān when the Zand dynasty disintegrated on Karīm Khān's death in 1193/1779. In fact, the Nizārī imam henceforth ruled over Kirmān in an independent manner, supporting or opposing various Zand rulers, who during their struggles for the control of Persia were soon confronted by their greatest common enemy, Āghā Muḥammad Khān Qājār. In the succession disputes following Karīm Khān Zand's death, Sayyid Abu'l-Ḥasan lent his support to Karīm Khān's brother Ṣādiq Khān (1193–1195/ 1779–1781), who was assisted by the imam in collecting an army in Kirmān and asserting his authority in Shīrāz, the Zand capital. Ṣādiq Khān reinstated Sayyid Abu'l-Ḥasan as the Zand governor of Kirmān.

Under the chaotic conditions of the time, Sayyid Abu'l-Ḥasan soon lost control over certain parts of Kirmān, including Narmāshīr and the citadel of Bam. The border region between Kirmān and Afghanistan, including Narmāshīr, was invaded by the Afghan and Balūchī forces of Aʿẓam Khān, an *amīr* from Qandahār. Later, Aʿẓam Khān was defeated in battle by an army of 7000 men sent after him by Sayyid Abu'l-Ḥasan. This army was placed under the command of Mīrzā Ṣādiq, Abu'l-Ḥasan's cousin and a capable military commander. Subsequently, when Abu'l-Ḥasan was on one of his visits to Shahr-i Bābak, Aʿẓam Khān once again ravaged the various districts of Kirmān from Narmāshīr and led his forces as far as the gates of the city of Kirmān. This time, Abu'l-Ḥasan personally led his own forces from Shahr-i Bābak and defeated Aʿẓam Khān outside Kirmān. The retreating Afghans managed to hold on to Narmāshīr and a few other border localities in Kirmān. Imam Abu'l-Ḥasan's rule was more seriously endangered when Muḥammad Ḥasan Khān Sīstānī, who held Bam independently, encouraged Luṭf ʿAlī Khān Zand (1203–1209/1789–1794) to invade Kirmān. Luṭf ʿAlī Khān, the grandson of Karīm Khān's brother Ṣādiq and an able military commander, was the last of the Zand rulers of Persia. His father Jaʿfar Khān (1199–1203/1785–1789) had briefly ruled over certain parts of Persia before him. It was during Jaʿfar Khān's reign that Āghā Muḥammad Khān Qājār made himself master of northern Persia, also seizing Iṣfahān and making Tehran his capital in 1200/1786. Āghā Muḥammad Khān and Luṭf ʿAlī Khān struggled

intensely with each other over the throne of Persia, which eventually resulted in the victory of the Qājārs. In Ṣafar 1205/October 1790, Luṭf ʿAlī Khān proceeded to Sīrjān, aiming to capture Shahr-i Bābak, Abu'l-Ḥasan's main stronghold in Kirmān where the imam had numerous adherents amongst the Khurāsānī and ʿAṭāʾ Allāhī inhabitants of the province. The imam also had a fortified and well-provisioned fortress in Shahr-i Bābak which was then guarded by a large number of armed Nizārīs under the command of Mīrzā Ṣādiq. Being informed in Sīrjān of the difficulty of taking Shahr-i Bābak, Luṭf ʿAlī Khān then proceeded towards the city of Kirmān. In view of the fact that only Shīrāz and other parts of Fārs then remained in the hands of the Zands while Āghā Muḥammad Khān was rapidly extending Qājār rule over Persia, Sayyid Abu'l-Ḥasan prudently refused Luṭf ʿAlī Khān admittance to the city, also refusing to present himself before the Zand ruler. He reinforced the city's defences and prepared to withstand a long siege. Due to adverse weather conditions, however, Luṭf ʿAlī Khān was eventually obliged to lift his siege of Kirmān and returned to Shīrāz in Jumādā I 1205/January 1791.

In the meantime, the Niʿmat Allāhī Sufi *ṭarīqa* was revived in Persia by the order's thirty-fourth master, Riḍā ʿAlī Shāh Dakkanī (d. 1211/1796) who, like his predecessors, resided in the Deccan. The Persian Niʿmat Allāhīs, isolated from their spiritual master, had persistently asked their *quṭb* in India to send them a trusted representative. Riḍā ʿAlī Shāh, who was the order's *quṭb* for more than fifty years, eventually despatched one of his most important disciples, Maʿṣūm ʿAlī Shāh, to Persia. Maʿṣūm ʿAlī (d. 1211/1796) arrived in Shīrāz around 1184/1770, and soon acquired a number of devoted disciples, including Nūr ʿAlī Shāh (d. 1212/1797) and a certain young musician called Mīrzā Muḥammad Turbatī, who later became famous under his *ṭarīqa* name of Mushtāq ʿAlī Shāh. After travelling extensively in various parts of Persia and Afghanistan, and suffering persecution at the hands of different Zand rulers and their anti-Sufi *ʿulamāʾ*, Nūr ʿAlī Shāh and Mushtāq ʿAlī Shāh arrived in Māhān in 1200/1785–1786 to be near the shrine of Shāh Niʿmat Allāh. They rapidly acquired a large number of supporters and settled in the city of Kirmān. The arrival of these Sufis in Kirmān also served to revive the ties between the Niʿmat Allāhī *ṭarīqa* and the Nizārī imams.[137] Imam Abu'l-Ḥasan was amongst the numerous notables of Kirmān who supported Nūr ʿAlī and Mushtāq ʿAlī. This imam too had close connections with the Niʿmat Allāhīs, though there is no concrete evidence showing that he was actually initiated into this Sufi order. But Abu'l-Ḥasan's cousin Mīrzā Ṣādiq was initiated, and then was trained by Muẓaffar ʿAlī Shāh (d. 1215/1800), a physician and one of the leading members of the order in Kirmān.

The success of the Niʿmat Allāhī Sufis in Kirmān naturally aroused the envy and enmity of the local Ithnāʿasharī *ʿulamāʾ*, whose efforts to uproot the Sufis were

frustrated by Abu'l-Ḥasan's support for them. Nonetheless, Mullā ʿAbd Allāh, one of the influential *mujtahid*s of Kirmān, persisted in his campaign against the Sufis. He found a suitable opportunity to act when Imam Abu'l-Ḥasan had left the city of Kirmān to restore order in Shahr-i Bābak and Sīrjān, where the Qashqāʾī and Arab tribesmen were menacing the local populace. At the same time, Nūr ʿAlī Shāh himself, the foremost Niʿmat Allāhī of Kirmān, had gone on pilgrimage to the holy shrines of ʿIrāq. In Ramaḍān 1206/May 1792, when Imam Abu'l-Ḥasan and Nūr ʿAlī Shāh were out of the city, Mullā ʿAbd Allāh, while preaching in the Friday mosque of Kirmān, saw Mushtāq ʿAlī Shāh, who had come to say his prayers. Thereupon, Mullā ʿAbd Allāh incited those present to stone Mushtāq to death as an infidel. Mushtāq ʿAlī Shāh was buried near the same mosque, and his mausoleum, known as Mushtāqiyya, is still preserved and visited regularly by Persian dervishes. Imam Abu'l-Ḥasan died later in the same year 1206/1792, and was evidently buried in Mushtāq ʿAlī Shāh's mausoleum.[138] A few years later, Maʿṣūm ʿAlī Shāh, Nūr ʿAlī Shāh, and Muẓaffar ʿAlī Shāh were killed at the instigation of other Ithnāʿasharī *mujtahid*s, notably Muḥammad ʿAlī Bihbahānī (d. 1216/1801–1802). Imam Abu'l-Ḥasan was succeeded briefly as governor of Kirmān by his cousin Mīrzā Ṣādiq. In 1207/1792, Āghā Muḥammad Khān Qājār seized Shīrāz and sent his nephew and future successor Fatḥ ʿAlī Khān to conquer Kirmān. Fatḥ ʿAlī Khān replaced Mīrzā Ṣādiq by his own appointee. Subsequently, Luṭf ʿAlī Khān Zand briefly held Kirmān before losing it permanently to the Qājārs in 1209/1794, when Āghā Muḥammad Khān massacred a large number of Kirmānīs. The local Nizārīs were, however, spared. The Nizārī Sayyids and their families, relatives of the imam, who lived in Shahr-i Bābak, were permitted to move to Kahak, where Āghā Muḥammad Khān gave the imam's family new landed properties in compensation for what they had left behind in Kirmān. A few hundred Nizārī ʿAṭāʾ Allāhī families of the same locality were settled outside of Kirmān.[139] Luṭf ʿAlī Khān, then a fugitive, was captured at Bam and sent to Āghā Muḥammad Khān who had him blinded and then executed in 1209 AH. Āghā Muḥammad Khān, crowned as the first Qājār ruler of Persia in 1210/1796, was himself murdered shortly afterwards in 1212/1797.

Abu'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī was succeeded in the Nizārī imamate by his eldest son Khalīl Allāh ʿAlī, designated also as Shāh Khalīl Allāh (III).[140] Soon after his accession in 1206/1792, Shāh Khalīl Allāh transferred the seat of the imamate from Kirmān to Kahak, where he stayed for about twenty years. Shāh Khalīl Allāh married Bībī Sarkāra, the daughter of Muḥammad Ṣādiq Maḥallātī, who bore the next imam, Āghā Khān I, in 1219/1804 in Kahak. Muḥammad Ṣādiq Maḥallātī, a Nizārī Sayyid who was perhaps a brother of Imam Abu'l-Ḥasan, was a Niʿmat Allāhī Sufi. Initiated by Muẓaffar ʿAlī Shāh, he carried the Sufi name of Ṣidq ʿAlī Shāh. Āghā Khān I's maternal grandfather, who was also a poet, died in 1230/1815, and

was buried in Qumm. Ṣidq ʿAlī Shāh's son Muḥammad ʿAlī, better known by his *ṭarīqa* name of ʿIzzat ʿAlī Shāh, was another prominent Niʿmat Allāhī *darwīsh*. This maternal uncle of Āghā Khān I was initiated into the Niʿmat Allāhī *ṭarīqa* by Majdhūb ʿAlī Shāh (d. 1238/1823), the thirty-eighth *quṭb* of the order.[141] Later, ʿIzzat ʿAlī Shāh developed close relations with Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn Shīrwānī (d. 1253/1837), who carried the Sufi name of Mast ʿAlī Shāh and became the chief successor of Majdhūb ʿAlī Shāh as a *quṭb* of the Niʿmat Allāhīs, who were now split into several branches. ʿIzzat ʿAlī Shāh spent the greater part of his life in Maḥallāt, where the influence of the Nizārī imam was by then extended, and died there around 1245/1829. Although Shāh Khalīl Allāh carried a Niʿmat Allāhī Sufi name, he did not have any active interest in Sufism.

In 1230/1815, Shāh Khalīl Allāh moved to Yazd, situated between Iṣfahān and Kirmān on the route to Balūchistān and Sind. Most probably this decision was motivated by the imam's desire to be yet closer to his Khoja followers, who continued to make the perilous journey to see their imam in Persia. It was at Yazd that two years later, in 1232/1817, the Nizārī imam became a victim of the intrigues of the Ithnāʿasharī authorities and lost his life in the course of a dispute between some of his followers and the local shopkeepers. The Nizārīs involved, who had used violence to settle their differences with the shopkeepers in the market place, took refuge in Shāh Khalīl Allāh's house and refused to emerge. A certain Mullā Ḥusayn Yazdī, who as a Twelver resented the spreading influence of the Nizārīs, collected a mob and attacked the imam's house. In the ensuing uproar Shāh Khalīl Allāh and several of his followers, including a Khoja, were murdered, and the imam's house was plundered. The Qājār ruler ordered his governor of Yazd, Ḥājjī Zamān Khān, to send Mullā Ḥusayn and his accomplices to Tehran for punishment. Shāh Khalīl Allāh had had good relations with the second Qājār monarch, Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh (1212–1250/1797–1834), who is groundlessly reported to have secretly embraced Ismāʿīlism.[142] Mullā Ḥusayn was bastinadoed and his beard was plucked out, but no one was executed for the imam's murder. Shāh Khalīl Allāh, the forty-fifth and last of the Qāsim-Shāhī Nizārī imams to spend his entire imamate of some twenty-five years in Persia, was taken for burial to the holy city of Najaf in ʿIrāq, where a mausoleum was constructed for this imam and some of his relatives and descendants.

The Aga Khans and the modern period in Nizārī history

Shāh Khalīl Allāh III was succeeded by his eldest son Muḥammad Ḥasan, also known as Ḥasan ʿAlī Shāh.[143] On moving to Yazd, Shāh Khalīl Allāh had left his wife, Bībī Sarkāra, and children in Kahak to live on the proceeds of the family

holdings in the Maḥallāt area. However, disputes between the local Nizārīs and Īmānī Khān Farāhānī, who was married to one of the imam's daughters Shāh Bībī and who had been placed in charge of the imam's land holdings, left the family unprovided for. Soon, Ḥasan ʿAlī Shāh and his mother settled down in the nearby town of Qumm, where their situation deteriorated. Ḥasan ʿAlī Shāh was thirteen when his father was murdered and he became the forty-sixth Nizārī imam. Soon after, the youthful imam's mother went to the Qājār court in Tehran to seek justice for her husband and her son. Her pleadings were eventually successful. The instigators of Shāh Khalīl Allāh's murder were, as noted, punished after a fashion. In addition, Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh added to the imam's lands in the Maḥallāt area and gave one of his daughters, Sarv-i Jahān Khānum, in marriage to Ḥasan ʿAlī Shāh.[144] At the same time, the Qājār monarch appointed the imam as governor of Qumm and bestowed on him the honorific title (*laqab*) of Āghā Khān (less commonly but more correctly transcribed as Āqā Khān), meaning lord and master. Henceforth, Ḥasan ʿAlī Shāh became generally known as Āghā Khān Maḥallātī, because of his royal title and the family's deep roots in the Maḥallāt area. The title of Āghā Khān remained hereditary amongst his successors, the Nizārī imams of modern times. This title was in due course simplified in Europe to Aga Khan. Āghā Khān I's mother, who later moved to India, died in Cutch, Gujarāt, in 1267/1851.

Ḥasan ʿAlī Shāh, Āghā Khān I, led a tranquil life and enjoyed honour and respect at the Qājār court until the death of Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh in Jumādā II 1250/October 1834. The Āghā Khān had by then acquired a personal military force, which he used to restore order on his way to Tehran to pay homage to Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh's grandson and successor Muḥammad Shāh Qājār (1250–1264/1834–1848). Soon after his accession, Muḥammad Shāh, in consultation with his chief minister Qāʾim-maqām-i Farāhānī (d. 1251/1835), appointed the Āghā Khān as governor of Kirmān in 1251/1835.[145] On the occasion of this appointment, Qāʾānī (d. 1270/1854), the greatest panegyrist of the Qājār period and a friend of the Āghā Khān, composed a *qaṣīda* praising the imam's virtues.[146] The province of Kirmān was then in the hands of the rebellious sons of Shujāʿ al-Salṭana, a pretender to the Qājār throne, and it was also subject to regular raiding by Afghan and Balūchī bands. Āghā Khān I soon succeeded in restoring law and order in Kirmān without receiving any payments from the Qājār treasury. Both Bam and Narmāshīr, held for a long time by rebellious elements, were also reduced to obedience. In pacifying Kirmān, the Āghā Khān was assisted by the local ʿAṭāʾ Allāhī and Khurāsānī tribesmen who recognized him as their imam. Henceforth, the Āghā Khān's younger brother Abu'l-Ḥasan Khān, known as Sardār (Commander), often acted as the commander of the Āghā Khān's forces.

In time, Āghā Khān I sent an account of his victories and accomplishments to Tehran, but he waited in vain in the expectation of receiving compensatory

payments and further royal favours. And indeed his governorship of Kirmān, despite his services, was short-lived. In 1252/1837, less than two years after his arrival in Kirmān, he was dismissed and recalled to Tehran. He had been replaced as the governor of Kirmān by Fīrūz Mīrzā Nuṣrat al-Dawla, one of the younger brothers of Muḥammad Shāh Qājār. However, the Āghā Khān refused to acknowledge his dismissal and withdrew with his forces into the citadel at Bam. Recalling his brother Sardār Abu'l-Ḥasan Khān from Balūchistān, where he was conducting military campaigns, and his other brother Muḥammad Bāqir Khān from Rāwar, the Āghā Khān prepared to resist the government forces sent against him under the command of Suhrāb Khān. The imam was besieged at Bam for fourteen months, during which time his brother Muḥammad Bāqir Khān was seriously wounded and taken prisoner. When it became evident that further resistance would be futile, the Āghā Khān despatched Sardār Abu'l-Ḥasan Khān to Shīrāz, to appeal to the governor of Fārs, Farīdūn Mīrzā, to intervene on his behalf and arrange for his safe passage out of Kirmān. On Farīdūn Mīrzā's intercession, the Āghā Khān surrendered and emerged from the citadel at Bam, but he was seized and his possessions were plundered by Qājār troops.[147] Āghā Khān I and his dependants were then transferred to the city of Kirmān, where they remained captives for eight months. It was during that period that the Nizārī imam was permitted to receive the religious dues sent to him by the Nizārī deputations from Khurāsān, Badakhshan and India.[148] On Muḥammad Shāh's return from an unsuccessful campaign against Harāt, the Āghā Khān was finally allowed to proceed to Tehran towards the end of 1254/1838. He presented his case before the Qājār monarch, who pardoned him on the condition that he retire peacefully to his family estates at Maḥallāt. After a short stay in Qumm, the Āghā Khān did retreat to Maḥallāt, where he had built a large fortified residential compound for his family and numerous dependants and servants.[149]

The Āghā Khān's dismissal from the governorship of Kirmān was probably occasioned by rivalries for the leadership of the Niʿmat Allāhī order in Persia, rivalries that had appeared after the death of Majdhūb ʿAlī Shāh, the thirty-eighth *quṭb* of the order, in 1238/1823. As already noted, Ḥājjī Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn Shīrwānī, better known by his Sufi name of Mast ʿAlī Shāh, had been recognized as Majdhūb ʿAlī Shāh's successor by the majority of the Niʿmat Allāhīs. According to the Niʿmat Allāhī sources, the Āghā Khān had been actually initiated into their order in his youth and carried the *ṭarīqa* name of ʿAṭāʾ Allāh Shāh. This alleged initiation, not substantiated by the Nizārī sources, would represent a rather unusual relationship, since it would have required a Nizārī imam to become a follower of a Sufi master. The Āghā Khān did, however, support the claims of Mast ʿAlī Shāh. The imam had once, during Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh's reign, given refuge in the village of Dawlatābād near Maḥallāt to Mast ʿAlī Shāh, who had escaped



18. A surviving section of the wall encircling Āghā Khān I's residential compound, Maḥallāt

the persecution of the Twelver *ʿulamāʾ* of Fārs. At the time of Muḥammad Shāh Qājār's coronation, Mast ʿAlī Shāh, who had been enjoying the Āghā Khān's hospitality for some time at Maḥallāt, accompanied the Nizārī imam to Tehran. As a reflection of their close friendship, Mast ʿAlī Shāh indeed once boasted to Muḥammad Shāh that 'I have a *murīd* like the Āghā Khān who himself has thousands of *murīd*s in most countries (*bilād*) of the world.'[150] Muḥammad Shāh too had firm Sufi loyalties. He had been initiated into the Niʿmat Allāhī order,



19. General view of the citadel of Bam in the 1980s

sometime before his accession, probably by Mast ʿAlī Shāh, who later joined the entourage of the Qājār monarch. However, at Muḥammad Shāh's court, Mast ʿAlī Shāh soon came to confront a powerful rival in the person of Ḥājjī Mīrzā Āqāsī, Qāʾim-maqām's successor as chief minister (*ṣadr-i aʿẓam*) who as a Niʿmat Allāhī Sufi aspired to the leadership of the order. Muḥammad Shāh soon came under the influence of his chief minister and evidently accepted him as the *quṭb* of the Niʿmat Allāhī order. Consequently, Mast ʿAlī Shāh incurred the disfavour of the monarch and was driven from the court. Since the Āghā Khān had continued to support the claims of his Sufi friend, he too aroused the enmity of Mīrzā Āqāsī, who persistently intrigued against him and eventually brought about his removal from the governorship of Kirmān.[151]

Ḥājjī Mīrzā Āqāsī's enmity towards the Āghā Khān was aggravated by the imam's refusal to give one of his daughters in marriage to the son of a certain ʿAbd al-Muḥammad Maḥallātī.[152] The latter, a lowborn Maḥallātī initially in the service of the imam, had risen to a high position with Mīrzā Āqāsī and supported his master's Sufi claims. The Āghā Khān maintained his connections with the Niʿmat Allāhī order even after settling in Bombay in 1265/1848 (see below). Āghā

Khān I had close relations with Raḥmat ʿAlī Shāh (d. 1278/1861), who became the *quṭb* of one of the branches of the Niʿmat Allāhī order on Mast ʿAlī Shāh's death in 1253/1837. Raḥmat ʿAlī Shāh, too, had spent some time, along with Mast ʿAlī Shāh, at Maḥallāt as a guest of the Nizārī imam. Later in 1298/1881, the Āghā Khān and his sons extended their hospitality in Bombay to Raḥmat ʿAlī Shāh's son, Maʿṣūm ʿAlī Shāh, then on a tour of India.

Āghā Khān I lived peacefully at Maḥallāt for about two years following his dismissal from Kirmān and his first conflict with the Qājār regime. In 1256/1840, he sent a messenger to Ḥājjī Mīrzā Āqāsī requesting the permission of the monarch to proceed to Mecca for the *ḥajj* pilgrimage. Royal permission was granted, and initially the Āghā Khān's mother and a few relatives were despatched to the *ʿatabāt*, viz., Najaf and other holy cities of ʿIrāq containing the shrines of the Shīʿī imams. The Āghā Khān himself left Maḥallāt, ostensibly to proceed to the Ḥijāz, early in Rajab 1256/September 1840. He was accompanied by his brothers, nephews and a number of other relatives, dependants and many followers. But instead of going to Bandar ʿAbbās on the Persian Gulf en route to Arabia, the imam made for Yazd, where he intended to be reinforced by the local Nizārī ʿAṭāʾ Allāhīs. As he was approaching Yazd, he sent ahead of him to the city's governor, Bahman Mīrzā Bahāʾ al-Dawla, documents that reinstated him in the governorship of Kirmān.[153] Accepting the documents as genuine, Bahman Mīrzā offered the Āghā Khān lodging in the city. However, the Āghā Khān declined the invitation, stating that he wanted to visit the Nizārī ʿAṭāʾ Allāhīs living around Yazd. Whilst he was staying in Mahrīz near Yazd, Bahman Mīrzā was informed through the despatches of Ḥājjī Mīrzā Āqāsī of the spuriousness of the Āghā Khān's documents. A battle then ensued, in which Bahman Mīrzā was defeated by the Āghā Khān's forces. Several other minor battles were won by the Āghā Khān before he arrived in Shahr-i Bābak, which he intended to use as his base of operations for seizing Kirmān. Shahr-i Bābak, as noted, was a stronghold of the ʿAṭāʾ Allāhī and Khurāsānī tribesmen who recognized the Āghā Khān as their imam. At the time, the citadel at Shahr-i Bābak was in the hands of Kuhandil Khān and his associates from Qandahār, who had sought refuge in Persia after the British invasion of Afghanistan. The Afghans had made themselves unpopular in the locality, and the imam's arrival there coincided with the campaign of a former local governor, Ḥājjī Muḥammad ʿAlī, to dislodge them from the citadel of Shahr-i Bābak. The Āghā Khān, joined by a large number of ʿAṭāʾ Allāhīs and Khurāsānīs, participated in the siege of Shahr-i Bābak, forcing the Afghans to surrender.[154]

The Āghā Khān then despatched his brother Muḥammad Bāqir Khān to Sīrjān to secure provisions, and he retreated to Rūmanī, a village near Shahr-i Bābak.

By then, Faḍl ʿAlī Khān Qarabāghī, the governor of Kirmān, had been ordered by Tehran to deal with the Āghā Khān. Accordingly, the *beglerbegi* of Kirmān besieged Muḥammad Bāqir Khān in the fortress of Zaydābād in Sīrjān. The Āghā Khān set out in person at the head of his army to relieve his brother, and succeeded in evacuating him and his troops from Sīrjān. He then headed towards Fārs and spent the winter months in Mīnāb, near Bandar ʿAbbās. It was at that time that the Āghā Khān acquired two cannons of British provenance, which gave him an effective advantage in subsequent clashes with Qājār troops.[155]

Soon after Muḥarram 1257/March 1841, the Āghā Khān set out once more in the direction of Kirmān. Sardār Abu'l-Ḥasan Khān was despatched to seize Dashtāb, where he was subsequently joined by the Āghā Khān himself. It was near Dashtāb that the Āghā Khān defeated a Qājār force of 4000 men under the command of Isfandiyār Khān, the brother of Faḍl ʿAlī Khān. Isfandiyār Khān himself was killed and many of his men went over to the Āghā Khān, who won a number of further victories against Qājār troops before resting for a while at Bam. By that time, Faḍl ʿAlī Khān had collected a large force of 24,000 men, obliging the Āghā Khān to flee from Bam to Rīgān on the border of Balūchistān. There, a decisive defeat was inflicted on the Āghā Khān, who was greatly outnumbered by the forces of the *beglerbegi* of Kirmān. Thereupon, the Nizārī imam decided to seek refuge either in India or Arabia. As the way to the port of Bandar ʿAbbās was then blocked, the Āghā Khān decided to escape overland, through southern Khurāsān, to Afghanistan. Starting at Rāwar, he traversed the arid Dasht-i Lūt to Sarbīsha, southeast of Bīrjand. Accompanied by his brothers and many soldiers and servants, the imam then proceeded eastwards, and, after crossing the border, arrived at Lāsh va Juvayn in Afghanistan in 1257/1841.[156] This marked the end of the Persian period of the Nizārī Ismāʿīlī imamate, which had lasted some seven centuries since the Alamūt era.

Once inside Afghanistan, the Nizārī imam advanced by way of Girishk to Qandahār, the major city of western Afghanistan, which had been occupied by an Anglo-Indian army in 1254/1839. Henceforth, a close association developed between the Āghā Khān and the British, who may possibly have encouraged his earlier activities in Persia in the interest of safeguarding British rule in India. More specifically, it has been contended that the Āghā Khān's activities in Kirmān played an effective part in preventing the success of the Persian campaign against Harāt conducted during the reign of Muḥammad Shāh Qājār.[157] Be this as it may, the Āghā Khān's association with the British Raj after his arrival in Afghanistan, coinciding with the final years of the so-called First Afghan War, 1838–1842, is openly recorded in his autobiography and elsewhere. From Girishk, the Āghā Khān had sent notices of his impending arrival to Muḥammad Tīmūr, the British-appointed

governor of Qandahār, and to Major Henry Rawlinson, the local British political agent. The latter had been in Persia during 1833–1839 and may have made the personal acquaintance of the Āghā Khān at Muḥammad Shāh's coronation ceremonies in Tehran. Rawlinson granted the Āghā Khān a daily stipend of one hundred rupees for the duration of his stay in Qandahār. Soon after his arrival there in the summer of 1257/1841,[158] the Āghā Khān wrote to Sir William Macnaghten, the British political agent in Kābul (who was murdered by the Afghans in December 1841), discussing his future plans. He proposed to seize and govern Harāt on behalf of the British and their puppet, Shāh Shujāʿ al-Mulk, who had been temporarily placed on the throne of Kābul in 1255/1839 in succession to the rebellious Dūst Muḥammad, the founder of Bārakzāy rule in Afghanistan. The proposal was apparently approved, but soon all British designs in Afghanistan were frustrated by the uprising of Dūst Muḥammad's son Muḥammad Akbar Khān, who in January 1842 annihilated the British-Indian garrison on its retreat from Kābul. The uprising extended to Qandahār, and in the ensuing clashes the Āghā Khān aided General William Nott in evacuating the British forces from Qandahār in July 1842. The Āghā Khān himself soon headed southwards to Sind. He left his brother Sardār Abu'l-Ḥasan Khān behind in Qandahār, where the imam had been visited during his stay by Nizārī deputations from Kābul, Badakhshan, Bukhārā and Sind.

Āghā Khān I rendered further service to the British in Sind.[159] In particular, he placed his cavalry at their disposal and endeavoured to persuade Nāṣir Khān, the Tālpur *amīr* of Kalāt, to cede Karachi to the British. Nāṣir Khān refused to cooperate, and the Āghā Khān disclosed the *amīr*'s battle plans to Major James Outram, the British political agent in Sind. As a result, the British camp was saved from a night attack, and, following the battle of Miyānī in February 1843, Ḥaydarābād and then all of Sind were annexed to British India. For his services in Sind, the Āghā Khān received an annual pension of £2000 from General Sir Charles Napier (1782–1853), the British conqueror of Sind who had maintained a friendly relationship with the Nizārī imam from the time of the latter's arrival in Sind in the autumn of 1842. In Sind, the imam stayed at Jerruck (now in Pakistan), where his house is still preserved.

After the conquest of Sind in 1259/1843, the British attempted to subjugate neighbouring Balūchistān and the Āghā Khān again helped them militarily and diplomatically. From Jerruck, where he was staying after February 1843, the Āghā Khān contacted the various Balūchī chieftains and advised them to submit to British rule. He also despatched his brother Muḥammad Bāqir Khān together with a section of his cavalry in order to help the British defeat Mīr Shīr Khān, one of the important Balūchī *amīr*s. Meanwhile, the Āghā Khān himself became the target of a Balūchī raid, perhaps in reprisal for his assistance to the British,



20. Ḥasan ʿAlī Shāh, Āghā Khān I

and his possessions were plundered. However, he continued to help the British, always hoping that they would arrange for his safe return to Persia. It was with the approval of the British that in Rabīʿ I 1260/April 1844 the Āghā Khān sent Muḥammad Bāqir Khān to capture the fortress of Bampūr (Banfahl), in Persian Balūchistān. Later, he despatched his other brother, Sardār Abu'l-Ḥasan Khān,

who finally occupied Bampūr and won other military successes in Balūchistān while Muḥammad Bāqir Khān was relieved to join the Āghā Khān in India.[160]

After controlling certain parts of Balūchistān for about two years, Sardār Abu'l-Ḥasan Khān was defeated in battle in 1262/1846 by a Qājār army sent against him from Kirmān. He was taken as a prisoner to Tehran, where he arrived in Rajab 1262 AH. After spending some time in detention, Sardār Abu'l-Ḥasan Khān was pardoned by Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh Qājār (1264–1313/1848–1896), Muḥammad Shāh's son and successor. Impressed by the Sardār's military and hunting skills, the new Qājār monarch subsequently received him amongst his entourage and gave him a Qājār princess, Mihr-i Jahān Khānum, in marriage. Sardār Abu'l-Ḥasan Khān spent the remainder of his life in Persia, managing the family lands in Maḥallāt and occasionally performing services for the Āghā Khān. He died in 1297/1880 and was buried in the mausoleum of his father, Imam Shāh Khalīl Allāh III, at Najaf. Sardār Abu'l-Ḥasan Khān's son, Mīrzā Ismāʿīl Khān Iʿtibār al-Salṭana (d. 1346/1928), the author's maternal great-grandfather, also received the favour of Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh and handled the affairs of the Āghā Khān's family and properties in Maḥallāt and Kirmān. A number of the descendants of Sardār Abu'l-Ḥasan Khān, through Iʿtibār al-Salṭana and other sons and daughters, are still living in Tehran and Maḥallāt. They now adhere to Twelver Shīʿism.

In the meantime, in Ramaḍān 1260/October 1844 Āghā Khān I had left Sind via the port of Karachi for Bombay. He passed through Cutch and Kathiawar in Gujarāt, where he arrived in Muḥarram 1261/January 1845. He spent a year at Kathiawar and visited the Khoja communities of the area, as he had done all along his route. He then travelled through Sūrat and Daman, and arrived in Bombay in Ṣafar 1262/February 1846. Soon after his arrival in Bombay, the Persian government, then still controlled by the chief minister Ḥājjī Mīrzā Āqāsī, demanded the Āghā Khān's extradition from India, citing the Anglo-Persian Treaty of 1229/1814.[161] The British, however, refused to comply and only promised to transfer his residence to Calcutta, farther removed from Persia where it would be more difficult for him to launch new activities against the Persian government. Meanwhile, the British entered into a series of negotiations with the Persian government for the safe return of the Āghā Khān to Persia, which was the imam's own wish. In Ṣafar 1263/February 1847, Justin Sheil, the British minister in Tehran, forwarded yet another appeal to this effect on behalf of the Governor-General of India. Ḥājjī Mīrzā Āqāsī now consented to the Āghā Khān's return to Persia, but on the condition that he would avoid passing through Balūchistān and Kirmān, where he could start new anti-government activities. Furthermore, the Āghā Khān was to settle down peacefully in Maḥallāt.

The Nizārī imam was eventually obliged, in Jumādā I 1263/April 1847, to leave for Calcutta, where he remained until receiving the news of the death of

Muḥammad Shāh Qājār in Dhu'l-Ḥijja 1264/November 1848, which had actually occurred two months earlier. Hoping that Muḥammad Shāh's successor Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh would be more lenient towards him, the Āghā Khān left Calcutta for Bombay in Muḥarram 1265/December 1848. The British now made new efforts to win permission for his return to Persia, while the Āghā Khān himself wrote a letter on the subject to Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh's first chief minister, Mīrzā Taqī Khān Amīr Kabīr. However, Amīr Kabīr proved even less responsive than his predecessor, insisting that the Āghā Khān would be arrested at the borders as a fugitive.[162] After the downfall and execution of Amīr Kabīr in 1268/1852, the Āghā Khān made a final plea from Bombay to return to his ancestral homeland, and sent Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh an elephant and a giraffe as gifts.[163] He also sent presents to Amīr Kabīr's successor Mīrzā Āqā Khān Nūrī, who was a personal friend of the imam. Some of the imam's family lands in Persia were now restored to the control of his relatives, but the new chief minister was unable to arrange for his return. By then, the Nizārī imam had resigned himself to permanent settlement in India, though he maintained his contacts with the Qājār court and sent Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh another gift of three elephants and a rhinoceros in 1284/1867–1868.[164] Still later, in 1287/1870, when Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh was on pilgrimage to the Shīʿī shrines in ʿIrāq, Āghā Khān I sent one of his sons, Jalāl Shāh, with a number of presents including a hunting rifle, to the Qājār monarch in Baghdad.[165] As an indication of royal favour towards the Āghā Khān, Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh consented to give one of his daughters in marriage to Jalāl Shāh, who accompanied the monarch to Tehran. However, the youthful Jalāl Shāh was taken ill and died in Tehran the following year.

With the Nizārī imam's settling in Bombay there began the modern period in the history of Nizārī Ismāʿīlism. The Nizārī imamate had now been established in India, with Bombay serving as the seat of the Qāsim-Shāhī Nizārī imams. Āghā Khān I was the first imam of his line to set foot in India and his presence there was greatly welcomed by the Nizārī Khojas who flocked enthusiastically to his side to pay their homage and receive his blessings. The Nizārīs of many regions had regularly visited the Āghā Khān and given him their tributes when he was in Persia or wandering in Afghanistan and Sind. However, the Khojas had for several centuries comprised the most important section of the Nizārī community, and they had often found it difficult to make the hazardous journey to Anjudān, Kahak, Shahr-i Bābak, Kirmān, or Maḥallāt, to see the imam of the time. When the Nizārī Khojas had direct access to their imam for the first time, they more readily began to send their religious dues to his *durkhana* (Persian, *darb-i khāna*), or chief place of residence, in Bombay. As a result, the Āghā Khān was enabled to establish elaborate headquarters and residences in Bombay, Poona and Bangalore. He also supported numerous relatives, who gradually joined him

in Bombay, and a large retinue of attendants and servants who were lodged in suitable living quarters. Āghā Khān I attended the *jamāʿat-khāna* in Bombay on special religious occasions, and led the public prayers of the Khojas there. Every Saturday when in Bombay, he also held *durbar* (Persian, *darbār*), giving audience to his followers who received his blessings. In India, the Āghā Khān retained his close association with the British, and as a rare instance of its kind he was visited in his Bombay home, the Aga Hall, by the Prince of Wales when the future King Edward VII (1901–1910) was on a state visit to India. Āghā Khān I also came to be officially addressed as His Highness by the British.

As the spiritual head of a Muslim community, Āghā Khān I retained the protection of the British establishment in India, which strengthened his position and helped him in the exercise of his authority. During three decades of residence in Bombay, the imam gradually succeeded in exerting his direct control over the Nizārī Khojas through their traditional communal organization. He personally appointed the officers of the major Khoja congregations. These officers included a *mukhi* (pronounced *mukī*), who normally acted as the social and religious head of any local Khoja group, and his assistant, called *kamadia* (pronounced *kāmriyā*). Every Khoja community or *jamāʿat* of a certain size had its own *mukhi* and *kamadia*, with clearly defined duties, including the collection of religious dues, notably the *dassondh* or tithe, and presiding over religious ceremonies in the *jamāʿat-khāna* or assembly house. The terms *mukhi* and *kamadia*, derived from Sanskrit, and *jamāʿat-khāna* were in time adopted also by all non-Khoja Nizārī communities. The Nizārī imam was addressed as Sarkār Ṣāḥib and Pīr Salāmat by his followers in India.

Satpanth Ismāʿīlism, as has been noted, was influenced by Hindu elements, while the Khojas had been obliged to dissimulate for centuries as Sunnīs or Twelver Shīʿīs. In the settlement of their legal affairs, too, the Khojas, like certain other Muslim groups in India, had often resorted to Hindu customs rather than the provisions of Islamic law, especially in matters relating to inheritance. These factors were not particularly conducive to the formation of a clear and strong sense of Ismāʿīlī religious identity. In fact, dissident Khoja groups appeared intermittently during the nineteenth century, claiming Sunnī or Ithnāʿasharī heritage for the Khoja community. Under the circumstances, the first Āghā Khān established his religious authority in India only after some difficulty. He did, in fact, face periodical troubles from certain dissident members of the Khoja community. In 1829, while he was still in Persia, some Nizārī Khojas of Bombay had refused to pay the customary *dassondh* to him. As a result, he sent to Bombay a special representative, accompanied by his maternal grandmother, who filed a suit against the dissidents in the Bombay High Court. The suit was withdrawn in 1830. But the recusants were summoned before the *jamāʿat-khāna* in Bombay

and, since they persisted in their refusal to pay the dues, they were cast out by the whole Khoja *jamāʿat* assembled there for the occasion. The dissidents, headed by a certain Ḥabīb Ibrāhīm, became known as the Barbhai, or the twelve brethren, because they were originally twelve in number. They were readmitted in 1835 to the Khoja *jamāʿat* of Bombay on the payment of their arrears. The Barbhai had, however, laid the foundation of a dissident party which subsequently posed doctrinal and financial objections to the leadership of the Āghā Khāns.

In 1847, when the Nizārī imam was in Calcutta, another conflict broke out in the Khoja community of Bombay. A legal case was initiated by two Khoja sisters for a share in their deceased father's estate against the will of the deceased. In this litigation, the Āghā Khān, then represented in court by his brother Muḥammad Bāqir Khān (d. 1296/1879), upheld the rules of female inheritance as laid down in Islamic law, while his Barbhai opponents supported the Khoja custom that essentially deprived the females from such inheritance. In the resulting judgement, Sir Erskine Perry, the presiding judge, ruled that the custom of the Khojas should prevail even though it might be in conflict with the provisions of Islamic law. This judgement in effect recognized the Khojas as a distinct community. In view of their unwillingness to acknowledge the imam's leadership, Ḥabīb Ibrāhīm and his supporters were again excommunicated in 1848. The Barbhai dissidents, with their tacit Sunnī leanings, seceded from the Khoja community and established themselves in a separate *jamāʿat-khāna* in Bombay, but in Mahim they used the upper floor of the existing *jamāʿat-khāna* while the Khoja followers of the Āghā Khān held the lower floor. It was at the *jamāʿat-khāna* of Mahim that, in 1267/1850, four members of the Barbhai party were murdered by the Khojas loyal to the Āghā Khān. Nineteen Khojas were brought to trial for this murder, and four of them were sentenced to death. Later, the Barbhai dissidents were once again admitted into the Nizārī Khoja *jamāʿat* of Bombay.

It was under such circumstances that the Āghā Khān launched a widespread campaign for defining and delineating the specific religious identity of his Khoja followers. In 1861, the imam circulated a document in the Bombay *jamāʿat* summarizing the religious beliefs and practices of the Nizārī Ismāʿīlīs, especially regarding marriage, ablution and funeral rites, and requesting every Khoja family to sign it. The signatories were, in effect, asked to pledge their loyalty to the imam and to their Ismāʿīlī Shīʿī Muslim faith as interpreted by him. The document, copies of which were sent to the Nizārīs of other areas in India and elsewhere, was issued because there had appeared in print statements representing the Khojas as Sunnīs, alleging that the Āghā Khān had been attempting by coercion to make them Shīʿīs. The bulk of the Nizārī Khojas signed the document. However, the small dissident group persisted in challenging the Āghā Khān's authority, and refused to acknowledge the Ismāʿīlī Shīʿī identity of their community. In

opposition to this document, the dissident Khojas of the Barbhai party held that the Khojas had always been Sunnīs and that no Shīʿī, including the Nizārī imam, could be entitled to any share or voice in the management of the public property belonging to the Khoja community. As a result, the Barbhai party was again thrown out in 1862 by the unanimous vote of all the Khojas assembled in the *jamāʿat-khāna* of Bombay.

Matters came to a head in 1866 when the dissident Khojas filed a suit in the Bombay High Court against the Āghā Khān, emphasizing that the Khojas had been Sunnīs ever since their conversion from Hinduism to Islam by Pīr Ṣadr al-Dīn. More specifically, the Barbhai plaintiffs, led by Ḥabīb Ibrāhīm's son Ahmed Habibbhai, demanded that an account be made of all the communal property and dues collected from the Khojas; that the property of the community be held in trust for charitable, religious and public uses for the sole benefit of the Khojas and that no Shīʿī person be entitled to any share or interest in them; that the *mukhi*s and *kamadia*s be elected periodically; and that the Āghā Khān refrain from interfering in the management of communal property, appointing the functionaries of the Khoja *jamāʿat*s, and excommunicating any Khojas from the community. This case, generally known as the Aga Khan Case, was heard by Sir Joseph Arnould. After a hearing of several weeks, in the course of which the Āghā Khān himself testified and the history of the Khoja community was fully reviewed, in November 1866 Justice Arnould rendered a detailed judgement against the plaintiffs and in favour of the Nizārī imam and other defendants on all points.[166] This judgement legally established the status of the Nizārī Khojas as a community of 'Shia Imami Ismailis', and of the Āghā Khān as the *murshid* or spiritual head of that community and heir in lineal descent to the imams of the Alamūt period. It also established, for the first time in a British court, the rights of the Āghā Khān to all the customary dues collected from the Khojas, and placed all the community property of the Nizārī Ismāʿīlīs in his name and under his absolute control. The first Āghā Khān's authority was never seriously challenged again.

Āghā Khān Maḥallātī spent his final years peacefully in Bombay, with seasonal stays in Poona. He had maintained excellent stables and became a familiar figure at the Bombay racecourse. Āghā Khān I's interest in horse racing and horse breeding was retained and further developed in Europe by his successors. Muḥammad Ḥasan al-Ḥusaynī (Ḥasan ʿAlī Shāh), Āghā Khān I, the forty-sixth Qāsim-Shāhī Nizārī imam, died after an eventful imamate of sixty-four years in Jumādā I 1298/April 1881. He was buried in a specially erected shrine at Ḥasanābād in the Mazagaon area of Bombay. Āghā Khān I married seven times and was survived by three sons, Āqā ʿAlī Shāh, Āqā Jangī Shāh, and Āqā Akbar Shāh, and by five daughters.

Āghā Khān I was succeeded as imam by his eldest son Āqā ʿAlī Shāh, his only son by his Qājār spouse, Sarv-i Jahān Khānum.[167] Āqā ʿAlī Shāh, who became known as Āghā Khān II, was born in 1246/1830 at Maḥallāt, where he spent his early years. At the beginning of Āghā Khān I's confrontation with the Qājār regime in 1256/1840, Āqā ʿAlī Shāh was taken to ʿIrāq where he stayed for a few years with his mother and studied Arabic, Persian and the teachings of the Nizārī Ismāʿīlīs. During the late 1840s, he was apparently permitted by the Qājār establishment to take up temporary residence in Persia and assume certain responsibilities on behalf of his father. Sarv-i Jahān Khānum (d. 1299/1882) and Āqā ʿAlī Shāh eventually joined the imam in Bombay in 1269/1853. Henceforth, Āqā ʿAlī Shāh, as the imam's heir apparent, regularly visited different Nizārī Khoja communities, especially in Sind and Gujarāt, and organized their *jamāʿat-khāna*s. He also lived for some time in Karachi, where his third son and future successor Sulṭān Muḥammad Shāh was born in 1294/1877.

On succeeding to the imamate in 1298/1881, Āghā Khān II maintained the friendly relations that his father had cultivated with the British. He was appointed to the Bombay Legislative Council when Sir James Fergusson was the governor of Bombay. He was much concerned with the welfare of the Nizārī Khojas and opened a number of schools for their children in Bombay and elsewhere, and also assisted needy Khoja families. During his brief imamate, Āqā ʿAlī Shāh increased his contacts with the Nizārī communities outside the Indian subcontinent, showing particular interest in his followers in Central Asia, Burma and East Africa. The growing prosperity of the Nizārī Khoja community and his own policies earned Āghā Khān II prestige among the Muslim population of India. He was elected president of a body called the Muhammadan National Association. In that position, which he held until his death, Āghā Khān II promoted educational and philanthropic projects for the benefit of all Indian Muslims.

Āqā ʿAlī Shāh, like his father, was closely associated with the Niʿmat Allāhī order.[168] Before going to India, he had developed close ties with Raḥmat ʿAlī Shāh, the *quṭb* of one of the branches of this Sufi *ṭarīqa*, who had been his father's guest in Maḥallāt in 1249/1833. Subsequently, he maintained his friendship with Raḥmat ʿAlī, and after Raḥmat's death in 1278/1861, he regularly sent money from India for the recitation of the Qurʾān at the Sufi master's grave in Shīrāz. He maintained close relations also with Raḥmat ʿAlī's uncle and one of his successors as *quṭb*, Munawwar ʿAlī Shāh (d. 1301/1884). He entertained several notable Persian Niʿmat Allāhīs in Bombay, including Raḥmat ʿAlī's son Muḥammad Maʿṣūm Shīrāzī, Nāʾib al-Ṣadr (d. 1344/1926), the author of the celebrated Sufi work entitled the *Ṭarāʾiq al-ḥaqāʾiq*. This Sufi, carrying the *ṭarīqa* name of Maʿṣūm ʿAlī Shāh, visited India in 1298/1881, attended Āghā Khān I's funeral ceremony and stayed with Āqā ʿAlī Shāh for an entire year. Ṣafī ʿAlī Shāh (d. 1316/1898),



21. Āghā Khān I and (on the right) Āghā Khān II



22. One of Āghā Khān I's granddaughters, Bombay

the eponymous founder of one of the most important branches of the order, was another outstanding Niʿmat Allāhī to enjoy ʿAlī Shāh's hospitality in Bombay. In 1280/1863 he went to India, for the first time, at the invitation of ʿAlī Shāh. On his second visit, Ṣafī ʿAlī Shāh spent four years in India, during which time he completed and lithographed his well-known versified Sufi work, *Zubdat al-asrār*, at Āghā Khān II's request. On his return to Persia, Ṣafī ʿAlī spent some time in ʿIrāq, staying at the Aghā Khān's houses in Najaf and Karbalāʾ and winning the

approval of certain local Ithnāʿasharī *ʿulamāʾ* for Āqā ʿAlī Shāh's marriage to a Qājār princess, Shams al-Mulūk. The *ʿulamāʾ* had previously raised objections to this marriage on account of Āqā ʿAlī Shāh's Ismāʿīlī faith.

Shams al-Mulūk, the daughter of Mīrzā ʿAlī Muḥammad Niẓām al-Dawla by one of Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh Qājār's daughters, became Āqā ʿAlī Shāh's third wife and bore him his sole surviving son and successor, Sulṭān Muḥammad Shāh. Both of Āqā ʿAlī Shāh's sons by a previous marriage predeceased him. His eldest son, Shihāb al-Dīn Shāh, also known as Khalīl Allāh, who was expected to succeed to the imamate, was born around 1268/1851–1852. He acquired some learning and composed a few treatises in Persian dealing with the doctrines of the Nizārī Ismāʿīlīs.[169] He died in Ṣafar 1302/December 1884, and was taken for burial to Najaf. His only son, Abu'l-Ḥasan, too, died shortly afterwards and he was buried at the mausoleum in Ḥasanābād next to Āghā Khān I. Shihāb al-Dīn Shāh's full brother, Nūr al-Dīn Shāh, was killed in his youth early in 1302 AH in a riding accident at Poona. Āqā ʿAlī Shāh, Āghā Khān II, the forty-seventh imam of the Qāsim-Shāhī Nizārīs, was also a sportsman and a hunter, with particular renown for his tiger hunting in India. After an imamate of only four years, he died in Dhu'l-Qaʿda 1302/August 1885 of pneumonia contracted in a day's hunting near Poona. Āghā Khān II's body was later buried in the family mausoleum in Najaf.

Aga Khan III's imamate

Āqā ʿAlī Shāh was succeeded by his sole surviving son Sulṭān Muḥammad Shāh al-Ḥusaynī, Aga Khan III, whose life is well documented.[170] Born in Karachi in Shawwāl 1294/November 1877, he was eight years old when installed in 1302/1885 in Bombay as the forty-eighth Qāsim-Shāhī Nizārī imam. His nominal guardian was his uncle Āqā Jangī Shāh, but the Aga Khan grew up under the close supervision of his capable mother, Shams al-Mulūk, known as Lady ʿAlī Shāh in the social circles of British India. Until the age of eighteen, Aga Khan III received a rigorous education in Bombay and Poona under the guidance of his mother, taking lessons in Arabic, Persian literature, Ismāʿīlī doctrine, and calligraphy. During the imam's youth, Lady ʿAlī Shāh played an active part in the administration of the affairs of the Nizārī community through a council, also investing the family wealth shrewdly. Lady ʿAlī Shāh, who had a lasting influence on her son, died in 1356/1938 and was buried next to her husband in Najaf. Aga Khan III's closest childhood companions were his cousins Āqā Shams al-Dīn and ʿAbbās, sons of his uncle Āqā Jangī Shāh. He was greatly disturbed when Jangī Shāh and ʿAbbās were murdered in 1314/1896, under enigmatic circumstances, at Jidda. Jangī Shāh and his family had gone for pilgrimage to Mecca, and the murderers, who were apparently religious fanatics, did not live long enough to divulge the

names of the instigators of their crime.[171] In 1315/1897, Aga Khan III married his cousin Shahzāda Begum (d. 1934), one of Jangī Shāh's daughters who had witnessed the murders at Jidda. This marriage, which lasted briefly, was the first of his four marriages.

In 1898, Aga Khan III set out from Bombay on his first journey to Europe, which later became his chief place of residence. He visited France and Britain, where he dined with Queen Victoria at Windsor Castle, and met the future King Edward VII, who was to become his friend. Aga Khan III maintained close relations with the British throughout his life. This relationship brought immense benefits to his followers in India and Africa who lived under British imperial rule. On his return journey to India, he paid the first of several visits to the Nizārī Khojas of East Africa. Soon after, he travelled to Burma and met his followers there. On his second European journey, in 1900, the Aga Khan made the acquaintance of Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh's son and successor Muẓaffar al-Dīn Shāh Qājār (1313–1324/1896–1907), who was in Paris at the time. By then, the old animosities between the Nizārī imams and the Qājār rulers of Persia had been forgotten, and the Persian monarch gave valuable gifts and one of his highest decorations to the Aga Khan. On that journey, he also met Kaiser Wilhelm II in Potsdam and Sultan ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd II in Istanbul, which was a historic meeting between an Ismāʿīlī imam and a Sunnī Ottoman ruler claiming the heritage of the ʿAbbāsid caliphs.

Aga Khan III returned once again to Europe in 1902 as the personal guest of Edward VII at his coronation, and the new King Emperor advanced the Nizārī imam from the rank of Knight (K.C.I.E.) to that of Grand Knight Commander of the Indian Empire (G.C.I.E.) in his coronation honours.[172] The Aga Khan returned to India in November 1902, and, as a further sign of the esteem in which he was now held by the British, he was appointed by Lord Curzon, the Viceroy of India, to a seat on his Legislative Council. He served two years in that capacity in Calcutta, then the seat of British power in India. The Aga Khan paid another visit to Europe in 1904, and in 1905 he saw his followers in East Africa for the second time. While the Aga Khan was in East Africa, a suit was filed against him in the Bombay High Court by certain discontented members of his family led by Ḥājjī Bībī, a cousin and another daughter of Āqā Jangī Shāh, and her son Ṣamad Shāh. The litigants had certain financial grievances regarding their shares in the estate of Āghā Khān I, and they also raised claims to the current imam's income and status. After lengthy hearings, in 1908 Justice Coram Russell, the presiding judge, ruled against the plaintiffs, confirming the Aga Khan's rights to the estate of his grandfather and to the offerings made to him by the Nizārīs. This ruling also established that the Nizārī Khojas were distinct from the Shīʿīs of the Ithnāʿasharī school, since the plaintiffs had claimed adherence to Twelver Shīʿism.[173] From 1907 onwards, the Aga Khan visited Europe every year, and

eventually established his chief places of residence there. Gradually, he came to know most of the royal families of Europe and that continent's foremost political figures and artists. In 1908, he married Mlle Theresa Magliano (d. 1926) in Cairo. She bore him Aly Khan, the first of Aga Khan III's two surviving sons, in 1911 in Turin, her native city.

Meanwhile, the Aga Khan had increasingly concerned himself with the affairs of the Muslim community of India, beyond the immediate interests of his own followers. As a result, he gained much popularity amongst the Indian Muslims and their spokesmen. He participated actively in the first All-India Muslim Educational Conference, held at Bombay in 1903, and became the president of the second one, held at Delhi the following year. In 1906, he headed the Muslim delegation that met Lord Minto at Simla, asking the Viceroy to regard the Indian Muslims not as a minority but as a nation within a nation whose members deserved adequate representation on both local and legislative councils of the land. In 1907, he joined in the founding of the All-India Muslim League, and served as the permanent president of that body until he resigned from the position in 1912. Aga Khan III campaigned most energetically for various educational projects, for Khojas and other Indian Muslims. He played a leading part in the elevation of the Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental College at Aligarh to university status, a measure that came about in 1912.[174] In the same year, King George V, who had gone to India for his coronation *durbar*, bestowed upon the Aga Khan the highest decoration that could be given to any Indian subject of the British Empire, making him a Knight Grand Commander of the Star of India (G.C.S.I.). In 1914, the Nizārī imam paid his second visit to Burma and advised his followers there to adopt measures, such as giving up their Indo-Muslim names and habits, that would facilitate their socio-cultural assimilation in that country.[175] In later years, he recommended similar assimilatory measures to his followers in other parts of the world, a policy designed to reduce the local difficulties of the Nizārīs who lived as religious minorities in many countries.

On the outbreak of World War I, Aga Khan III went to Europe and offered his services to the British government, also urging his followers to aid the British authorities in their territories. For his valuable services, the Aga Khan was accorded in 1916 the status of a first-class ruling prince of the Bombay Presidency, although unlike other native rulers of India he did not possess a territorial principality. In the same year, the Aga Khan lost a cousin in the pursuit of his pro-British policies during the war. He had despatched Āqā Farrukh Shāh, the son of Āqā Akbar Shāh (d. 1322/1904), on a pro-Allies political mission to the tribesmen and the Nizārīs of Kirmān, where he was murdered at the instigation of German agents.[176] In 1917, the German agents evidently made an unsuccessful attempt on the life of the Aga Khan himself in Switzerland. Suffering from an

illness that prevented him from undertaking any political activity, the Aga Khan remained in Switzerland for three years until 1919, during which time he wrote a book setting forth his views on the future of India.[177]

For a decade after World War I, Aga Khan III stayed away from the international and Indian political scenes, devoting his time mainly to the affairs of his Nizārī followers. Having established permanent homes in Switzerland and on the French Riviera, he now visited India every year. He also acquired international fame for owning, breeding and racing horses. In 1928 he presided over the All-India Muslim Conference held at Delhi, which was to formulate Muslim views on how independence should evolve for India. Under his guidance, the assembly demanded guaranteed rights for Indian Muslims in the framework of a federal and self-governing India.[178] In 1930, he led the Muslim delegation to the first Round Table Conference that was convened in London to consider the future of India. Muhammad Ali Jinnah, who came from a Khoja family and later became the founder of the state of Pakistan, was amongst the other members of this Muslim delegation. In the course of the second Round Table Conference, held in London in 1931, Aga Khan III had lengthy discussion sessions with Mahatma Gandhi who was then the sole representative of the Congress Party. These conferences, lasting until 1934, marked the climax of the Aga Khan's involvement in Indian politics. Soon afterwards, at the insistence of his Indian followers, he approached the government of India and asked to be given a territorial state, like other ruling princes of the land. This petition was, however, rejected.[179] Meanwhile, the Aga Khan had served, since 1932, as India's delegate at the Disarmament Conference and at successive sessions of the Assembly of the League of Nations in Geneva. Aga Khan III's involvement in international affairs culminated in his election in 1937 as president of the League of Nations for a session.[180]

In 1929, the Aga Khan had married his third wife, Mlle Andrée Carron (1898–1976), who bore his second son Ṣadr al-Dīn (1933–2003). In 1935, he celebrated the golden jubilee of his imamate in Bombay and Nairobi. By then, Aga Khan III had been the imam of the Nizārīs for half a century and the celebrations culminated in his being weighed against gold. In 1936, his son Aly Khan married Mrs Loel Guinness, formerly the Hon. Joan Yarde-Buller (1908–1997), a daughter of Lord Churston. On 13 December 1936, she bore the first of Aly Khan's two sons, Karīm, who was to succeed his grandfather in the imamate.

The outbreak of World War II found the Aga Khan in Switzerland, where he once again urged his followers everywhere to support the British cause in the war. The Aga Khan spent the war years in Geneva, where he divorced his third wife in 1943. In the following year, he married his fourth and last wife, Mlle Yvette Labrousse (1906–2000), who became known as the Begum Aga Khan as well as Mata Salamat. The diamond jubilee of the Aga Khan's imamate was celebrated,

with a year's delay, in Bombay in 1946, when he was weighed against diamonds rented by the community for the occasion. A few months later, these celebrations were repeated in Dar es Salaam. The platinum jubilee celebrations, marking the seventieth anniversary of Aga Khan III's imamate, were held during 1954–1955 in Karachi and elsewhere. These jubilee celebrations reflected the deep devotion of the Nizārīs to their present (*ḥāḍir*) imam, to whom they refer as Mawlānā Ḥāḍir Imam (Mawlana Hazar Imam). A few years earlier, in 1951, Aga Khan III had paid his first and only visit to Persia, his ancestral land, and was warmly received at Maḥallāt by thousands of his Persian followers.

During his long imamate, Aga Khan III devoted much of his time and financial resources to consolidating and organizing the Nizārī community, especially in South Asia and East Africa. He was particularly concerned with introducing socio-economic reforms that would transform his Shīʿī Muslim followers into a modern, self-sufficient community with high standards of education and welfare. The successful attainment of these objectives, however, required an appropriate administrative organization, over and beyond the existing traditional structure of the Nizārī community. Through such an organization the imam could implement his reform policies and modernize the Nizārī community without destroying its traditions and identity. The development of a new communal organization thus became one of Aga Khan III's major tasks. The court decisions in Bombay had already laid the foundations in British India for the imam's institutional and administrative reforms. They had delineated the Nizārī Khojas from those Khojas who preferred to be Sunnīs or Ithnāʿasharīs, while clarifying the status of the Aga Khan with respect to his followers and to all the communal property. At the same time, the deep devotion of the Nizārī Khojas to their imam permitted them to readily accept his reform policies. On the basis of such assets and the existing *jamāʿat* structure of the community, and enjoying the support of the British government of India, Aga Khan III developed an elaborate administrative system of councils for the Nizārīs of the Indian subcontinent and East Africa. The powers, functions and compositions of different categories of councils were in due course specified in written constitutions for the Nizārī Ismāʿīlīs of those regions, designated officially as the Shia Imami Ismailis. Similar constitutions were promulgated for the councils and *jamāʿat*s of India and East Africa, and when India was partitioned in 1947 a separate but still similar constitution and council system was developed for Pakistan. The workings of the Ismāʿīlī administrative system of councils can perhaps be best shown in the case of the community in East Africa, where the Nizārī Khojas have been scattered through the independent states of Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania, formerly representing three colonial territories.[181] Furthermore, East Africa provides a suitable case



23. Sulṭān Muḥammad Shāh, Aga Khan III

study for evaluating the achievements of the Nizārīs against the conditions of other Asian communities settled in the region.

The Nizārī Khojas had been active as traders between western India and East Africa at least since the seventeenth century, and they began to settle permanently in the region during the earliest decades of the nineteenth century. The early Nizārī Khoja immigrants came mainly from Cutch, Kathiawar, Sūrat and Bombay, located in western India, and they originally settled on the island of Zanzibar. By 1820, a small community of Nizārī Khojas had become established

in Zanzibar. They built a *jamāʿat-khāna* on the island and the *jamāʿat*'s affairs were administered by two local functionaries, a *mukhi* and his assistant, a *kamadia*. This traditional pattern of local organization and administration, brought over from India, was in due course adopted by other Nizārī settlements in East Africa. As in the case of the Ismāʿīlī Bohras and other Asian immigrants, the Nizārī Khojas went to East Africa in large numbers after 1840, when Sultan Sayyid Saʿīd of ʿUmān transferred his capital from Muscat to Zanzibar. Sultan Saʿīd, who was interested in the economic conditions of his dominions, encouraged the immigration of Asian traders to Zanzibar. The settlement of Nizārī Khojas and other Indian sectaries in Zanzibar increased significantly between 1840 and the 1870s. This period of economic prosperity and trading opportunities in Zanzibar also witnessed improved travelling facilities between India and East Africa. At the same time, severe droughts and famines in Gujarāt induced many Khoja farmers there to join the caravans of the Khoja traders immigrating to East Africa. By the end of the nineteenth century, when the interior of East Africa was becoming more accessible through the construction of roads and railways, an increasing number of Nizārī trading establishments moved from Zanzibar to the mainland. Later, the Nizārī Khoja immigrants came to be found even in more remote rural areas of the East African mainland. By World War I, Nizārī *jamāʿat*s of Indian origins existed in many parts of East Africa, while the bulk of the Nizārī settlers were concentrated in the region's growing urban areas, including Zanzibar, Mombasa, Dar es Salaam, Nairobi, Kampala and Tanga.

Aga Khan III first visited his East African followers in 1899. By that time, the Nizārīs of Zanzibar had come to experience their own internal conflicts, like the Khojas of Bombay a few decades earlier. The conflicts centred around the same issues that had brought about the Bombay High Court's judgement of 1866. Some of the dissident East African Nizārīs, who raised questions regarding the imam's claims and privileges, seceded from the community during the last quarter of the nineteenth century. The seceders mainly joined the Ithnāʿasharī Khojas of Zanzibar, who were the least organized group amongst the Asian immigrants to East Africa.[182] The imam's visit did not end the rift in the community and defections continued for a while longer. It was under such circumstances that on the occasion of his second visit to the region in 1905 the Aga Khan issued a set of written rules and regulations that in effect comprised the first constitution of the East African Nizārī community. This constitution foresaw a new administrative organization in the form of a hierarchy of councils, and it also established rules for governing the personal relations in the community, especially with respect to marriage, divorce and inheritance. Around the same time, the first Ismāʿīlī council was established in Zanzibar, then the seat of the East African Nizārī community, with the local *mukhi* acting as its president. This council not only

took over the administration of the local *jamāʿat-khāna* and defended its interests against the dissenters, but also supervised the affairs of the Khoja communities of the mainland. These steps began the Aga Khan's continuing programme for reorganizing and modernizing the Nizārī community of East Africa.

By the early 1920s, new centres of economic activity had appeared on mainland East Africa, where the Nizārī Khojas had gradually moved with the Aga Khan's encouragement. Having lost its importance as the main commercial centre of the region, Zanzibar had now also ceased to be the seat of the East African Nizārī community. Accordingly, the widely scattered Nizārī congregations of the mainland had to be provided with appropriate administrative organizations of their own. It was in recognition of these changed realities that Aga Khan III revised the first constitution in 1926, instituting separate central councils in the three territories of Tanganyika, Kenya and Uganda. The members of these councils were carefully selected by the imam, who personally supervised much of their operations. The original council in Zanzibar continued for some time to coordinate the activities of the Territorial Councils in matters of common interest. These central functions were later delegated to a Supreme Council, separate from the council in Zanzibar. Subordinate committees with responsibilities in particular fields such as education, welfare and health came to be attached to each Territorial Council. During the final three decades of Aga Khan III's imamate, the hierarchical system of councils, with its subsidiary bodies, was further developed on the basis of periodical revisions of the constitution for the East African Nizārī councils and *jamāʿat*s, occurring in 1937, 1946 and 1954 respectively. By the mid-1950s, the East African followers of the Aga Khan numbered to around 50,000, with almost one half of the total residing in Tanganyika.[183]

All of the Ismāʿīlī constitutions, including those pertaining to the Indian subcontinent, revolved around the person of the Aga Khan as the imam, who acted as the religious and administrative head of the community. He was the sole person who could change or revise the constitutions. After the earliest challenges to his status, Aga Khan III's leadership was accepted unquestioningly by his followers. He remained in direct contact with many Nizārīs in different lands and guided the community frequently through his *firman*s (*farmān*s) – written directives read in the local *jamāʿat-khāna*s. Serving as another communal mechanism for introducing reforms, the *firman*s of the Aga Khan guided the Nizārīs in specific directions, and also the community generally in terms of religious practices and social relations.[184] Aga Khan III's modernization policies may indeed be traced through his *firman*s and speeches on spiritual matters, education, social welfare and female emancipation, and on matters related to religious tolerance, personal conduct and cooperative economic enterprises. In particular, the education of Ismāʿīlīs, both male and female at different levels, and their health standards, as

well as the participation of women in communal affairs, received high priority in the imam's reforms.[185] Numerous *firman*s dealt with the abolition of the veil (*pardah* or *chādur*), hitherto worn by Nizārī women, like other women in many parts of the Muslim world, and the active participation of the Nizārī women in communal affairs.

In his reforms, Aga Khan III drew on the court decisions in Bombay, which had set his Khoja followers apart from those Khojas who preferred to join the Sunnī or Twelver Shīʿī communities. At the same time, those decisions had clarified the Nizārī Ismāʿīlī imam's status in respect to his followers, and communal properties and revenues. The deep devotion of the Nizārīs to their imam made all of Aga Khan III's reforms and modernization policies readily acceptable to his followers, even when changes in religious rituals were at stake. The figure of the imam, as the religious and administrative head of the community, was indeed central to all the Ismāʿīlī constitutions and reforms.

Aga Khan III increasingly utilized the offerings submitted to him, including the tithes and the funds collected at the jubilee celebrations, for the implementation of socio-economic policies and projects that would benefit his followers. At the same time, he created a number of financial institutions which acted as vehicles for the realization of his multi-purpose programmes. In East Africa, he founded an insurance company in 1935, and an investment trust company in 1946. The latter body and its subsidiaries provided loans, at low rates of interest, to Nizārī traders and cooperative organizations and to those needing financial assistance for building their own houses. Around the same time, the Aga Khan became one of the founding members of the East African Muslim Welfare Society, devoted to building schools and mosques for the indigenous Muslim communities of East Africa. The imam was deeply concerned with the housing problems of his followers and aimed to provide an adequate number of dwellings for the Nizārī Khojas. For this purpose, he established a number of housing societies in the major Nizārī centres of East Africa. He also paid special attention to the health and education standards of the community. Thus, he created and maintained a network of schools, vocational institutions, libraries, sports and recreational clubs, hospitals and dispensaries for the benefit of his followers in East Africa, India and Pakistan. Appropriate bodies were created within the system of councils to supervise the operations of these institutions, whose services were often made available also to non-Ismāʿīlīs.

By the early decades of the twentieth century, the non-Khoja Nizārī Ismāʿīlīs of Syria, Persia, Afghanistan and Central Asia had, by and large, lost their earlier prominence. These Nizārī communities, engaged mainly in agricultural activities, had been traditionally led by their hereditary dynasties of *pīr*s, *amīr*s or *mīr*s. In Syria, as noted, the community had mainly acknowledged the Muḥammad-Shāhī

(Muʾminī) line of imams until the latter part of the nineteenth century.[186] The Syrian Nizārīs remained loyal subjects of the Mamlūks and their Ottoman successors, to whom they paid a special tax. The Nizārīs had recurrent military conflicts with their neighbours in Syria, especially with the numerically stronger Nuṣayrīs (ʿAlawīs) who repeatedly occupied their fortresses and destroyed their religious literature. A number of such clashes took place between the latter part of the eighteenth century and the opening decades of the nineteenth century. Intense rivalries between the two ruling Nizārī families centred at Maṣyāf and Qadmūs further weakened the Nizārī community of Syria. In 1808, the Nuṣayrīs succeeded by trickery in murdering Muṣṭafā Mulḥim, the Nizārī *amīr* of Maṣyāf, and seized his fortress. Thereupon, Shaykh Sulaymān b. Ḥaydar, the senior *dāʿī* at Maṣyāf, left the locality with many Nizārīs to settle in Ḥimṣ, Ḥamā and elsewhere. As in other instances, the Nizārīs later regained possession of Maṣyāf on the intercession of the Ottoman authorities. However, the Syrian Nizārīs continued to be divided by rivalries between the *amīr*s of Maṣyāf and Qadmūs, and the whole community received a devastating blow in the 1830s from an Ottoman expedition led by Ibrāhīm Pasha, who caused much damage to Nizārī castles and villages.

By the 1840s, Ismāʿīl b. Muḥammad, the Nizārī *amīr* of Qadmūs, had succeeded in establishing his authority over the greater section of the Syrian community. He also managed to win the friendship of the Ottoman authorities in the time of Sultan ʿAbd al-Majīd I (1255–1277/1839–1861). Amīr Ismāʿīl decided to gather his Nizārī co-religionists in Salamiyya, the town that had served as the central headquarters of the early Ismāʿīlī *daʿwa*. In 1843, he petitioned the Ottoman authorities to permit the Syrian Nizārīs to restore Salamiyya, then in ruins, for their permanent settlement. The Ottomans granted the request, allowing Amīr Ismāʿīl to gather the Syrian Nizārīs from different localities and settle them in Salamiyya and in the nearby villages east of Ḥamā. This initiated a new era in the modern history of the Syrian Nizārī community. In 1850, the Ottomans granted a further favour to the Nizārīs of Salamiyya by exempting them from military service. Meanwhile, the Syrian Muḥammad-Shāhīs had lost contact with their fortieth imam, Amīr Muḥammad al-Bāqir. Since 1210/1796 they had not heard from this imam, who, like his predecessors, had been living in India. In 1304/1887, the Syrian Muḥammad-Shāhī Nizārīs sent a delegation to India to locate the descendants of Amīr Muḥammad al-Bāqir, who was thought to have gone into concealment. The delegation failed in its search, and soon afterwards the majority of the Syrian Muḥammad-Shāhī Nizārīs transferred their allegiance to the Qāsim-Shāhī line, then represented by Aga Khan III, who had earlier assumed the imamate in Bombay. A minority remained loyal to the Muḥammad-Shāhī (Muʾminī) line of imams, even though that line had apparently become discontinued.

The Syrian Muḥammad-Shāhīs, who like the bulk of that country's Qāsim-Shāhīs are mainly engaged in agriculture, have not prospered in their difficult mountainous terrain west of Ḥamā. Lacking proper leadership and organization, they also suffered from further clashes with the Nuṣayrīs. The last Nuṣayrī attacks on the Syrian Muḥammad-Shāhīs occurred during 1919–1920, when Qadmūs was briefly taken and much damage was caused to the community. At present some 15,000 Muḥammad-Shāhīs, locally known as the Jaʿfariyya, live in Maṣyāf, Qadmūs and a few surrounding villages. They are evidently the sole surviving members of the Muḥammad-Shāhī Nizārī subgroup. By contrast the Syrian Qāsim-Shāhīs have enjoyed a rising standard of living. Their agricultural activities have yielded better results in the plains around Salamiyya and they have also benefited from better leadership and greater access to educational services. Aga Khan III built several schools in Salamiyya and elsewhere, including an agricultural institution, for his Syrian followers, whom he visited in 1951. He also despatched religious instructors there from Africa. Today, the Nizārī adherents of the Aga Khan in Syria, numbering to around 80,000, live in Salamiyya and its surrounding villages.

When Āghā Khān I left Persia permanently in 1257/1841, the Persian Nizārīs were left without effective leadership, as the bulk of the senior leaders of the community also migrated with their imam. More significantly, the Persian Nizārīs were now deprived, for the first time in almost seven centuries, of direct access to their imam. Under these circumstances, the different Nizārī communities of Khurāsān, Kirmān and elsewhere in the country, separated from one another by relatively long distances, became highly disorganized, each community developing autonomously on the basis of its own resources and local initiative. Deprived of the guidance and protection of the Nizārī imam, who had clashed with the Qājār regime prior to establishing his permanent seat in Bombay, the scattered Nizārī communities of Persia were also subjected to periodic persecutions at the hands of their hostile neighbours, who were often manipulated by the local officials and the powerful Twelver *ʿulamāʾ*. The Persian Nizārīs were now increasingly dissimulating under the guise of Twelver Shīʿism, Persia's official religion. It was only during the first quarter of the twentieth century that the Nizārīs of Persia began to experience some stability and improvement in their overall situation.[187]

According to the oral traditions of the Persian Nizārīs, Āghā Khān I made certain provisional arrangements for the administration of the affairs of his Persian followers a few years after his migration to India. A certain Mīrzā Ḥasan, whose family had served the imams, was apparently made responsible for collecting the religious dues and managing the community in Persia for a period of forty years. The seat of Mīrzā Ḥasan's family was in Sidih, a village located

between Qāʾin and Bīrjand in southern Khurāsān, the region formerly known as Quhistān. Mīrzā Ḥasan's ancestor, Mīrzā Ḥusayn b. Yaʿqūb Shāh Qāʾinī, who is named in the Nizārī traditions as the *dāʿī* of Quhistān, composed numerous religious poems.[188] Mīrzā Ḥasan died around 1305/1887, and his privileged position in the community was inherited by his son Murād Mīrzā, who had his own rebellious ideas regarding the affairs of the Persian Nizārīs.

From early on, Murād Mīrzā seems to have aimed at completely severing the ties between the Persian Nizārīs and their new imam, Aga Khan III. He was particularly encouraged in his designs by the fact that the bulk of the Nizārīs of Persia had lost direct contact with their imam, whose place of residence was then unknown to most of them. Murād Mīrzā soon began to lead the community, especially in Khurāsān where the majority of the Qāsim-Shāhī Nizārīs were concentrated, in an autonomous fashion, refusing to remit the tithes to the imam in Bombay. He evidently claimed the rank of *ḥujja* for himself, and accorded a greater significance to this position than had been expressed on the subject by even Khayrkhwāh. Murād Mīrzā asserted that now only the *ḥujja* was authorized to have access to the imam, and that it was beyond the station of the ordinary Nizārīs to know the imam or even his whereabouts. The *ḥujja* was, therefore, to receive absolute obedience from the community. Murād Mīrzā, who actually prevented the Nizārīs of Khurāsān from visiting the imam in India, became duly informed of the conflicts within Aga Khan III's family, which led to the Hajji Bibi Case being brought before the Bombay High Court in 1908. Murād Mīrzā sided with Ḥājjī Bībī, Aga Khan III's cousin. Soon, he went further and claimed that the rightful imam of the time was Ḥājjī Bībī's son Ṣamad Shāh, whose father Mūchūl Shāh (d. 1321/1903) was a grandson of Āghā Khān I. A faction of the Persian Nizārī community, especially in southern Khurāsān, accepted Murād Mīrzā's claims and acknowledged Ṣamad Shāh as their imam. They split off from the Qāsim-Shāhī Nizārīs and later became generally known as Murād Mīrzāʾīs. Ṣamad Shāh spent twenty years in the armed forces of British India, and served with the British army in ʿIrāq during World War I. It was around that time that he visited the Murād Mīrzāʾīs of Sidih, and on leaving Persia he promised to return. Murād Mīrzā died after 1925, and subsequently his son, Ḥasan ʿAlī Mīrzā, and then the latter's daughter Bībī Ṭalʿat Murādī led the surviving Murād Mīrzāʾīs of Sidih and a few other villages in southern Khurāsān. It is not clear whether Ṣamad Shāh himself ever claimed the imamate. At any rate, he seems to have eventually reconciled his differences with Aga Khan III, as the latter sent Ṣamad Shāh on at least one mission to Hunza in the 1920s. When Ṣamad Shāh died without a son around World War II, most of the Murād Mīrzāʾīs embraced Twelver Shīʿism, while a small number around Sidih refused to accept his death and began to await his reappearance.

In the meantime, Aga Khan III had endeavoured to establish his own control over his followers in Persia. He eventually succeeded in asserting his authority over the Persian Nizārī community through the efforts of Muḥammad b. Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn b. Karbalāʾī Dāʾūd Khurāsānī, better known as Fidāʾī Khurāsānī, who was the most learned Persian Nizārī of the time. Born around 1266/1850 in the Ismāʿīlī village of Dizbād, between Mashhad and Nīshāpūr, Fidāʾī, a descendant of Khākī Khurāsānī, studied the religious sciences at the Bāqiriyya Madrasa in Mashhad.[189] Fidāʾī travelled to Bombay three times for the *dīdār* of the imam during 1313–1324/1896–1906. In 1321/1903, the imam gave Fidāʾī a *firman*, appointing him as the *muʿallim* or teacher in charge of the religious affairs of the Persian Nizārī community. At the same time, Aga Khan III made a certain Muḥammad Ḥusayn Maḥmūdī responsible for the community's dealings with the Persian government, and instructed his Persian followers to stop paying their tithes to Murād Mīrzā. Henceforth, Fidāʾī frequently visited the various Nizārī groups in Persia, guiding them in religious matters and winning their renewed allegiance to Aga Khan III. It was also at the Aga Khan's suggestion that Fidāʾī composed his history of Ismāʿīlism, the *Hidāyat al-muʾminīn* (*Guiding the Faithful*).

Around 1910, in line with the directives issued to the Qāsim-Shāhī Nizārīs of other countries, Aga Khan III began to introduce certain changes in the religious practices and rituals of his Persian followers. The Persian Nizārīs had hitherto observed their religious rituals mainly in the fashion of, and in company with, the Twelver Shīʿīs, perhaps for the sake of *taqiyya*. But now they were requested to set themselves apart from the Twelvers, reaffirming their own identity as a separate religious community like the Nizārī Khojas. For instance, they now recited the entire list of the Nizārī imams recognized by the Qāsim-Shāhīs at the end of their daily prayers. They were also discouraged from joining the Twelvers at their mosques or on special occasions, and from participating in the Shīʿī mourning rituals of Muḥarram because the Nizārīs had a living and present (*mawjūd va ḥāḍir*) imam and did not need to commemorate any of their dead imams. Indeed, they were now required to observe only those religious prescriptions that were directly endorsed or issued by their living imam. The Aga Khan did however ask his followers to be aware of the true, *bāṭinī*, significance of the rituals, and emphasized that all Muslims essentially shared the same basic pillars of Islam irrespective of their sectarian persuasions.[190]

In the meantime, Murād Mīrzā had not remained idle. Taking advantage of the breakdown of the Persian government's central authority during the years of the Constitutional Revolution, lasting throughout the first decade of the twentieth century, and capitalizing on the enmity of the Twelver *ʿulamāʾ* towards the Ismāʿīlīs, Murād Mīrzā incessantly intrigued against the followers of the Aga Khan. Fidāʾī's house in Dizbād was pillaged when he was on missionary work

in Qāʾin and elsewhere. Later, a Twelver cleric, Muḥammad Bāqir, collected a mob and attacked Dizbād to capture the Khurāsānī Nizārī leaders who were supporting the Aga Khan. Fidāʾī himself was in southern Khurāsān at the time but his brother, Mullā Ḥasan, and a few others were seized and taken to Darrūd, a village near Nīshāpūr. Subsequently, the captured Nizārīs, refusing to curse their imam publicly, were sentenced to death by a group of local Twelver *mullā*s. In 1327/1909, two of the Nizārī prisoners were actually executed in Darrūd. The Aga Khan prevented further persecution of his Khurāsānī followers through the intervention of the British Consul at Mashhad. Fidāʾī died in 1342/1923, and was succeeded as the *muʿallim* of the Nizārīs by Sayyid Sulaymān Badakhshānī, another senior Nizārī leader from Dizbād. By that time, Aga Khan III had established his control over the Persian Nizārīs, who had clearly set themselves apart from the country's Twelver Shīʿīs as well as the Murād Mīrzāʾīs, who observed all their religious rituals in the manner of the Ithnāʿasharīs.

By the 1930s, Aga Khan III began to concern himself with the socio-economic conditions of his followers in Persia, especially with the Khurāsānī Nizārīs, who comprised the bulk of the community and possessed adequate local initiative and resources for implementing the imam's modernization policies. As instructed by their imam, the Nizārīs launched a programme of building a school in every Ismāʿīlī village in Khurāsān. The first school, constructed in 1932 in Dizbād, was named after Nāṣir-i Khusraw, who is particularly revered by the Nizārīs of Khurāsān. Later, Dizbād became the first village in Khurāsān to have also a secondary school. The schools were built with local funds under the supervision of the trusted members of each village. Aga Khan III had permitted his followers to set aside 80 per cent of their tithes for this purpose and only the remaining 20 per cent was to be sent to the imam. The Nizārīs were also encouraged to form special groups for undertaking communal ventures, including agricultural extension projects. Soon, the Ismāʿīlī villages of Khurāsān attained high rates of literacy, with a growing number of the province's Ismāʿīlī students attending the institutions of higher learning in Mashhad and Tehran. Many educated Khurāsānī Nizārīs gradually settled in those cities, mainly as teachers and civil servants, thus changing the traditionally rural structure of the Persian Nizārī community. Aga Khan III was pleased by the progress made by his Persian followers when he visited them in 1951.[191]

The Nizārīs of Persia, as elsewhere, have traditionally been organized in terms of *jamāʿat*s, often representing the Nizārī inhabitants of single villages. Each *jamāʿat* has its own *mukhi*, acting usually as the chief religious headman of the village, and *kamadia*, the treasurer responsible for keeping record of the tithes. These functionaries are normally elected by the members of the local *jamāʿat*, but the imam's endorsement is sometimes required. There are no reliable figures

on the size of the Nizārī population of Iran. At present, there are probably about 20,000–30,000 Nizārīs living in various towns and rural areas of Iran, with nearly half of the total concentrated in the province of Khurāsān. The Khurāsānī Nizārīs are located mainly in the southern part of the province, in the towns of Qāʾin, Bīrjand and a few surrounding villages like Khushk, Muʾminābād, Naṣrābād and Mazdāb. In northern Khurāsān, aside from some 1500 persons engaged in urban employment in Mashhad, the Nizārīs are to be found in Nīshāpūr, Turbat-i Ḥaydariya and a few smaller towns as well as in Dizbād (Dīzbād), Qāsimābād, Shāh Taqī and other villages. Most of the Nizārīs of northern Khurāsān have maintained houses in Dizbād, their ancestral home, where the remains of some old Ismāʿīlī fortresses are still preserved.

The Khurāsānī Nizārīs, joined by their co-religionists from other parts of the country, participate in the pilgrimage ceremonies of *Naw-ḥiṣār* held annually at the end of summer in Dizbād. In 1985, when the author visited Dizbād on the occasion of that year's *Naw-ḥiṣār* ceremonies, some 3000 Nizārīs had gathered there. The ceremonies included recitation of poems by mystic poets of Persia. After Khurāsān, the largest number of Persian Nizārīs are to be found in the country's central province, especially in Tehran where a *jamāʿat-khāna* has been established, and in some nine villages around Maḥallāt. Smaller numbers reside in the province of Kirmān, mainly in the towns of Kirmān, Sīrjān and Shahr-i Bābak and their surrounding villages, as well as in Yazd. In the largest Ismāʿīlī villages of Iran, like Khushk and Dizbād, the Nizārīs have friendly relations with the Twelver Shīʿīs who live amongst them and are often related to them – reflecting *taqiyya* practices and assimilation into the dominant religious community of the region.

Not much is available on the modern histories of the Nizārī Ismāʿīlī communities of Afghanistan and Central Asia as well as those smaller communities located in the northern areas of Pakistan and in Yārkand and Kāshghar, in the Tashkorghan region of China. The Ismāʿīlīs of these mountainous regions, living in the midst of the Pamirs, the Hindu Kush and the Karakorum ranges, have been historically isolated from other Ismāʿīlī communities in South Asia and elsewhere. Until more recent times, they were also deprived of regular contact with their imam or his appointed representatives. Consequently, the Ismāʿīlīs of Central Asia and surrounding areas developed rather autonomously under the religious leadership of their local *khalīfa*s, more learned members of their community who also officiated at religious ceremonies. These Ismāʿīlīs, concentrated in Badakhshan, now divided between Afghanistan and Tajikistan, elaborated an indigenous literary tradition, centred on the writings of the highly revered Nāṣir-i Khusraw, as well as certain local rituals such as the *Chirāgh-rawshan* rite for the dead and *madāḥ*s or religious poems in praise of ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib.[192] Most extant

Nizārī Ismāʿīlī literature has been secretly preserved in numerous private holdings in Badakhshan, where Tajik Persian and a number of local dialects are spoken.

The Nizārī Ismāʿīlīs of Badakhshan account for the bulk of the Ismāʿīlīs of Afghanistan and Central Asia. In the course of the nineteenth century, the northern portion of Badakhshan was annexed to various Central Asian Khanates, but the greater part of that region came under the increasing control of imperial Russia, with the British extending their hegemony over Badakhshan proper in the Afghan territories. These political realities were officially acknowledged in 1895 when an Anglo-Russian boundary commission handed the region on the right bank of the Panj, a major upper headwater of Āmū Daryā (Oxus), to the Khanate of Bukhārā, then controlled by Russians, while designating the left bank as Afghan territory, with Fayḍābād as its chief town. Aga Khan III found it difficult to establish direct contact with his followers in Badakhshan, and the difficulties were greatly aggravated by the incorporation of Central Asia into the Soviet Union. Aga Khan III's last contact with his Central Asian followers was probably in 1923 through Pīr Sabz ʿAlī (d. 1938), a Nizārī Khoja dignitary, despatched there as his emissary.[193] In 1925, the Soviet government created the Autonomous Region of Gorno-Badakhshan, with its capital at Khorog, as a province of the Socialist Soviet Republic of Tajikistan. Until the dissolution of the Soviet Union in 1991, the Ismāʿīlīs of Tajikistan were completely cut off from their imam, and they were not permitted to practise their faith due to the anti-religious policies of the Soviet regime.

In some areas now situated in northern Pakistan, such as Chitral and Gilgit, there have been small Ismāʿīlī communities, probably dating from the Anjudān period. In Hunza, too, now with 50,000 persons accounting for the largest Nizārī Ismāʿīlī community of northern Pakistan, Ismāʿīlism seems to have originally spread at the same time. But the people of Hunza evidently reverted to Twelver Shīʿism sometime before the 13th/19th century. Nizārī Ismāʿīlism was reintroduced to Hunza during the early decades of the nineteenth century by *dāʿī*s sent from neighbouring Badakhshan.[194] Hunza was ruled independently for several centuries by a family of *mīr*s who had their seat in Baltit (now Karīmābād), until 1974 when the region became part of the federal state of Pakistan. Salīm Khān (d. 1239/1823) was the first *mīr* of Hunza to convert to Nizārī Ismāʿīlism. Later, in the reign of his son and successor Mīr Ghaẓanfar, the entire population of Hunza was converted by *dāʿī*s coming from Badakhshan, who also trained the local *khalīfa*s to instruct the converts in Ismāʿīlī doctrines. Henceforth, the Ismāʿīlīs of Hunza referred to themselves as Mawlāʾīs, because they were followers of the Nizārī Ismāʿīlī imam who was addressed as Mawlā. Hunza, along with Nagir, Chitral and other adjoining districts, was annexed to British India in 1891. Subsequently, Aga Khan III established close relations with Mīr Ṣafdar Khān

(1886–1931) and his successors.[195] The Aga Khan's emissary Pīr Sabz ʿAlī also visited Hunza, where he set up *jamāʿat-khāna*s in 1923. The Nizārīs of Hunza have a selection of the Ismāʿīlī texts preserved by their co-religionists in Badakhshan, and participate in more or less similar religious rituals. Small Nizārī communities exist also in Yārkand and Kāshghar, in Sinkiang (Xinjiang) province of China, about whose history no specific details are available. Ethnically defined as Tajiks and speaking Pamiri languages, the Ismāʿīlīs of China have not been permitted by their Communist regime to communicate with the outside world.

Sir Sulṭān Muḥammad Shāh, Aga Khan III, died at his villa in Versoix, near Geneva, in Dhu'l-Ḥijja 1376/July 1957. He had led the Nizārī Ismāʿīlīs as their forty-eighth imam for seventy-two years, perhaps longer than any of his predecessors. He was subsequently buried in a permanent mausoleum at Aswan, overlooking the Nile in Egypt, the seat of the Fāṭimid caliph-imams. As a spiritual leader and Muslim reformer, Aga Khan III responded to the challenges of a rapidly changing world and made it possible for his followers in different countries to live in the twentieth century as a progressive community with a distinct Islamic identity.

Aga Khan IV's imamate

In accordance with Aga Khan III's last will and testament, made in 1955, his grandson Karīm succeeded to the imamate as the forty-ninth Mawlana Hazar Imam of the Nizārī Ismāʿīlīs.[196] Aga Khan III had explained in his last will that due to the changed conditions of the world, it would be in the best interest of the Nizārī community that their next imam be a young man brought up and educated during recent years. Consequently, he designated his grandson Karīm as his successor, in preference to both his own sons. It may be added that Aly Khan, the elder of Aga Khan III's two sons and Karīm's father (who led a controversial private life, and who later represented Pakistan at the United Nations), had been expected by many to succeed to the imamate. Shāh Karīm al-Ḥusaynī Aga Khan IV, generally designated in the western world as His Highness Prince Karim Aga Khan, was immediately acclaimed as the new imam in Switzerland in the presence of the representatives of the Nizārīs of Asia and Africa. In due course, all Nizārī communities offered their *bayʿa* to their new imam. Aly Khan, who personally did not question his father's designation, lost his life in a car accident in 1960 and he was buried in a permanent mausoleum at Salamiyya in 1972.

Born in 1936 in Geneva, Aga Khan IV attended Le Rosey, the renowned boarding school in Switzerland, for nine years before entering Harvard University. Upon his accession to the imamate at the age of twenty, Aga Khan IV interrupted his undergraduate studies at Harvard for one year to visit the various Nizārī communities, during which time he was officially installed to the imamate in

a number of enthronement (*takht-nishīnī*) ceremonies held in Dar es Salaam, Nairobi, Kampala, Karachi and Bombay. He completed his final year of studies at Harvard during 1958–1959, receiving a B.A. degree in Islamic history, and thereafter concerned himself with his duties as the imam of the Nizārī Ismāʿīlī Muslims of many lands.

Aga Khan IV has continued and substantially extended the modernization policies of his grandfather, also developing a multitude of new programmes and institutions of his own for the benefit of his community. At the same time, he has concerned himself with a variety of social, developmental and cultural issues which are of wider interest to Muslims and the Third World countries. By 2007, coinciding with the Golden Jubilee of his imamate, Aga Khan IV had established an impressive record of achievement not only as the Ismāʿīlī imam but also as a Muslim leader deeply aware of the demands and challenges of modernity, and dedicated to promoting a better understanding of Islamic civilization with its diversity of expressions and interpretations.

Aga Khan IV has closely supervised the spiritual and secular affairs of his community. He regularly visits his followers in different parts of Asia, the Middle East, Africa, Europe and North America, and guides them through his *firman*s. He has maintained the elaborate council system of communal administration developed by his grandfather, also extending it to new territories in Europe, the United States and Canada, in recognition of the large-scale emigration of his followers from East Africa and South Asia to the West since the 1970s. The largest communities of such Nizārī expatriates have now come to be concentrated in Toronto, Vancouver, London, Atlanta and a few other American cities.

Sulṭān Muḥammad Shāh Aga Khan III, as we have seen, issued separate constitutions for his Khoja followers in East Africa, India and Pakistan, the last one appearing in 1954. Aga Khan IV issued a new constitution in 1962 for the East African Nizārīs,[197] which remained operative for twenty-five years. According to this constitution, the administrative hierarchy was headed, after the imam, by a Supreme Council for Africa, an interterritorial body that directed, supervised and coordinated the activities of the three Territorial Councils. The Supreme Council, with its changing headquarters in Nairobi and other major cities of East Africa, was also empowered to act as a judicial tribunal of the second degree, the highest judicial authority being the imam himself. Members of the Supreme Council were appointed by the imam, who accorded some representation to each of the three East African territories. Below the Supreme Council, there were the Territorial Councils in the states of Tanzania, Kenya and Uganda, each enjoying a great degree of local autonomy, the headquarters of these councils being located in Dar es Salaam, Nairobi and Kampala, respectively. Before the formation of Tanzania in 1964, Zanzibar had its own Territorial Council, but subsequently the



24. His Highness Shāh Karīm al-Ḥusaynī, Aga Khan IV

island was placed under the jurisdiction of the Territorial Council for Tanzania. In each of the three East African states, there were a number of Provincial Councils charged with directing the affairs of the various districts and local *jamāʿat*s under their jurisdiction. A number of auxiliary bodies, such as economic committees, welfare societies and women's associations, operated under the supervision of the Provincial Councils.

The constitution of 1962 was concerned, much more than its predecessors, with matters related to marriage, betrothal, dowry and compensation, divorce, restitution of conjugal rights, maintenance, guardianship, apostasy and marriage with non-Nizārīs. These matters were covered in numerous articles which in effect represented the personal law of the community. The Ismāʿīlī councils and their affiliated tribunals have frequently passed out decisions on such personal matters and the related disputes brought before them. At the same time, in each of the three states, Education and Health Administrations were established. These bodies, charged with providing services in their fields and supervising the relevant

institutions in each state, were ultimately under the direction of the imam himself. All councillors and other important officeholders were appointed by the imam for specific periods. The officeholders in the council system, comprised mainly of lawyers and other professional men, did not receive any salaries but were rewarded by receiving special blessings, titles, etc., from the imam. Aga Khan III instituted an elaborate system of titles, maintained by his successor, which now includes designations such as *diwan, vazir, aitmadi, rai*, and *alijah*, for the eligible members of the community.

The Nizārī community in East Africa has retained its traditional pattern of organization in terms of local *jamāʿat*s, each having a *jamāʿat-khāna* where religious and social ceremonies continue to be performed. At the *jamāʿat* level, the communal affairs are under the jurisdiction of a *mukhi* and a *kamadia*, who until 1987 were selected for each *jamāʿat-khāna* by the relevant Provincial Councils. These functionaries officiate on various occasions, such as marriage ceremonies, funeral rites and communal prayers on special occasions. They also collect the religious dues, including the *dassondh* and the *memani*, a voluntary offering to the imam. Religious matters of general interest to the community, including especially the religious education of the Nizārīs themselves, are the responsibility of an Ismailia Association, now called the Ismaili Tariqah and Religious Education Board (ITREB), in each of the three East African states, which operate independently of the secular councils and are accountable directly to the imam. These bodies are also responsible for the publication and distribution of the religious literature of the Nizārīs, notably the imams' *firman*s and speeches. The official Nizārī bodies, as well as *mukhi*s and *kamadia*s, do not conduct any proselytizing activities, though on rare occasions some native Africans and European residents of East Africa have embraced Ismāʿīlism. There are, however, religious functionaries, comparable to the *dāʿī*s of the earlier times, active within most Nizārī communities of today. The modern-day missionaries, usually called religious teachers (*muʿallim*s) and preachers (*waezeen*), perform the vital function of instructing the members of the community in their own faith and heritage. The elaborate administrative organization of the Nizārī community in East Africa is essentially a carefully designed system of checks and balances. This system, together with its governing constitution, has safeguarded the absolute authority of the imam and the traditional *jamāʿat* fabric of the community, while at the same time it has served to modernize the community and produce substantial socio-economic gains for the Aga Khan's followers. The Nizārī Khojas, indeed, emerged as the best organized and the most progressive of the Asian Muslim communities of East Africa.

Council systems with affiliated central and subordinate bodies, similar to those existing in East Africa, have been developed also for the Nizārī communities of

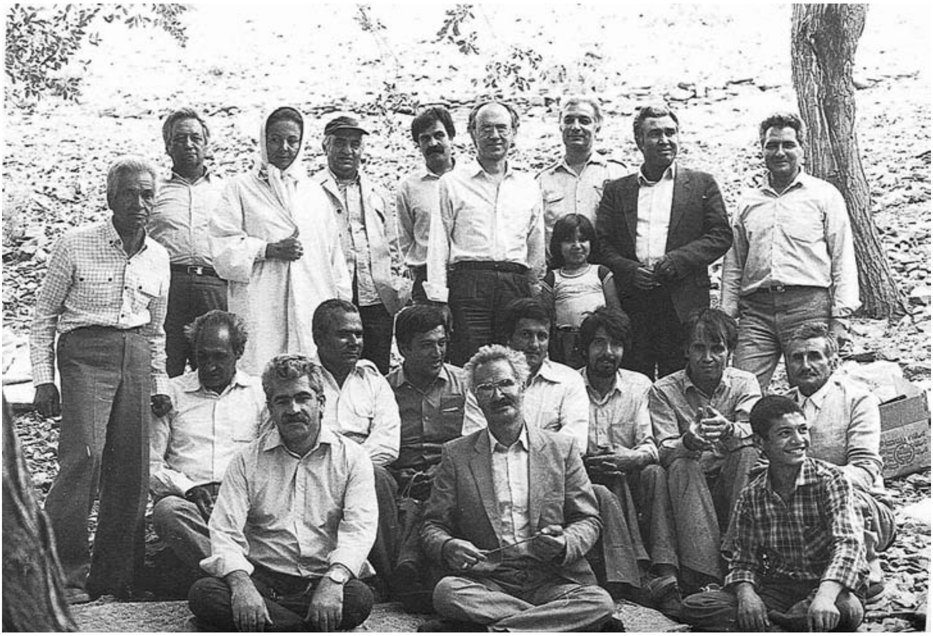
Pakistan and India.[198] Allowing for special local conditions, the organizations of the councils and *jamāʿat*s of Pakistan and India are specified in written constitutions, which have been revised several times until the most recent constitution issued in 1986 for all the Nizārī *jamāʿat*s of the world. According to the earlier constitutions, the Shia Imami Ismailis of Pakistan and India were organized hierarchically in a series of councils under the overall administrative and religious leadership of the present imam of the Nizārī Ismāʿīlīs. As in the East African states, the general religious policies, the publication and distribution of religious literatures and the supervision of the activities of the religious teachers in Pakistan and India were entrusted to Ismaili Tariqah and Religious Education Boards, with headquarters in Karachi and Bombay. Until the late 1970s, these entities, like those in East Africa, operated rather autonomously, especially in their publishing activities. Furthermore, in each country there developed a number of central boards in charge of communal activities in the fields of education, health, social welfare, housing and economic planning. These boards, acting under the general supervision of the Federal Council in each country, were responsible for the provision of the services in their respective fields of operation. In the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent too, the followers of the Aga Khans received substantial socio-economic benefits from various communal programmes.

A new chapter was initiated in the 'constitutional' history of the Nizārīs in 1986, when their imam promulgated a universal document entitled 'The Constitution of the Shia Imami Ismaili Muslims' for all his followers throughout the world. The preamble of the new constitution, amended in 1998, affirms all the fundamental Islamic beliefs and then clearly focuses on the doctrine of the imamate upheld by the Nizārī Ismāʿīlīs, like other Shīʿī Muslims.[199] It also emphasizes the imam's *taʿlīm* or teaching which guides his followers along the path of spiritual enlightenment and improved material life. The new constitution, indeed, stresses the all-important teaching and guiding role of the present imam of the Nizārīs by affirming that by the virtue of his office and in accordance with the belief of his followers, the imam enjoys full authority of governance in respect to all the religious and communal matters of the Nizārīs.

The hierarchical administrative system of councils is somewhat simplified in the constitution of 1986, which envisages a uniform system of councils for a selection of the Nizārī territories in the world. Taking account of the fact that large numbers of Nizārīs have immigrated during the last three decades to Europe and America as well as to the Persian Gulf region, the latest constitution has established the council system for a number of these newly-founded Nizārī communities in addition to modifying the system for several communities in the traditional areas of the Nizārīs in Asia and Africa. The particular Nizārī communities having the

council system under the 1986 constitution and its amendment are located in seventeen territories, including India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Malaysia and Singapore, the United Arab Emirates, Syria, the Malagasy Republic, Kenya, Tanzania, Uganda, Iran, Afghanistan, France, Portugal, the United Kingdom, Canada and the United States. In each of these seventeen Nizārī territories, a National Council directs and supervises the affairs of a network of Regional and Local Councils. At the discretion of the imam, the jurisdiction of each National Council may be extended to geographical areas where the Nizārī *jamāʿat*s do not yet have their own council system.

The constitution of 1986 also envisages a number of additional organizations for the Nizārī territories having National Councils. Each of these territories possesses an Ismaili Tariqah and Religious Education Board (ITREB), for the provision of religious education at all levels of the *jamāʿat*, for the training of religious teachers, and for research and publication of materials on different aspects of Islam and Ismāʿīlism. They are also responsible for the distribution of the primary and secondary school curricula developed by The Institute of Ismaili Studies in London for Nizārī pupils throughout the world. It is interesting to note that the recent constitution officially refers to the Nizārī Ismāʿīlī interpretation of Islam as 'the Ismaili Tariqah', defining *tariqah* as persuasion, path or way in faith, analogous to the designation of a Sufi *ṭarīqa*. The Tariqah Boards are also responsible for guiding the *mukhi*s and *kamadia*s in matters of the religious rites and practices of the Nizārī Ismāʿīlīs. Furthermore, the recent constitution has established Grants and Review Boards in the Nizārī territories to ensure the observance of proper standards of financial discipline and accountability by those institutions, such as the Councils, the Tariqah Boards and other central bodies, which receive financial support from the imam or the Nizārī community. Finally, according to the 1986 constitution, National Conciliation and Arbitration Boards have been set up in all the Nizārī territories with National Councils. These Boards act as judicial tribunals to arbitrate between parties or on disputes arising from commercial and other civil liability matters as well as domestic and family issues, and they are also empowered to take disciplinary action against individual Nizārīs. An International Conciliation and Arbitration Board acts as a judicial tribunal of the first degree, under the present imam, for hearing appeals from decisions of the National Conciliation Boards. In all matters related to the governance of the Nizārīs, however, the ultimate authority is vested in the imam. The appointment of *mukhi*s and *kamadia*s is strictly at the discretion of the imam. The 1986 constitution also lists a number of grounds on the basis of which disciplinary action may be taken against Nizārīs. The grounds include the ridiculing of the Qurʾān, the Prophet, the *ahl al-bayt*, the person of the Hazar Imam, the new constitution, and any Ismāʿīlī religious literature or practice.



25. Some of the leaders of the Persian Nizārī Ismāʿīlī community of Khurāsān, with the author (bespectacled) standing in the middle, Dizbād, 1985

The council system has not yet been extended to the Nizārī Ismāʿīlī community of Tajikistan. The Nizārīs of that part of Central Asia have been administered since the early 1990s through an alternative system based on special committees. In recent years, particular attention has been paid to the religious and socio-economic affairs of the Nizārī Ismāʿīlīs of Tajik Badakhshan, who emerged from their isolation in 1991 in the aftermath of the establishment of independent Central Asian republics. Numbering around 200,000 persons, the Nizārīs of Tajikistan had the opportunity of seeing their imam for the first time in 1995. By then, Aga Khan IV's humanitarian and developmental aid to Tajik Badakhshan, through his Pamir Relief and Development Programme, had saved the region from certain economic catastrophe. The author witnessed how the Nizārīs of Badakhshan, severely repressed under the Soviet regime, gathered in tens of thousands to renew their allegiance to their imam in Shughnān, Rūshān and other districts of the Gorno-Badakhshan province of the Republic of Tajikistan.

Aga Khan IV has also initiated many new policies, programmes and projects for the educational and socio-economic benefits of his followers as well as the non-Ismāʿīlī inhabitants of certain regions in Africa and Asia. To that end, and building on foundations laid by his grandfather, he has created a complex institutional network, generally referred to as the Aga Khan Development Network (AKDN).

Implementing projects related to social, economic and cultural development, the AKDN disburses around $100 million annually on its non-profit activities.

In the area of social development, Aga Khan IV's network has been particularly active in East Africa, Central Asia, Pakistan and India in projects for health, education and housing services as well as rural development. Many of these projects are promoted or financed through the Aga Khan Foundation (AKF) established in 1967 with headquarters in Geneva and branches in several countries.[200] The Aga Khan Foundation collaborates with over thirty national and international organizations for the implementation of a variety of programmes in the Third World. While Aga Khan III pioneered modern educational reforms in his community, the present imam has built upon that central interest of the Ismāʿīlī imamate and extended it to higher education and educational institutions. In this field, mention should be made of The Institute of Ismaili Studies, founded in London in 1977 for the promotion of general Islamic, Shīʿī and Ismāʿīlī studies, and the Aga Khan University, inaugurated in Karachi in 1985, with faculties of medicine, nursing and education, an affiliated hospital, as well as its Institute for the Study of Muslim Civilisations, set up later in London. In 2000, the Aga Khan founded the University of Central Asia in Khorog, Tajikistan, with branches in other Central Asian republics, to foster economic and social development in the mountainous regions of Central Asia, while helping the peoples of that region to preserve and promote their cultural heritage. More recently, he founded the Global Center for Pluralism in Ottawa, to promote pluralistic values and practices in culturally diverse societies worldwide. The present Nizārī imam has encouraged his followers to aim for a balanced spiritual and material life, and to acquire specialized education, preparing his community for the meritocratic world of the twenty-first century. In the economic development field, too, Aga Khan IV has initiated or sponsored many projects. Activities in this general area, ranging from self-help finance and insurance services to industrial ventures and tourism promotion, are placed under the overall charge of the Aga Khan Fund for Economic Development.

As a progressive Muslim leader, Aga Khan IV has devoted much of his time and resources to promoting a better understanding of Islam, not merely as a religion but as a major world civilization with its plurality of social, intellectual and cultural traditions. In pursuit of these aims, he has launched a number of innovative programmes for the preservation and regeneration of the cultural heritages of Muslim societies. The apex institution here is the Aga Khan Trust for Culture (AKTC) which was set up in 1988 in Geneva for promoting an awareness of the importance of the built environment in both historical and contemporary contexts, and for pursuing excellence in architecture. The Trust's mandate now covers the Aga Khan Award for Architecture, founded in 1977 to recognize and

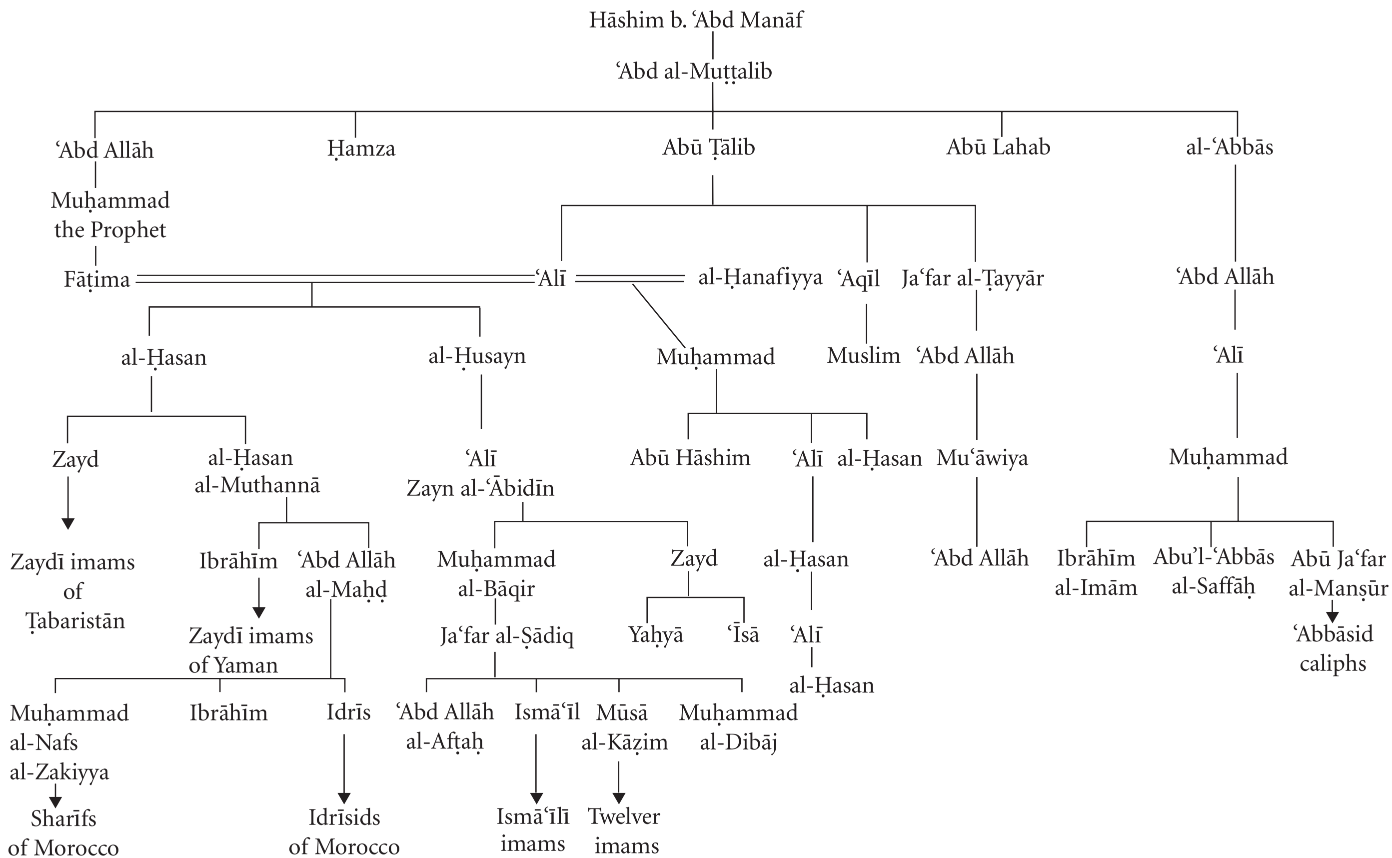
encourage outstanding architectural achievements in different Muslim environments; the Aga Khan Programme for Islamic Architecture, established in 1979 at Harvard University and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT), to educate architects and planners to cater for the needs of modern Muslim societies; the Historic Cities Support Programme, launched in the early 1990s to promote the conservation and restoration of buildings and public spaces in historic Muslim cities, such as Cairo, where the Azhar Park has been created; and the Aga Khan Museum, established recently in Toronto. Aga Khan IV takes a personal interest in the operations of all his institutions, and regulates their activities through his Secretariat at Aiglemont, outside Paris. Aga Khan IV has been married twice. From his first marriage to Sarah Croker-Poole (known as Begum Salimah), he has a daughter, Zahra, and two sons, Rahim and Hussein. In 1998, three years after his first marriage was dissolved, the imam married Princess Gabriele zu Leiningen, known as Begum Inaara, and in 2000 they had a son named Aly Muhammad.

Aga Khan IV has been responsible not only for guiding a progressive community of Shīʿī Muslims scattered in more than twenty-five countries of the world, but he has also directed a vast complex of institutions while concerning himself with promoting a better understanding of Islamic civilization in the world today. In every country of Asia, the Middle East and Africa where the Nizārīs live as indigenous religious minorities and loyal citizens, they enjoy exemplary standards of living, and those who have immigrated to Western countries have readily adapted to their new environments. These realities represent an impressive record of achievement for a Muslim community.

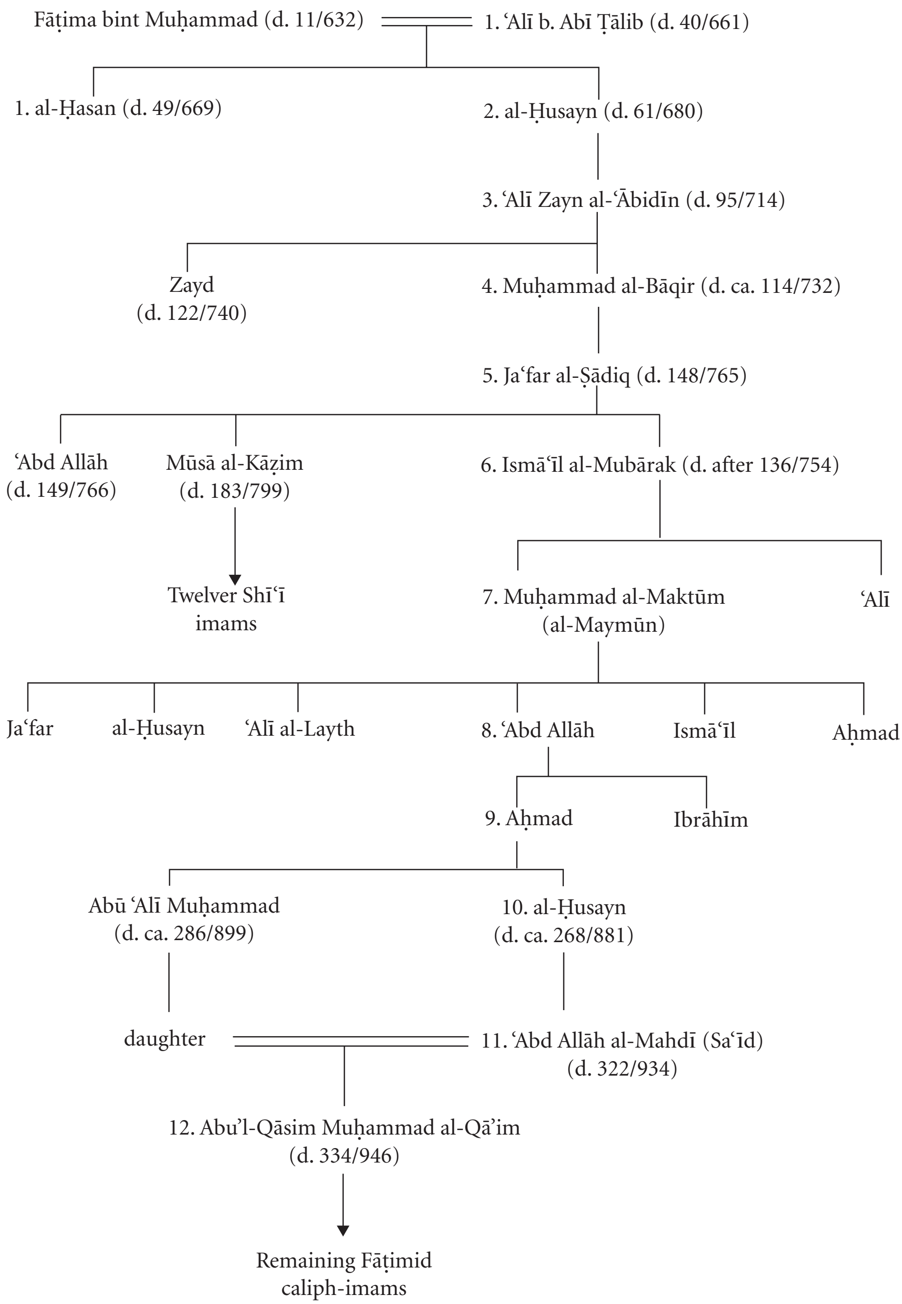
The Nizārī Ismāʿīlī Muslims, a religious minority in many lands, have often experienced repression and persecution in the course of their eventful and complex history. Thus they have frequently resorted to extensive and extended dissimulating practices, disguising themselves as Sufis, Twelver Shīʿīs, Sunnīs or even Hindus. The fact that the Nizārīs have emerged in modern times as a progressive community with a distinct religious identity attests to the resiliency of their traditions as well as to their adaptability under the capable and foresighted leadership of their last two imams, the Aga Khans.

Genealogical tables and lists

The Hāshimids and the early Shīʿī imams

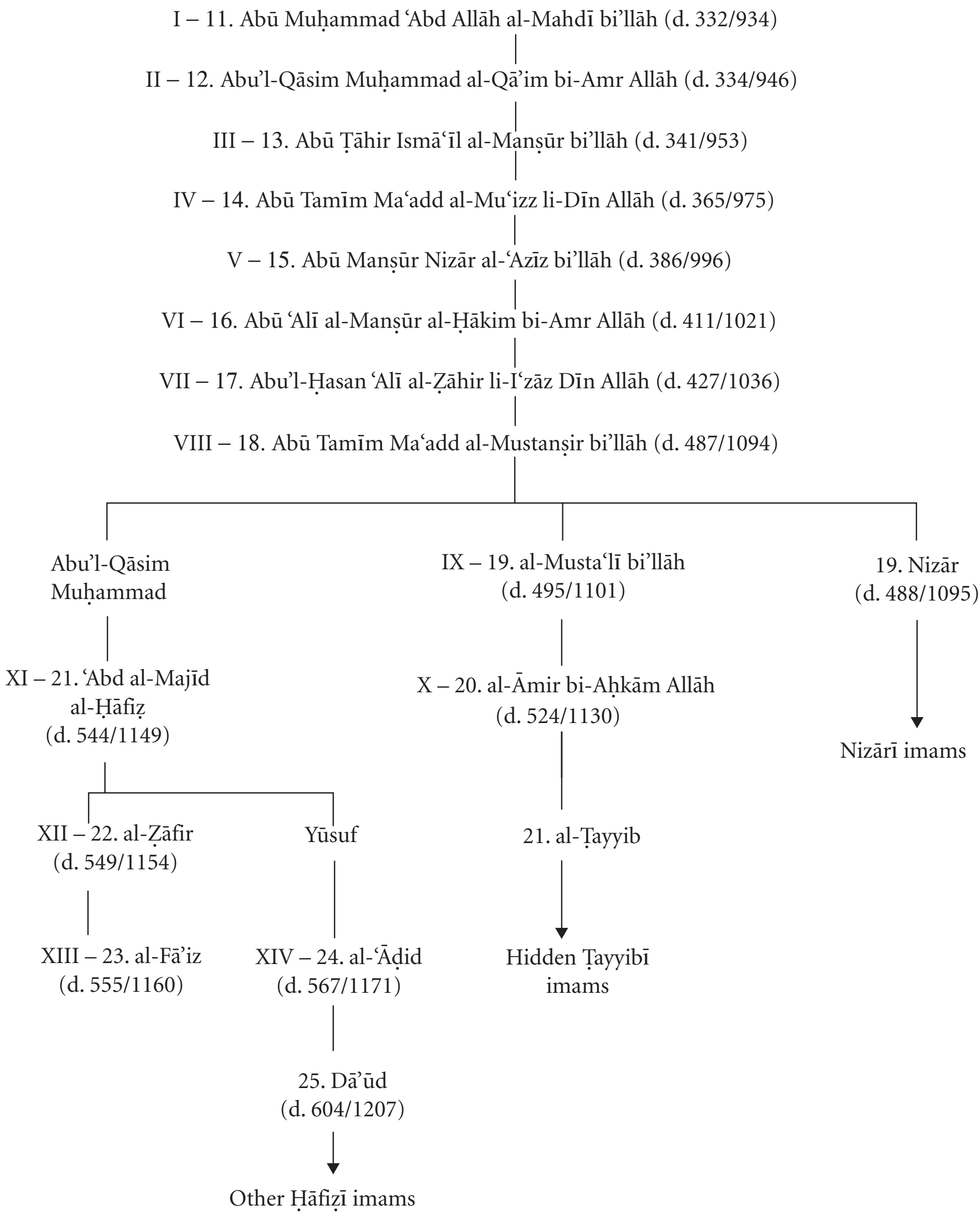


The early Ismāʿīlī imams



Originally ʿAlī was counted as the first imam. Later, ʿAlī acquired the higher rank of *asās* and al-Ḥasan was counted as the first imam. Still later, the Nizārīs omitted al-Ḥasan and started the list with ʿAlī, counting al-Ḥusayn as their second imam.

The Fāṭimid Ismāʿīlī caliph-imams



Roman numbers designate the succession order of the Fāṭimid caliphs. Arabic numbers designate the order of the Ismāʿīlī imams. After al-Mustanṣir, the Nizārīs and Mustaʿlians followed different lines of imams. After al-Āmir, the Mustaʿlians themselves split into the Ṭayyibī and Ḥāfiẓī factions, recognizing different imams.

Nizārī imams

Qāsim-Shāhī Nizārī imams

19. Nizār b. al-Mustanṣir bi'llāh (d. 488/1095)
20. al-Hādī
21. al-Muhtadī
22. al-Qāhir
23. Ḥasan II *ʿalā dhikrihi'l-salām* (d. 561/1166)
24. Nūr al-Dīn Muḥammad II (d. 607/1210)
25. Jalāl al-Dīn Ḥasan III (d. 618/1221)
26. ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Muḥammad III (d. 653/1255)
27. Rukn al-Dīn Khurshāh (d. 655/1257)
28. Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad (d. ca. 710/1310)
29. Qāsim Shāh
30. Islām Shāh
31. Muḥammad b. Islām Shāh
32. Mustanṣir bi'llāh II (d. 885/1480)
33. ʿAbd al-Salām Shāh
34. Gharīb Mīrzā (Mustanṣir bi'llāh III) (d. 904/1498)
35. Abū Dharr ʿAlī (Nūr al-Dīn)
36. Murād Mīrzā (d. 981/1574)
37. Dhu'l-Faqār ʿAlī (Khalīl Allāh I) (d. 1043/1634)
38. Nūr al-Dahr (Nūr al-Dīn) ʿAlī (d. 1082/1671)
39. Khalīl Allāh II ʿAlī (d. 1090/1680)
40. Shāh Nizār II (d. 1134/1722)
41. Sayyid ʿAlī (d. 1167/1754)
42. Ḥasan ʿAlī
43. Qāsim ʿAlī (Sayyid Jaʿfar)
44. Abu'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī (Bāqir Shāh) (d. 1206/1792)
45. Shāh Khalīl Allāh III (d. 1232/1817)
46. Ḥasan ʿAlī Shāh, Āghā Khān I (d. 1298/1881)
47. Āqā ʿAlī Shāh, Āghā Khān II (d. 1302/1885)
48. Sulṭān Muḥammad Shāh, Aga Khan III (d. 1376/1957)
49. H. H. Shāh Karīm al-Ḥusaynī, Aga Khan IV, the present *ḥāḍir* imam

Muḥammad-Shāhī (Muʾminī) Nizārī imams

19. Nizār b. al-Mustanṣir bi'llāh (d. 488/1095)
20. Ḥasan b. Nizār (d. 534/1139)
21. Muḥammad b. Ḥasan (d. 590/1194)

22. Jalāl al-Dīn Ḥasan b. Muḥammad (d. 618/1221)
23. ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Ḥasan (d. 653/1255)
24. Rukn al-Dīn Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad (d. 655/1257)
*25. Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd (d. ca. 710/1310)
26. ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Muʾmin Shāh b. Muḥammad
27. Muḥammad Shāh b. Muʾmin Shāh
28. Raḍī al-Dīn b. Muḥammad Shāh
29. Ṭāhir b. Raḍī al-Dīn
30. Raḍī al-Dīn II b. Ṭāhir (d. 915/1509)
31. Shāh Ṭāhir b. Raḍī al-Dīn II al-Ḥusaynī Dakkanī (d. ca. 956/1549)
32. Ḥaydar b. Shāh Ṭāhir (d. 994/1586)
33. Ṣadr al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Ḥaydar (d. 1032/1622)
34. Muʿīn al-Dīn b. Ṣadr al-Dīn (d. 1054/1644)
35. ʿAṭiyyat Allāh b. Muʿīn al-Dīn (Khudāybakhsh) (d. 1074/1663)
36. ʿAzīz Shāh b. ʿAṭiyyat Allāh (d. 1103/1691)
37. Muʿīn al-Dīn II b. ʿAzīz Shāh (d. 1127/1715)
38. Amīr Muḥammad b. Muʿīn al-Dīn II al-Musharraf (d. 1178/1764)
39. Ḥaydar b. Muḥammad al-Muṭahhar (d. 1201/1786)
40. Amīr Muḥammad b. Ḥaydar al-Bāqir, the final imam of this line

* Some Muḥammad-Shāhī sources add the name of Aḥmad al-Qāʾim between the 24th and the 25th imams.

Ṭayyibī-Mustaʿlī *Dāʿīs*

In Yaman

1. al-Dhuʾayb b. Mūsā al-Wādiʿī (d. 546/1151)
2. Ibrāhīm b. al-Ḥusayn al-Ḥāmidī (d. 557/1162)
3. Ḥātim b. Ibrāhīm al-Ḥāmidī (d. 596/1199)
4. ʿAlī b. Ḥātim al-Ḥāmidī (d. 605/1209)
5. ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. al-Walīd (d. 612/1215)
6. ʿAlī b. Ḥanẓala al-Wādiʿī (d. 626/1229)
7. Aḥmad b. al-Mubārak b. Muḥammad b. al-Walīd (d. 627/1230)
8. al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. al-Walīd (d. 667/1268)
9. ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī b. al-Walīd (d. 682/1284)
10. ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī b. Ḥanẓala (d. 686/1287)
11. Ibrāhīm b. al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī b. al-Walīd (d. 728/1328)
12. Muḥammad b. Ḥātim b. al-Ḥusayn b. al-Walīd (d. 729/1329)
13. ʿAlī b. Ibrāhīm b. al-Ḥusayn b. al-Walīd (d. 746/1345)
14. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib b. Muḥammad b. Ḥātim b. al-Walīd (d. 755/1354)

15. ʿAbbās b. Muḥammad b. Ḥātim b. al-Walīd (d. 779/1378)
16. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. al-Walīd (d. 809/1407)
17. al-Ḥasan b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAlī b. al-Walīd (d. 821/1418)
18. ʿAlī b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAlī b. al-Walīd (d. 832/1428)
19. Idrīs b. al-Ḥasan b. ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Walīd (d. 872/1468)
20. al-Ḥasan b. Idrīs b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Walīd (d. 918/1512)
21. al-Ḥusayn b. Idrīs b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Walīd (d. 933/1527)
22. ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn b. Idrīs b. al-Walīd (d. 933/1527)
23. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan (al-Ḥusayn) b. Idrīs b. al-Walīd (d. 946/1539)

In India

24. Yūsuf b. Sulaymān (d. 974/1567)
25. Jalāl b. Ḥasan (d. 975/1567)
26. Dāʾūd b. ʿAjabshāh (d. 997/1589 or 999/1591)

Dāʾūdī *Dāʿīs*: in India

27. Dāʾūd Burhān al-Dīn b. Quṭbshāh (d. 1021/1612)
28. Shaykh Ādam Ṣafī al-Dīn b. Ṭayyibshāh (d. 1030/1621)
29. ʿAbd al-Ṭayyib Zakī al-Dīn b. Dāʾūd b. Quṭbshāh (d. 1041/1631)
30. ʿAlī Shams al-Dīn b. al-Ḥasan b. Idrīs b. al-Walīd (d. 1042/1632)
31. Qāsim Zayn al-Dīn b. Pīrkhān (d. 1054/1644)
32. Quṭbkhān Quṭb al-Dīn b. Dāʾūd (d. 1056/1646)
33. Pīrkhān Shujāʿ al-Dīn b. Aḥmadjī (d. 1065/1655)
34. Ismāʿīl Badr al-Dīn b. Mullā Rāj b. Ādam (d. 1085/1674)
35. ʿAbd al-Ṭayyib Zakī al-Dīn b. Ismāʿīl Badr al-Dīn (d. 1110/1699)
36. Mūsā Kalīm al-Dīn b. ʿAbd al-Ṭayyib Zakī al-Dīn (d. 1122/1710)
37. Nūr Muḥammad Nūr al-Dīn b. Mūsā Kalīm al-Dīn (d. 1130/1718)
38. Ismāʿīl Badr al-Dīn b. Shaykh Ādam Ṣafī al-Dīn (d. 1150/1737)
39. Ibrāhīm Wajīh al-Dīn b. ʿAbd al-Qādir Ḥakīm al-Dīn (d. 1168/1754)
40. Hibat Allāh al-Muʾayyad fi'l-Dīn b. Ibrāhīm Wajīh al-Dīn (d. 1193/1779)
41. ʿAbd al-Ṭayyib Zakī al-Dīn b. Ismāʿīl Badr al-Dīn (d. 1200/1785)
42. Yūsuf Najm al-Dīn b. ʿAbd al-Ṭayyib Zakī al-Dīn (d. 1213/1798)
43. ʿAbd ʿAlī Sayf al-Dīn b. ʿAbd al-Ṭayyib Zakī al-Dīn (d. 1232/1817)
44. Muḥammad ʿIzz al-Dīn b. Shaykh Jīwanjī Awrangābādī (d. 1236/1821)
45. Ṭayyib Zayn al-Dīn b. Shaykh Jīwanjī Awrangābādī (d. 1252/1837)
46. Muḥammad Badr al-Dīn b. ʿAbd ʿAlī Sayf al-Dīn (d. 1256/1840)
47. ʿAbd al-Qādir Najm al-Dīn b. Ṭayyib Zayn al-Dīn (d. 1302/1885)
48. ʿAbd al-Ḥusayn Ḥusām al-Dīn b. Ṭayyib Zayn al-Dīn (d. 1308/1891)
49. Muḥammad Burhān al-Dīn b. ʿAbd al-Qādir Najm al-Dīn (d. 1323/1906)
50. ʿAbd Allāh Badr al-Dīn b. ʿAbd al-Ḥusayn Ḥusām al-Dīn (d. 1333/1915)

51. Ṭāhir Sayf al-Dīn b. Muḥammad Burhān al-Dīn (d. 1385/1965)
52. Sayyidnā Muḥammad Burhān al-Dīn b. Ṭāhir Sayf al-Dīn, the present *dāʿī*

Sulaymānī *Dāʿīs*: in India and Yaman

27. Sulaymān b. Ḥasan (d. 1005/1597)
28. Jāfar b. Sulaymān (d. 1050/1640)
29. ʿAlī b. Sulaymān (d. 1088/1677)
30. Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. al-Fahd al-Makramī (d. 1094/1683)
31. Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl (d. 1109/1697)
32. Hibat Allāh b. Ibrāhīm (d. 1160/1747)
33. Ismāʿīl b. Hibat Allāh (d. 1184/1770)
34. al-Ḥasan b. Hibat Allāh (d. 1189/1775)
35. ʿAbd al-ʿAlī b. al-Ḥasan (d. 1195/1781)
36. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAlī (d. 1225/1810)
37. Yūsuf b. ʿAlī (d. 1234/1819)
38. al-Ḥusayn b. al-Ḥasan (d. 1241/1826)
39. Ismāʿīl b. Muḥammad (d. 1256/1840)
40. al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad (d. 1262/1846)
41. al-Ḥasan b. Ismāʿīl (d. 1289/1872)
42. Aḥmad b. Ismāʿīl (d. 1306/1889)
43. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAlī (d. 1323/1905)
44. ʿAlī b. Hibat Allāh (d. 1331/1913)
45. ʿAlī b. Muḥsin (d. 1355/1936)
46. Ḥusām al-Dīn al-Ḥājj Ghulām Ḥusayn (d. 1357/1938)
47. Sharaf al-Dīn al-Ḥusayn b. Aḥmad al-Makramī (d. 1358/1939)
48. Jamāl al-Dīn ʿAlī b. Sharaf al-Dīn al-Ḥusayn al-Makramī (d. 1395/1975)
49. al-Sharafī al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥusayn al-Makramī (d. 1413/1992)
50. al-Ḥusayn b. Ismāʿīl al-Makramī (d. 1426/2005)
51. Sayyidnā ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad al-Makramī, the present *dāʿī*

ʿAlawī *Dāʿīs*: In India

27. Dāʾūd Burhān al-Dīn b. Quṭbshāh (d. 1021/1612)
28. Shaykh Ādam Ṣafī al-Dīn b. Ṭayyibshāh (d. 1030/1621)
29. Shams al-Dīn ʿAlī b. Ibrāhīm (d. 1046/1637)
30. Zakī al-Dīn Ṭayyib b. Shaykh Ādam (d. 1047/1638)
31. Badr al-Dīn Ḥasan b. Walī (d. 1090/1679)
32. Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn Jīwābhāʾī b. Nūḥ (d. 1130/1718)
33. Muʾayyad al-Dīn Hibat Allāh b. Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn (d. 1151/1738)
34. Shihāb al-Dīn Jalāl b. Nūḥ (d. 1158/1745)
35. Nūr al-Dīn Nūrbhāʾī b. Shaykh ʿAlī (d. 1178/1764)

36. Ḥamīd al-Dīn Shams al-Dīn b. Hibat Allāh (d. 1189/1775)
37. Shams al-Dīn Shaykh ʿAlī b. Shams al-Dīn (d. 1248/1832)
38. Ḥamīd al-Dīn Shams al-Dīn b. Shaykh ʿAlī (d. 1252/1836)
39. Mufīd al-Dīn Najm al-Dīn b. Shaykh ʿAlī (d. 1282/1865)
40. Amīn al-Dīn Amīr al-Dīn b. Najm al-Dīn (d. 1296/1879)
41. Fakhr al-Dīn Jīwābhāʾī b. Amīr al-Dīn (d. 1347/1929)
42. Badr al-Dīn Fidā ʿAlī b. Fakhr al-Dīn (d. 1377/1958)
43. Nūr al-Dīn Yūsuf b. Badr al-Dīn (d. 1394/1974)
44. Sayyidnā Abū Ḥātim Ṭayyib Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn b. Nūr al-Dīn Yūsuf, the present *dāʿī*

This list of the ʿAlawī *dāʿī*s was supplied to the author by their *daʿwa* headquarters in Vadodara (Baroda), Gujarāt.

Glossary

Listings in the glossary are selected terms and names, chiefly of Arabic and Persian origin, frequently appearing in the text. More detailed definitions and explanations of the Ismāʿīlī terms and doctrines, which appear in different chapters, may be located by consulting the Index. In this glossary pl. and lit. are the abbreviated forms for the words 'plural' and 'literally'; and q.v. (*quod vide*) is used for cross-reference in the glossary.

ʿAbbāsids: descendants of the Prophet's uncle al-ʿAbbās b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib; the name of the dynasty of caliphs reigning from 132/749 to 656/1258.

adhān: Muslim call to prayer. There are slight differences between the Sunnī and Shīʿī calls to prayer made five times a day.

ahl al-bayt: lit., the people of the house; members of the household of the Prophet, including especially, besides Muḥammad, ʿAlī, Fāṭima, al-Ḥasan, al-Ḥusayn and their progeny. The Prophet's family is also designated as *āl Muḥammad*.

ʿAlids: descendants of ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, cousin and son-in-law of the Prophet, and also the fourth caliph and the first Shīʿī imam (q.v.). The Shīʿīs believed certain ʿAlids should be imams, and they acknowledged ʿAlī as the first amongst their imams. ʿAlī's first spouse was Fāṭima, the Prophet's daughter, and ʿAlī's descendants by Fāṭima (the only descendants of the Prophet) are in particular called Fāṭimids (q.v.). Descendants of ʿAlī and Fāṭima through their sons al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn are also called Ḥasanids and Ḥusaynids. Descendants of al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn are often also designated, respectively, as *sharīf*s and *sayyid*s.

ʿālim (pl., *ʿulamāʾ*): a learned man; specifically a scholar in Islamic religious sciences.

amīr (pl., *umarāʾ*): military commander, prince; many independent rulers also held this title in the Islamic world.

amr: command; specifically the divine command or volition.

anṣār, lit., helpers; name given collectively to those Medinese who supported the Prophet after his emigration (*hijra*) from Mecca to Medina, as distinct from the *muhājirūn* (q.v.).

ʿaql: intellect, intelligence, reason.

asās: lit., foundation; successor to a speaking prophet, *nāṭiq* (q.v.).

atabeg (or *atābak*): lit., 'father-lord'; a Turkish title given to tutors or guardians of Saljūq and other Turkish rulers. The *atabeg*s became powerful officers of state and some of them founded independent dynasties in Islamic lands.

ʿawāmm (or *ʿāmma*): the common people, the masses, as distinct from the *khawāṣṣ* (q.v.).

bāb: lit., gate; the Ismāʿīlī religious term for the administrative head of the *daʿwa* (q.v.) under the Fāṭimids, sometimes also called *bāb al-abwāb;* the highest rank, after the imam, in the *daʿwa* hierarchy of the Fāṭimid Ismāʿīlīs; the equivalent of the official term *dāʿī al-duʿāt* (q.v.), mentioned especially in non-Ismāʿīlī sources; also a chapter or short treatise.

bāṭin: the inward, hidden or esoteric meaning behind the literal wording of sacred texts and religious prescriptions, notably the Qurʾān and the *sharīʿa* (q.v.), as distinct from the *ẓāhir* (q.v.); hence, Bāṭinīs, Bāṭiniyya, the groups associated with such ideas. Most of these groups were Shīʿī, particularly Ismāʿīlī.

bayʿa: recognition of authority, especially the act of swearing allegiance to a new sovereign or spiritual leader.

bayt al-māl: lit., the house of wealth; treasury of the Muslim state.

dāʿī (pl., *duʿāt*): lit., he who summons; a religious propagandist or missionary of various Muslim groups, especially amongst the Ismāʿīlīs and other Shīʿī groups; a high rank in the *daʿwa* (q.v.) hierarchy of the Ismāʿīlīs. The term *dāʿī* came to be used generically from early on by the Ismāʿīlīs in reference to any authorized representative of their *daʿwa;* a propagandist responsible for spreading the Ismāʿīlī religion and for winning suitable converts.

dāʿī al-duʿāt: chief *dāʿī;* a non-technical term used mainly in non-Ismāʿīlī sources; see *bāb*.

dāʿī muṭlaq: a rank in the *daʿwa* (q.v.) hierarchy of the Fāṭimid Ismāʿīlīs; it later became the highest rank in the Ṭayyibī–Mustaʿlī *daʿwa* organization; the administrative head of the Ṭayyibī *daʿwa* during its Yamanī phase, enjoying absolute authority in the community. It was also adopted by the administrative heads of the Dāʾūdī, Sulaymānī and ʿAlawī branches of the Ṭayyibī *daʿwa*.

darwīsh (Anglicized dervish): a term meaning 'poor' applied to a practising Sufi (q.v.), with special reference to his poor or wandering life.

dassondh: lit., tithe, a tenth; equivalent of the Arabic word *ʿushr;* the religious tithe paid annually by the Nizārī Khojas to their imam. Amongst the Persian Nizārīs it is called *dah-yik*, sometimes more generally referred to as *ḥaqq-i imām*.

daʿwa: mission or propaganda; in the religio-political sense, *daʿwa* is the invitation or call to adopt the cause of an individual or family claiming the right to the imamate; it also refers to the entire hierarchy of ranks, sometimes called *ḥudūd* (q.v.), within the particular religious organization developed for this purpose, especially amongst the Ismāʿīlīs. The Ismāʿīlīs often referred to their movement simply as *al-daʿwa*, or more formally as *al-daʿwa al-hādiya*, 'the rightly guiding mission'.

dawr (pl., *adwār*): period, era, cycle of history; the Ismāʿīlīs held that the hierohistory of mankind consisted of seven *adwār*, each inaugurated by a speaking prophet or *nāṭiq* (q.v.) who brought a revealed message in the form of a religious law.

dīwān: a public financial register; a government department; the collected works of a poet.

faqīh (pl., *fuqahāʾ*): in its technical meaning it denotes an exponent of *fiqh* (q.v.); a specialist in Islamic jurisprudence; a Muslim jurist in general.

farmān: royal decree; written edict; also called *firman* by the Nizārī Khojas. For the Nizārī Ismāʿīlīs, it refers to any pronouncement, order or ruling made by their imam.

Fāṭimids: descendants of ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib and Fāṭima, the Prophet's daughter, corresponding to Fāṭimid ʿAlids (q.v.); the name of the Ismāʿīlī dynasty of caliph-imams, claiming Fāṭimid descent, reigning from 297/909 to 567/1171.

fidāʾī (or *fidāwī*): one who offers his life for a cause; a term used for special devotees in several religio-political Muslim groups; particularly those Nizārī Ismāʿīlīs of Persia and Syria who, during the Alamūt period, risked their lives in the service of their community.

fiqh: the technical term for Islamic jurisprudence; the science of law in Islam; the discipline of elucidating the *sharīʿa* (q.v.).

ghayba: lit., absence; the word has been used in a technical sense for the condition of anyone who has been withdrawn by God from the eyes of men and whose life during that period of occultation (called his *ghayba*) may be miraculously prolonged. In this sense, a number of Shīʿī groups have recognized the *ghayba* of one or another imam (q.v.), with the implication that no further imam was to succeed him and he was to return at a foreordained time before the Day of Resurrection, *qiyāma* (q.v.), as Mahdī (q.v.).

ghulāt (pl. of *ghālī*): exaggerator, extremist; a term of disapproval for individuals accused of exaggeration (*ghuluww*) in religion and in respect to the imams (q.v.); it was particularly applied to those Shīʿī personalities and groups whose doctrines were offensive to the Twelver Imāmī Shīʿīs.

ginān (or *gnān*): derived from a Sanskrit word meaning meditative or contemplative knowledge; a general term used for the corpus of the indigenous religious literature of the Nizārī Khojas and some related groups of South Asia. Composed in a number of Indic languages, the hymn-like *ginān*s are recorded mainly in the Khojkī script.

ḥadīth: a report, sometimes translated as Tradition, relating an action or saying of the Prophet, or the corpus of such reports collectively, constituting one of the major sources of Islamic law, second in importance only to the Qurʾān. For the Shīʿī communities, it generally also refers to the actions and sayings of their imams (q.v.). The Shīʿīs accepted those *ḥadīth*s related from the Prophet which had been handed down or sanctioned by their imams in conjunction with those *ḥadīth*s related from the imams recognized by them. The Shīʿīs also use the terms *riwāyāt* and *akhbār* as synonyms of *ḥadīth*.

ḥajj: the annual pilgrimage to Mecca and some other sacred localities in the Ḥijāz in the month of Dhu'l-Ḥijja, the last month of the Muslim calendar; required of every Muslim at least once in his lifetime if possible. One who has performed the *ḥajj* is called Ḥājj in Arabic and Ḥājjī in Persian and Turkish.

Ḥanafids: descendants of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya, a non-Fāṭimid (q.v.) son of ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib.

ḥaqāʾiq (pl. of *ḥaqīqa*): truths; as a technical term it denotes the gnostic system of thought of the Ismāʿīlīs. In this sense, the *ḥaqāʾiq* are the unchangeable truths

contained in the *bāṭin* (q.v.); while the law changes with every law-announcing prophet or *nāṭiq* (q.v.), the *ḥaqāʾiq* remain eternal.

Ḥasanids: see ʿAlids.

Hāshimids: descendants of Hāshim b. ʿAbd Manāf, the common ancestor of the Prophet, ʿAlī and al-ʿAbbās. The chief Hāshimid branches were the ʿAlids (q.v.) and the ʿAbbāsids (q.v.). Hāshimid also refers to those Shīʿīs who acknowledged the imamate of Abū Hāshim, the son of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya and other Ḥanafids (q.v.).

ḥudūd (pl. of *ḥadd*): ranks; a technical term denoting the various ranks in the *daʿwa* (q.v.) hierarchy of the Ismāʿīlīs, also called *ḥudūd al-dīn*.

ḥujja: proof or the presentation of proof. Amongst the Shīʿīs, the term has been used in different senses. Initially, it meant the proof of God's presence or will, and as such it referred to that person who at any given time served as evidence among mankind of God's will. In this sense, the application of the term was systematized by the Imāmī Shīʿīs to designate the category of prophets and imams (q.v.) and, after the Prophet Muḥammad, more particularly of the imams. The original Shīʿī application of the term *ḥujja* was retained by the pre-Fāṭimid Ismāʿīlīs who also used *ḥujja* in reference to a dignitary in their religious hierarchy, notably one through whom the inaccessible Mahdī (q.v.) could become accessible to his adherents. The *ḥujja* was also a high rank in the *daʿwa* (q.v.) hierarchy of the Fāṭimid Ismāʿīlīs; there were twelve such *ḥujja*s, each one in charge of a separate *daʿwa* region called *jazīra* (q.v.). In Nizārī Ismāʿīlī *daʿwa*, the term generally denoted the chief representative of the imam, sometimes also called *pīr* (q.v.)

ḥulūl: infusion or incarnation of the divine essence in the human body; amongst some Shīʿī groups, notably the *ghulāt* (q.v.), it particularly referred to the incarnation of the divine essence in one or another imam (q.v.).

Ḥusaynids: see ʿAlids.

ilḥād: deviation from the right religious path; heresy in religion. The Ismāʿīlīs and other Shīʿī groups were often accused of *ilḥād* by Sunnī Muslims. A person accused of *ilḥād* is called *mulḥid* (pl., *malāḥida*).

ʿilm: knowledge, more specifically religious knowledge. Amongst the Shīʿīs, it was held that every imam (q.v.) possessed a special secret knowledge, *ʿilm*, which was divinely inspired and transmitted through the *naṣṣ* (q.v.) of the preceding imam.

imam (pl., *aʾimma*): leader of a group of Muslims in prayer, *ṣalāt*; the supreme leader of the Muslim community. The title was particularly used by the Shīʿīs in reference to the persons recognized by them as the heads of the Muslim community after the Prophet. The Shīʿīs regard ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib and certain of his descendants as such leaders, imams, the legitimate successors to the Prophet. The imams are held to be *maʿṣūm*, fully immune from sin and error; they are generally held to be also divinely appointed, and divinely guided in the discharge of their special spiritual functions. Amongst the Sunnīs, the term is used in reference to any great *ʿālim* (q.v.), especially the founder of a legal *madhhab* (q.v.). The office of imam is called imamate (Arabic, *imāma*).

iqṭāʿ: an administrative grant of land or of its revenues by a Muslim ruler to an individual, usually in recompense for service.

jamāʿa: assembly, religious congregation; also pronounced *jamāʿat* and used by the Nizārī Ismāʿīlīs of the post-Alamūt period in reference to their individual communities.

jamāʿat-khāna: assembly house; congregation place, with a special prayer hall, used by the Nizārī Ismāʿīlīs for their religious and communal activities.

jazīra (pl., *jazāʾir*): lit., island; a term denoting a particular *daʿwa* (q.v.) region. The Ismāʿīlīs, specifically the Fāṭimid Ismāʿīlīs, in theory divided the world into twelve regions, sometimes called *jazāʾir al-arḍ*, each *jazīra* representing a separate region for the penetration of their *daʿwa*, and placed under the charge of a *ḥujja* (q.v.).

kalima: word; specifically the divine word, *logos*; a synonym of *kalimat Allāh*.

kamadia: see *mukhi*.

kashf: manifestation, unveiling; in Ismāʿīlī doctrine, it is used specifically in reference to a period, called *dawr al-kashf*, when the imams (q.v.) were manifest, or when the *ḥaqāʾiq* (q.v.) would be no longer concealed in the *bāṭin* (q.v.), in distinction from *satr* (q.v.).

khān: Turkish title originally a contraction of *khāqān*, which as a title of sovereignty denoted supremacy over a group of tribes or territories. The title *khān* was used by Turkish Muslim rulers in Central Asia from the 4th/10th century onwards; in time it came to be applied to subordinate rulers and important local officials; also an honorific appellation.

khawāṣṣ (or *khāṣṣa*): the elite, the privileged people, as distinct from the *ʿawāmm* (q.v.).

Khoja: see *khwāja*.

khudāwand: lord, master; it was used in reference to the central rulers of the Nizārī state in Persia.

khuṭba: an address or sermon delivered (by a *khāṭib*) at the Friday midday public prayers in the mosque; since it includes a prayer for the ruler, mention in the *khuṭba* is a mark of sovereignty in Islam.

khwāja: master; a title used in different senses in Islamic lands; it was frequently accorded to scholars, teachers, merchants, and *wazīr*s (q.v.); in India, it was transformed to Khoja (Khōja), denoting an Indian caste consisting mostly of Nizārī Ismāʿīlīs. In a looser sense, Khoja is used in reference to an Indian Nizārī, or a Nizārī of Indian origins, in general.

laqab (pl., *alqāb*): nickname, sobriquet, honorific title.

madhhab (pl., *madhāhib*): a system or school of religious law in Islam; in particular it is applied to the four main systems of *fiqh* (q.v.) that arose among the Sunnī Muslims, namely, Ḥanafī, Mālikī, Shāfiʿī and Ḥanbalī, named after the jurists who founded them. Different Shīʿī communities have had their own *madhāhib*. In Persian, the word *madhhab* is also used to mean religion, a synonym of *dīn*.

maʾdhūn: lit., licentiate; a rank in the *daʿwa* (q.v.) hierarchy of the Ismāʿīlīs below that of the *dāʿī*. In post-Fāṭimid period in particular, *maʾdhūn* came to be used generically by the Ismāʿīlīs in reference to the assistant of the *dāʿī*.

madrasa: a college or seminary of higher Muslim learning, frequently attached to a mosque.

Mahdī: the rightly guided one; a name applied to the restorer of true religion and justice who, according to a widely held Muslim belief, will appear and rule before the end of the world. This name with its various messianic connotations has been applied to different individuals by Shīʿīs and Sunnīs in the course of the centuries. Belief in the coming of the Mahdī of the family of the Prophet, the *ahl al-bayt* (q.v.), became a central aspect of the faith in Shīʿism in contrast to Sunnism. Also distinctively Shīʿī was the common belief in a temporary absence or occultation, *ghayba* (q.v.), of the Mahdī and his eventual return, *rajʿa* (q.v.), in glory. In Shīʿī terminology, at least from the 2nd/8th century, the Mahdī was commonly given the epithet *al-qāʾim* (q.v.), 'riser', also called *qāʾim āl Muḥammad*, denoting a member of the Prophet's family who would rise and restore justice on earth. Various early Shīʿī groups expected the return of the last imam (q.v.) recognized by them in the role of the *qāʾim*. In Imāmī and Ismāʿīlī usage, the term *qāʾim* widely replaced that of Mahdī.

malāḥida (pl. of *mulḥid*): see *ilḥād*.

mawlā (pl., *mawālī*): master; freed slave; client of an Arab tribe; more specifically a non-Arab convert to Islam who acquired status by attachment to an Arab tribal group. In the early Islamic centuries, the term *mawālī* was applied generally to the non-Arab converts to Islam.

minbar: the pulpit in a mosque, from which the *khuṭba* (q.v.) is delivered.

muʿallim: teacher, specifically religious teacher; a rank in the *daʿwa* (q.v.) hierarchy of the post-Alamūt Nizārī Ismāʿīlīs.

muhājirūn: lit., emigrants; name given collectively to those Meccan followers of the Prophet who accompanied him in his emigration (*hijra*) from Mecca to Medina, as distinct from the *anṣār* (q.v.).

muḥtasham: a title used commonly in reference to the leader of the Nizārī Ismāʿīlīs of Quhistān in eastern Persia during the Alamūt period.

mukhi: a name originally used by the Indian Nizārīs in reference to the head of a local Nizārī community, *jamāʿa* (q.v.), who acted as treasurer and also officiated on various occasions in the local *jamāʿat-khāna* (q.v.). The *mukhi*'s assistant was called *kamadia* (pronounced *kāmariyā*). The terms *mukhi* and *kamadia*, with various pronunciations, were in time adopted by the Nizārī Ismāʿīlī communities outside South Asia.

mulḥid: see *ilḥād*

murīd: disciple; specifically, disciple of a Sufi (q.v.) master; member of a Sufi order in general; also frequently used in reference to an ordinary Nizārī Ismāʿīlī in Persia and elsewhere during the post-Alamūt period.

murshid: guide, Sufi master; also used in reference to the imams of the Nizārī Ismāʿīlīs during the post-Alamūt period.

mustajīb: lit., respondent; a term denoting an ordinary Ismāʿīlī initiate or neophyte.

nabī (pl., *anbiyāʾ*): prophet. The office of *nabī* is called *nubuwwa*.

nafs: soul, often used as a synonym of *rūḥ*.

naṣṣ: explicit designation of a successor by his predecessor, particularly relating to the Shīʿī view of succession to the imamate, whereby each imam (q.v.), under divine guidance, designates his successor. The Ṭayyibī–Mustaʿlī *dāʿī*s are also designated by the rule of the *naṣṣ*. One who has received the *naṣṣ* is called *manṣūṣ*.

nāṭiq (pl., *nuṭaqāʾ*): lit., speaker, one gifted with speech; in Ismāʿīlī thought, a speaking or law-announcing prophet who brings a new religious law (*sharīʿa*), abrogating the previous law and, hence, initiating a new *dawr* (q.v.) in the religious history of mankind. According to the early Ismāʿīlīs, the history of mankind was comprised of seven eras of various durations, each one inaugurated by a speaker-prophet or enunciator, *nāṭiq*. The early Ismāʿīlīs further maintained that each of the first six *nāṭiq*s was succeeded by a spiritual legatee or executor (*waṣī*) also called foundation (*asās*) or silent one (*ṣāmit*), who interpreted the inner, esoteric, *bāṭin* (q.v.) meaning of the revealed message of that era to the elite. This cyclical prophetic view of religious history was essentially maintained, with various modifications, by the later Ismāʿīlīs.

Nizārids: descendants of Nizār b. al-Mustanṣir, the nineteenth imam of the Nizārī Ismāʿīlīs, to whom the subsequent Nizārī imams traced their descent.

pīr: the Persian equivalent of the Arabic word *shaykh* in the sense of a spiritual guide, Sufi (q.v.) master or *murshid* (q.v.), qualified to lead disciples, *murīd*s (q.v.), on the mystical path, *ṭarīqa* (q.v.), to truth (*ḥaqīqa*); used loosely in reference to the imam and the holders of the highest ranks in the *daʿwa* (q.v.) hierarchy of the post-Alamūt Nizārī Ismāʿīlīs; a chief Nizārī *dāʿī* in a certain territory, in this sense it was particularly used by the Nizārī Khojas in reference to the administrative heads of the *daʿwa* in the Indian subcontinent.

qāḍī (pl., *quḍāt*): a religious judge administering Islamic law, the *sharīʿa* (q.v.).

qāḍī al-quḍāt: chief *qāḍī;* the highest judiciary officer of the Fāṭimid state.

qāʾim: 'riser'; the eschatological Mahdī (q.v.). In pre-Fāṭimid Ismāʿīlism, the terms Mahdī and *qāʾim* were both used, as in Imāmī Shīʿism, for the expected messianic imam. After the rise of the Fāṭimids, the name al-Mahdī was reserved for the first Fāṭimid caliph-imam, while the eschatological imam and seventh *nāṭiq* (q.v.) still expected for the future was called the *qāʾim* by the Ismāʿīlīs.

qaṣīda: a poetic genre of a certain length, normally concerned with the eulogy of a personality; in Persian, it is a lyric poem, most frequently panegyric.

qiyāma: resurrection and the Last Day, when mankind will be judged and committed forever to either Paradise or Hell; in Ismāʿīlī thought, it also came to be used in reference to the end of any partial cycle in the history of mankind, with the implication that the entire hierohistory of mankind consisted of many such partial cycles and partial *qiyāma*s, leading to the final *qiyāma*, sometimes called *qiyāmat al-qiyāmāt*. The Nizārīs of the Alamūt period interpreted the *qiyāma* spiritually as the manifestation of the unveiled truth (*ḥaqīqa*) in the spiritual reality of the current imam (q.v.), who was also called the *qāʾim al-qiyāma*.

quṭb (pl., *aqṭāb*): lit., pole; in Islamic mysticism, it denotes the most perfect human being, or *al-insān al-kāmil;* the head of a Sufi order, *ṭarīqa* (q.v.).

rafīq (pl., *rafīqān*): comrade, friend; the Nizārī Ismāʿīlīs of Persia commonly addressed one another by this term during the Alamūt period.

rajʿa: lit., return; the word has been used in a technical sense to denote the return or reappearance of a messianic personality, specifically one considered as the Mahdī (q.v.). A number of early Shīʿī groups awaited the return of one or another imam as the Mahdī, often together with many of his supporters, from the dead or from occultation, *ghayba* (q.v.), before the Day of Resurrection, *qiyāma* (q.v.).

risāla (pl., *rasāʾil*): treatise, letter, epistle.

ṣaḥāba: companions; as a technical term it denotes the Companions of the Prophet, including the *muhājirūn* (q.v.) and the *anṣār* (q.v.), amongst other categories.

ṣāmit: lit., silent one; successor to a speaking prophet, *nāṭiq* (q.v.).

satr: concealment, veiling; in Ismāʿīlī thought, it is used specifically in reference to a period, called *dawr al-satr*, when the imams (q.v.) were hidden from the eyes of their followers, or when the *ḥaqāʾiq* (q.v.) were concealed in the *bāṭin* (q.v.), as distinct from *kashf* (q.v.).

sayyid (pl., *sādāt*): lord, master; an honorific appellation for men of authority; the term has been used extensively, but not exclusively, for the descendants of the Prophet, particularly in the Ḥusaynid line; see ʿAlids.

shāh: an Iranian royal title denoting a king; it is often also added to the names of Sufi (q.v.) saints and Nizārī imams of the post-Alamūt period.

sharīʿa (or *sharʿ*): the divinely revealed sacred law of Islam; the whole body of rules guiding the life of a Muslim. The provisions of the *sharīʿa* are worked out through the discipline of *fiqh* (q.v.).

sharīf (pl., *ashrāf*): noble; at first used generally of the leading Arab families, then more particularly of the descendants of the Prophet, particularly in the Ḥasanid line; see ʿAlids.

shaykh: old man, elder; the chief of a tribe; any religious dignitary; in particular, an independent Sufi (q.v.) master or spiritual guide, qualified to lead aspirants on the Sufi path, *ṭarīqa* (q.v.); in this sense called *pīr* in Persian; *shaykh* (pl., *mashāyikh*) is also a high rank in the *daʿwa* organization of the Dāʾūdī Ṭayyibīs.

Sufi: an exponent of Sufism (*taṣawwuf*), the commonest term for that aspect of Islam which is based on the mystical life; hence, it denotes a Muslim mystic; more specifically, a member of an organized Sufi order, *ṭarīqa* (q.v.).

sulṭān (Anglicized, sultan): a Muslim term for sovereign; the supreme political and military authority in a Muslim state.

sunna: custom, practice; particularly that associated with the exemplary life of the Prophet, comprising his deeds, utterances and his unspoken approval; it is embodied in *ḥadīth* (q.v.).

tafsīr: lit., explanation, commentary; particularly the commentaries on the Qurʾān; the external, philological exegesis of the Qurʾān, in distinction from *taʾwīl* (q.v.).

Ṭālibids: descendants of Abū Ṭālib b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, the father of ʿAlī and full-brother of the Prophet's father ʿAbd Allāh; including particularly the ʿAlids (q.v.) and the descendants of ʿAlī's brother Jaʿfar al-Ṭayyār.

taʿlīm: teaching, instruction; in Shīʿism, authoritative teaching in religion which could be carried out only by an imam (q.v.) in every age after the Prophet.

tanāsukh: metempsychosis, transmigration of souls; passing of the soul (*nafs* or *rūḥ*) from one body to another; reincarnation of the soul of an individual in a different human body or in a different creature.

taqiyya: precautionary dissimulation of one's true religious beliefs, especially in time of danger; used especially by the Twelver (Ithnāʿasharī) and Ismāʿīlī Shīʿīs.

ṭarīqa: way, path; the mystical spiritual path followed by Sufis (q.v.); any one of the organized Sufi orders. It is also used by the Nizārī Ismāʿīlīs in reference to their interpretation of Islam.

taʾwīl: the educing of the inner meaning from the literal wording or apparent meaning of a text or a ritual, religious prescription; as a technical term among the Shīʿīs, particularly the Ismāʿīlīs, it denotes the method of educing the *bāṭin* (q.v.) from the *ẓāhir* (q.v.); as such it was extensively used by the Ismāʿīlīs for the allegorical, symbolic or esoteric interpretation of the Qurʾān, the *sharīʿa*, historical events and the world of nature. Translated also as spiritual or hermeneutic exegesis, *taʾwīl* may be distinguished from *tafsīr* (q.v.).

ʿulamāʾ: see *ʿālim*.

umma: community, any people as followers of a particular religion or prophet; in particular, the Muslims as forming a religious community.

walī al-ʿahd: heir designate, designated successor to a sovereign.

waṣī (pl., *awṣiyāʾ*): legatee, executor of a will; the immediate successor to a prophet; in this sense, it was the function of *awṣiyāʾ* to interpret and explain the messages brought by prophets, *anbiyāʾ*; see *nāṭiq*.

wazīr (Anglicized vizier): a high officer of state, the equivalent of a chief minister. The power and status of the office of *wazīr*, called *wizāra* (Anglicized vizierate), varied greatly in different periods and under different Muslim dynasties.

yarlīgh: a Mongol term meaning decree or edict.

ẓāhir: the outward, literal, or exoteric meaning of sacred texts and religious prescriptions, notably the Qurʾān and the *sharīʿa* (q.v.), as distinct from the *bāṭin* (q.v.).

Notes

Notes to Chapter 1

1. W. Ivanow produced a number of pioneering studies on this 'black legend', see especially his *The Alleged Founder of Ismailism* (Bombay, 1946).
2. Ibn al-Nadīm, *Kitāb al-fihrist*, ed. G. Flügel (Leipzig, 1871–1872), vol. 1, pp. 186–187; ed. M. R. Tajaddud (2nd ed., Tehran, 1973), pp. 238–239.
3. Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāt al-arab fī funūn al-adab*, vol. 25, ed. M. J. ʿA. al-Ḥīnī (Cairo, 1984), pp. 187–317; Abū Bakr ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Dawādārī, *Kanz al-durar wa-jāmiʿ al-ghurar*, vol. 6, ed. Ṣ. al-Munajjid (Cairo, 1961), pp. 6–21, 44–156; and Taqī al-Dīn Aḥmad b. ʿAlī al-Maqrīzī, *Ittiʿāẓ al-ḥunafāʾ bi-akhbār al-aʾimma al-Fāṭimiyyīn al-khulafāʾ*, ed. J. al-Shayyāl and M. Ḥ. M. Aḥmad (Cairo, 1967–1973), vol. 1, pp. 22–29, 151–202.
4. Abu'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn al-Masʿūdī, *Kitāb al-tanbīh wa'l-ishrāf*, ed. M. J. de Goeje (Leiden, 1894), p. 396; French trans., *Le livre de l'avertissement et de la revision*, tr. B. Carra de Vaux (Paris, 1896), p. 502.
5. The Arabic text of this book, together with an English translation, was partially reconstructed by S. M. Stern, on the basis of quotations preserved in al-Nuwayrī and other sources; see his 'The Book of the Highest Initiation and Other Anti-Ismāʿīlī Travesties', in S. M. Stern, *Studies in Early Ismāʿīlism* (Jerusalem–Leiden, 1983), pp. 56–83.
6. Ibn al-Nadīm, *al-Fihrist*, ed. Flügel, p. 189; ed. Tajaddud, p. 240.
7. Abū Manṣūr ʿAbd al-Qāhir b. Ṭāhir al-Baghdādī, *al-Farq bayn al-firaq*, ed. M. Badr (Cairo, 1328/1910), pp. 277–279; English trans., *Moslem Schisms and Sects*, part II, tr. A. S. Halkin (Tel Aviv, 1935), pp. 130–132.
8. Niẓām al-Mulk, *Siyar al-mulūk (Siyāsat-nāma)*, ed. H. Darke (2nd ed., Tehran, 1347/1968), p. 311; English trans., *The Book of Government or Rules for Kings*, tr. H. Darke (2nd ed., London, 1978), p. 231.
9. Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī, *Faḍāʾiḥ al-Bāṭiniyya*, ed. ʿA. Badawī (Cairo, 1964), especially pp. 21–36.
10. Abū ʿAlī al-Manṣūr al-Āmir bi-Aḥkām Allāh, *Risālat īqāʿ ṣawāʿiq al-irghām*, in al-Āmir's *al-Hidāya al-Āmiriyya*, ed. A. A. A. Fyzee (London, etc., 1938), pp. 27, 32; reprinted in *Majmūʿat al-wathāʾiq al-Fāṭimiyya*, ed. J. al-Shayyāl (Cairo, 1958), pp. 233, 239.
11. See *Arabic Texts Concerning the History of the Zaydī Imāms of Ṭabaristān, Daylamān and Gīlān*, ed. W. Madelung (Beirut, 1987), pp. 146, 329.

12. For surveys of how Western perceptions of Islam and the resulting misconceptions developed in medieval times, see N. Daniel, *Islam and the West: The Making of an Image* (Edinburgh, 1966); R. W. Southern, *Western Views of Islam in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, MA, 1962); and A. Hourani, *Europe and the Middle East* (London, 1980), amongst many other studies.
13. For a survey of these legends, see F. Daftary, *The Assassin Legends: Myths of the Ismaʿilis* (London, 1994), especially pp. 88–127. For a survey of different categories of European sources on these legends, see J. Hauziński, *Muzulmańska sekta asasynów w europejskim piśmiennictwie wieków średnich* (Poznan, 1978), pp. 65–147 (in Polish).
14. Benjamin of Tudela, *The Itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela*, ed. and tr. M. N. Adler (London, 1907), translation pp. 16–17.
15. Ibid., translation pp. 53–54.
16. The Latin text of this report is incorporated in Arnold of Lübeck's *Chronica Slavorum*, book 7, chap. 8, in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Scriptores*, ed. Georg H. Pertz et al. (Hanover, 1869), vol. 21, p. 240.
17. William of Tyre, *Historia rerum in patribus transmarinis gestarum*, book 20, chap. 29, in *RHC: Historiens Occidentaux* (Paris, 1844–1895), vol. 1, pp. 995–996; ed. R. B. C. Huygens as *Willelmi Tyrensis Archiepiscopi Chronicon* (Turnhout, 1986), pp. 953–954; English trans., *A History of Deeds Done Beyond the Sea*, tr. E. A. Babcock and A. C. Krey (New York, 1943), vol. 2, pp. 390–392.
18. See, for example, Ambroise, *L'Estoire de la guerre Sainte*, ed. G. Paris (Paris, 1897), cols. 233–239, and the old French continuations of William of Tyre (Guillaume de Tyr), namely *L'Estoire de Eracles empereur et la conqueste de la Terre d'Outremer*, book 24, chap. 15, in *RHC: Historiens Occidentaux*, vol. 2, pp. 192–194; *Crusader Syria in the Thirteenth Century: The Rothelin Continuation of the History of William of Tyre with part of the Eracles or Acre Text*, tr. J. Shirley (Aldershot, Hants, 1999), pp. 35–36; *The Old French Continuation of William of Tyre*, in Peter W. Edbury, *The Conquest of Jerusalem and the Third Crusade* (Aldershot, Hants, 1996), pp. 95–96, 114–115, and *La Chronique d'Ernoul et de Bernard le Trésorier*, ed. L. de Mas Latrie (Paris, 1887), pp. 288–289. For further accounts, by Anglo-Norman chroniclers, see William of Newburgh, *Historia rerum Anglicarum*, ed. Hans C. Hamilton (London, 1856), pp. 165–166; Roger of Hoveden, *Chronica*, ed. W. Stubbs (London, 1870), vol. 3, p. 181; the chronicle (possibly written by a certain Londoner, Richard of Holy Trinity) *Itinerarium peregrinorum et gesta regis Ricardi*, ed. W. Stubbs, in *Chronicles and Memorials of the Reign of Richard I* (London, 1864), vol. 1, pp. 337–342, 444–445, and the work attributed to Geoffrey Vinsauf, *Itinerary of Richard I and Others to the Holy Land*, in *Chronicles of the Crusades; being Contemporary Narratives of the Crusade of Richard Cœur de Lion and of the Crusade of Saint Louis* (London, 1848), pp. 276–277. See also L. Hellmuth, *Die Assassinenlegende in der österreichischen Geschichtsdichtung des Mittelalters* (Vienna, 1988), pp. 54–62.
19. Arnold of Lübeck, *Chronica*, book 4, chap. 16, in *Monumenta Germaniae*, vol. 21, pp. 178–179.
20. *L'Estoire de Eracles*, pp. 216, 230–231; *Chronique d'Ernoul*, pp. 323–324; *Old French Continuation of William of Tyre*, in Edbury, *The Conquest of Jerusalem*, p. 131, and Marino Sanudo Torsello, *Liber secretorum fidelium Crucis*, in *Gesta Dei per Francos*, ed. J. Bongars (Hanover, 1611), vol. 2, p. 201. Sanudo completed and presented this

work in 1321 to Pope John XXII. Friar Pipino, who also wrote in the early decades of the fourteenth century, is the author of a lengthy *Chronica* down to 1314 in which (chaps. 38–41) he repeats what his predecessors had said about the Ismāʿīlīs. Extracts of this chronicle are to be found in *Rerum Italicarum scriptores*, ed. Ludovico A. Muratori (Milan, 1723–1751), vol. 9, where the leap story is mentioned on p. 705. The same story appears as an incident in the poetical French romance of Bauduin de Sebourc, a work ascribed to the early fourteenth century, namely *Li romans de Bauduin de Sebourc III^{e}, Roy de Jherusalem* (Valenciennes, 1841), vol. 1, p. 359, where the sectarians are called the *Hauts-Assis*, and also at the end of an Italian collection of old stories, *Cento novelle antiche* (Florence, 1572), p. 92, where the German emperor Frederick wrongly replaces Henry of Champagne as the dignitary who visited the Old Man (*Veglio*).

21. James of Vitry (Jacques de Vitri), *Historia Orientalis seu Hierosolymitana*, in *Gesta Dei per Francos*, vol. 1, pp. 1062–1063; English trans., in *Secret Societies of the Middle Ages* (London, 1846), pp. 117–119.
22. He insisted, however, that these sectarians, despite their Jewish descent, did not adhere to Jewish law; see *Magistri Thietmari Peregrinatio*, ed. J. C. M. Laurent (Hamburg, 1857), p. 52.
23. Matthew Paris, *Chronica majora*, ed. Henry R. Luard (London, 1876), vol. 3, pp. 488–489; English trans., *Matthew Paris's English History*, tr. John A. Giles (London, 1852), vol. 1, pp. 131–132, where it is also related that whilst the Ismāʿīlī envoy was presenting his case before the king of England, the bishop of Winchester who was at the audience interrupted the proceedings and remarked: 'Let us leave these dogs to devour one another, that they may all be consumed, and perish; and we, when we proceed against the enemies of Christ who remain, will slay them, and cleanse the face of the earth, so that all the world will be subject to the one Catholic Church'.
24. John of Joinville, *Histoire de Saint Louis*, ed. Natalis de Wailly (Paris, 1868), pp. 218–224. In English translation, the main section on the exchange of the embassies is to be found in John of Joinville, *Memoirs of John Lord de Joinville*, tr. T. Johnes (Hafod, 1807), vol. 1, pp. 194–197, which is based on the 1668 edition of the old French text prepared by Charles du Fresne du Cange, also reprinted in *Chronicles of the Crusades*, pp. 470–474.
25. John of Joinville, *Memoirs*, vol. 1, pp. 148–149; reprinted in *Chronicles of the Crusades*, pp. 420–421.
26. William of Rubruck (Willem van Ruysbroeck), *The Journey of William of Rubruck to the Eastern Parts of the World, 1253–55*, ed. and tr. William W. Rockhill (London, 1900), pp. 118, 221–222; ed. and tr. P. Jackson with D. Morgan as *The Mission of Friar William of Rubruck: His Journey to the Court of the Great Khan Möngke 1253–1255* (London, 1990), pp. 128, 222.
27. Marco Polo, *The Book of Ser Marco Polo*, ed. and tr. Henry Yule, third revised edition by Henri Cordier (London, 1903), vol. 1, pp. 139–146, utilized as our main source of reference. See also the English edition of A. C. Moule and P. Pelliot, entitled *Marco Polo, the Description of the World* (London, 1938), vol. 1, pp. 128–133, based on a Latin version discovered in 1932 at the Cathedral Library in Toledo, but also containing collated passages drawn from other important manuscripts of this work.

28. For various corruptions of *mulḥid* in different texts of Marco Polo, see Paul Pelliot, *Notes on Marco Polo* (Paris, 1959–1973), vol. 2, pp. 785–787.
29. See Yule's comments in his valuable introduction to the *Book of Ser Marco Polo*, vol. 1, p. 142, and Pelliot, *Notes*, vol. 1, pp. 52–55, where other forms of this name, appearing in different manuscript copies of Marco Polo, are cited.
30. *Book of Ser Marco Polo*, vol. 1, p. 148. See also Norman M. Penzer's introductory remarks in his edition of Marco Polo, based on the first English translation of this work undertaken in the sixteenth century by John Frampton, entitled *The Most Noble and Famous Travels of Marco Polo* (London, 1929), pp. xxxviii–xxxix.
31. See *Book of Ser Marco Polo*, vol. 1, p. 149, where this castle is alluded to.
32. For a reconstruction of Marco Polo's disputable itinerary in eastern Persia, see Percy M. Sykes, *Ten Thousand Miles in Persia* (New York, 1902), pp. 260–273; also his *History of Afghanistan* (London, 1940), vol. 1, pp. 245–246, where Tūn is suggested as the locality of the Nizārī castle; Sven A. Hedin, *Overland to India* (London, 1910), vol. 2, pp. 67–77; H. Cordier, 'L'itinéraire de Marco Polo en Perse', in his *Mélanges d'histoire et de géographie orientales* (Paris, 1920), vol. 2, pp. 40–52, and his *Ser Marco Polo, Notes and Addenda to Sir Henry Yule's Edition* (London, 1920), pp. 32–34.
33. In some versions of Marco Polo the term *Assassin* does not appear at all; see, for example, *The Travels of Marco Polo*, ed. Thomas Wright (London, 1854), pp. 73–77, which is a revised edition of William Marsden's well-known English edition published in 1818 and itself translated from the Italian version prepared by Giovanni B. Ramusio and published in Venice in 1559.
34. For more details, see B. Lewis, 'Assassins of Syria and Ismāʿīlīs of Persia', in Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, *Atti del convegno internazionale sul tema: La Persia nel medioevo* (Rome, 1971), especially pp. 573–576; reprinted in his *Studies in Classical and Ottoman Islam (7th–16th Centuries)* (London, 1976), article XI.
35. F. M. Chambers, 'The Troubadours and the Assassins', *Modern Language Notes*, 64 (1949), pp. 245–251.
36. Cited in Charles E. Nowell, 'The Old Man of the Mountain', *Speculum*, 22 (1947), p. 515, and B. Lewis, *The Assassins: A Radical Sect in Islam* (London, 1967), pp. 2, 142.
37. Lewis, *Assassins*, p. 8.
38. Pelliot, *Notes*, vol. 2, p. 785.
39. Odoric of Pordenone (Odorico da Pordenone), *The Journal of Friar Odoric*, in *The Travels of Sir John Mandeville . . . With Three Narratives*, ed. A. W. Pollard (London, 1900), pp. 356–357; Odoric's narrative here is reprinted from the English translation first published in the second volume of Richard Hakluyt's *Principal Navigations* (London, 1599).
40. F. Fabri, *Evagatorium in Terrae Sanctae, Arabiae et Egypti peregrinationem*, ed. C. D. Hassler (Stuttgart, 1843–1849), vol. 2, pp. 496–497; English trans., *The Book of the Wanderings of Brother Felix Fabri*, tr. A. Stewart (London, 1897), vol. 2, p. 390.
41. Denis Lebey de Batilly, *Traicté de l'origine des anciens Assasins porte-couteaux. Avec quelques exemples de leurs attentats et homicides és personnes d'aucuns Roys, Princes, et Seigneurs de la Chrestienté* (Lyon, 1603); apparently published also separately in Paris in the same year; reprinted in *Collection des meilleurs dissertations, notices et traités particuliers relatifs à l'Histoire de France*, ed. C. Leber (Paris, 1838), vol. 20, pp. 453–501.

42. Arnold of Lübeck, *Chronica Slavorum*, ed. H. Bengertus (Lübeck, 1659), pp. 379–382, 550–551.
43. See *Voyage de Rabbi Benjamin*, tr. J. P. Baratier (Amsterdam, 1733), notes to chaps. 7 and 15.
44. Du Cange, *Glossarium ad scriptores mediae et infimae Latinitatis, cum supplementis integris D. P. Carpenterii*, ed. L. Favre (Niort, 1883), vol. 1, p. 428. Du Cange had previously taken up the matter in one of his notes to his edition of Joinville's work; see John of Joinville, *Memoirs*, vol. 1, pp. 357–358.
45. Barthélemy d'Herbelot de Molainville, *Bibliothèque orientale, ou dictionnaire universel, contenant généralement tout ce qui regarde la connoissance des peuples de l'Orient* (Paris, 1697), with four later editions.
46. T. Hyde, *Historia religionis veterum Persarum* (Oxford, 1700), pp. 36, 493.
47. J. S. Assemani, *Bibliotheca Orientalis Clementino-Vaticana* (Rome, 1719–1730), vol. 2, pp. 214–215, 318–320.
48. See, for example, *Mémoires des missions dans le Levant* (Paris, 1727), vol. 6, pp. 208–209; Joseph de Guignes, *Histoire générale de Huns* (Paris, 1757), vol. 3, pp. 128–129; Carsten Niebuhr, *Reisebeschreibung nach Arabien und andern umliegenden Ländern* (Copenhagen, 1778), vol. 2, pp. 444–445, which contains this famous Danish traveller's notes on the Syrian Ismāʿīlīs, and Giovanni F. Mariti, *Voyage dans l'isle de Chypre, la Syrie, et la Paléstine avec l'histoire générale du Levant* (Paris, 1791), vol. 2, pp. 22, 24, 52, originally published in Italian in 1769.
49. Lévesque de la Ravalière, 'Éclaircissemens sur quelques circonstances de l'histoire du Vieux de la Montagne, Prince des Assassins', *Histoire de l'Académie Royale des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres*, 16 (1751), pp. 155–164; translated into English as an appendix in John of Joinville, *Memoirs*, vol. 2, pp. 275–285.
50. See, for example, Puget de Saint Pierre, *Histoire des Druses* (Paris, 1762); Johann G. Eichhorn, 'Von der Religion der Drusen', *Repertorium für Biblische und Morgenländische Litteratur*, 12 (1783), pp. 108–224, and Johann G. Worbs, *Geschichte und Beschreibung des Landes der Drusen in Syrien* (Görlitz, 1799).
51. C. Falconet, 'Dissertation sur les Assassins, peuple d'Asie', *Mémoires de Littérature, tirés des registres de l'Académie Royale des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres*, 17 (1751), pp. 127–170; translated into English as an appendix in John of Joinville, *Memoirs*, vol. 2, pp. 287–328.
52. S. Assemani, 'Ragguaglio storico-critico sopra la setta Assissana, detta volgarmente degli Assassini', *Giornale dell' Italiana Letteratura*, 13 (1806), pp. 241–262, also published separately in Padua in 1806.
53. De Sacy's works on the Druzes include editions of a number of extracts with French translations from Druze manuscripts, published in his *Chrestomathie Arabe* (Paris, 1806), vol. 1, pp. 260–309, and vol. 2, pp. 334–403; 'Mémoire sur l'origine du culte que les Druzes rendent à la figure d'un veau', *Mémoires de l'Institut Royal de France*, 3 (1818), pp. 74–128, where the earlier European literature on the Druzes is also reviewed; and most importantly *Exposé de la religion des Druzes* (Paris, 1838), 2 vols.; partial German trans., *Die Drusen und ihre Vorläufer*, tr. Philipp Wolff (Leipzig, 1845).
54. Silvestre de Sacy, 'Mémoire sur la dynastie des Assassins, et sur l'étymologie de leur nom', *Mémoires de l'Institut Royal de France*, 4 (1818), pp. 1–84; reprinted in Bryan S.

Turner, ed., *Orientalism: Early Sources*, Volume I, *Readings in Orientalism* (London, 2000), pp. 118–169; shorter versions of this memoir were published earlier in the *Moniteur*, 210 (1809), pp. 828–830, and in *Annales des Voyages*, 8 (1809), pp. 325–343. Complete English translation of the 1818 version of the *Memoir* in Daftary, *Assassin Legends*, pp. 129–188.

55. Lewis, *Assassins*, p. 11, and also his 'Assassins of Syria', pp. 573–574.
56. Marshall G. S. Hodgson, *The Order of Assassins: The Struggle of the Early Nizārī Ismāʿīlīs against the Islamic World* (The Hague, 1955), pp. 133–137; B. Lewis, 'Ḥashīshiyya', *EI2*, vol. 3, pp. 267–268, and also his *Assassins*, pp. 11–12.
57. For the application of the term to the Syrian Nizārīs, see al-Bundārī, *Zubdat al-nuṣra*, ed. M. Th. Houtsma (Leiden, 1889), pp. 169, 195; Abū Shāma Shihāb al-Dīn b. Ismāʿīl, *Kitāb al-rawḍatayn fī akhbār al-dawlatayn* (Cairo, 1287–1288/1870–1871), vol. 1, pp. 240, 258; Ibn Muyassar, *Akhbār Miṣr*, ed. A. Fuʾād Sayyid (Cairo, 1981), p. 102; M. T. Dānishpazhūh, 'Dhaylī bar taʾrīkh-i Ismāʿīliyya', *Revue de la Faculté des Lettres, Université de Tabriz*, 17 (1344/1965), p. 312; and Rashīd al-Dīn, *Jāmiʿ al-tawārīkh: taʾrīkh-i Ghāzānī*, ed. and French trans. É. Quatremère as *Histoire des Mongols de la Perse* (Paris, 1836), notes on pp. 122–128.
58. See the following works by É. Quatremère: 'Notice historique sur les Ismaëliens', *Fundgruben des Orients*, 4 (1814), pp. 339–376; 'Mémoires historiques sur la dynastie des Khalifes Fatimites', *JA*, 3 série, 2 (1836), pp. 97–142, and 'Vie du khalife Fatimite Möezz-li-din-Allah', *JA*, 3 série, 2 (1836), pp. 401–439, and 3 (1837), pp. 44–93, 165–208.
59. Am. Jourdain, 'Histoire de la dynastie des Ismaéliens de Perse', *Notices et Extraits des Manuscrits*, 9 (1813), translation pp. 143–182, text pp. 192–248, and also his 'Sur les Assassins', in Joseph F. Michaud, *Histoire des Croisades* (Paris, 1825), vol. 2, pp. 449–477; reprinted in the enlarged edition of this work prepared by M. Huillard Bréholles (Paris, 1849), vol. 1, pp. 472–488; English trans., *Michaud's History of the Crusades*, tr. W. Robson (London, 1852), vol. 3, pp. 413–431.
60. Silvestre de Sacy, *Exposé*, vol. 1, introduction pp. 20–246; see also his 'Recherches sur l'initiation à la secte des Ismaéliens', *JA*, 1 série, 4 (1824), pp. 298–311, 321–331.
61. Joseph von Hammer, *Die Geschichte der Assassinen aus Morgenländischen Quellen* (Stuttgart–Tübingen, 1818).
62. French translation, *Histoire de l'ordre des Assassins*, tr. J. J. Hellert and P. A. de la Nourais (Paris, 1833); reprinted (Paris, 1961); English translation, *The History of the Assassins*, tr. Oswald C. Wood (London, 1835), reprinted with an introduction by S. Shraddhananda Sanyasi (Benares, 1926) and more recently (New York, 1968). It should also be mentioned that only the English edition contains, at its end as Note D, the translation of de Sacy's famous memoir on the Assassins, as it had appeared in the *Moniteur*.
63. For example, von Hammer is cited as a main authority by Freya Stark (1893–1993), the noted traveller to the Alamūt valley, in her *The Valleys of the Assassins* (London, 1934), p. 228, and in Betty Bouthoul's celebrated historical romance entitled *Le grand maître des Assassins* (Paris, 1936), reproduced as *Le Vieux de la Montagne* (Paris, 1958), pp. 303, 306. Some authors of popular works on the subject still continue to take von Hammer seriously; see Jean-Claude Frère, *L'Ordre des Assassins* (Paris, 1973), and J. Wasserman, *The Templars and the Assassins* (Rochester, VA, 2001).

64. See von Hammer, *History of the Assassins*, pp. 136–138.
65. Ibid., pp. 1–2.
66. Ibid., p. 218.
67. Ibid., p. 217. For an analysis of this work, see F. Daftary, 'The "Order of the Assassins": J. von Hammer and the Orientalist Misrepresentations of the Nizari Ismailis', *Iranian Studies*, 39 (2006), pp. 71–81.
68. C. Defrémery, 'Histoire des Seldjoukides, extraite du Tarikhi-guzideh, ou Histoire choisie, d'Hamd-Allah Mustaufi', *JA*, 4 série, 13 (1849), pp. 26–49.
69. C. Defrémery, 'Nouvelles recherches sur les Ismaéliens ou Bathiniens de Syrie, plus connus sous le nom d'Assassins', *JA*, 5 série, 3 (1854), pp. 373–421, and 5 (1855), pp. 5–76, and also his 'Essai sur l'histoire des Ismaéliens ou Batiniens de la Perse, plus connus sous le nom d'Assassins', *JA*, 5 série, 8 (1856), pp. 353–387, and 15 (1860), pp. 130–210.
70. R. Dozy, *Histoire des Musulmans d'Espagne* (Leiden, 1861), vol. 3, pp. 7ff., and his *Essai sur l'histoire de l'Islamisme*, tr. V. Chauvin (Leiden–Paris, 1879), pp. 257–313.
71. See the following works by M. J. de Goeje: *Mémoire sur les Carmathes du Bahraïn et les Fatimides* (Leiden, 1862; 2nd ed., Leiden, 1886); 'La fin de l'empire des Carmathes du Bahraïn', *JA*, 9 série, 5 (1895), pp. 5–30; reprinted in Turner, ed., *Orientalism*, vol. 1, pp. 263–278, and his 'Carmaṭians', *ERE*, vol. 3, pp. 222–225.
72. F. Wüstenfeld, 'Geschichte der Faṭimiden Chalifen nach den Arabischen Quellen', *Abhandlungen der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Historisch-philologische Classe*, 26, Band 3 (1880), pp. 1–97, and 27, Band 1 (1881), pp. 1–130 and 27, Band 3 (1881), pp. 1–126; reprinted (Hildesheim–New York, 1976).
73. For more details, see Samy S. Swayd, *The Druzes: An Annotated Bibliography* (Kirkland, WA, 1998), and Talal Fandi and Z. Abi-Shakra, *The Druze Heritage: An Annotated Bibliography* (Amman, 2001).
74. E. G. Browne, *A Literary History of Persia, from the Earliest Times until Firdawsi* (London, 1902), pp. 391–415; also his *A Literary History of Persia, from Firdawsi to Saʿdi* (London, 1906), pp. 190–211, 453–460. See also the anonymous article 'Assassins', *EI*, vol. 1, pp. 491–492, and David S. Margoliouth, 'Assassins', *ERE*, vol. 2, pp. 138–141, where a more balanced view is presented.
75. See the following works by Silvestre de Sacy: 'Notice des manuscrits des livres sacrés des Druzes, qui se trouvent dans diverses bibliothèques de l'Europe', *JA*, 1 série, 5 (1824), pp. 3–18, and *Exposé*, vol. 1, introduction pp. 454–465.
76. J. B. L. J. Rousseau, 'Mémoire sur l'Ismaélis et les Nosaïris de Syrie, adressé à M. Silvestre de Sacy', *Annales des Voyages*, 14 (1811), pp. 271–303, which contains some explanatory notes by de Sacy himself. This memoir was later incorporated into Rousseau's expanded work entitled *Mémoire sur les trois plus fameuses sectes du Musulmanisme; les Wahabis, les Nosaïris et les Ismaélis* (Paris, 1818), pp. 51ff.
77. J. B. Fraser, *Narrative of a Journey into Khorasān, in the years 1821 and 1822* (London, 1825), pp. 376–377. See also Robert G. Watson, *A History of Persia* (London, 1866), pp. 191–192, 331–334, written by a member of the British delegation in Tehran.
78. J. L. Burckhardt, *Travels in Syria and the Holy Land* (London, 1822), pp. 150–156.
79. J. B. L. J. Rousseau, 'Extraits d'un livre qui contient la doctrine des Ismaélis', *Annales des Voyages*, 18 (1812), pp. 222–249.

80. S. Guyard, 'Fragments relatifs à la doctrine des Ismaélîs', *Notices et Extraits des Manuscrits*, 22 (1874), pp. 177–428, published also separately (Paris, 1874).
81. S. Guyard, 'Un grand maître des Assassins au temps de Saladin', *JA*, 7 série, 9 (1877), pp. 324–489.
82. A preliminary note on the contents of this manuscript had been published earlier by its original discoverer, J. Catafago, a dragoman at the Prussian consulate in Syria; see 'Lettre de M. Catafago à M. Mohl', *JA*, 4 série, 12 (1848), pp. 485–493.
83. See Edward E. Salisbury, 'Translation of Two Unpublished Arabic Documents Relating to the Doctrines of the Ismâʿilis and other Bâṭinian Sects', *JAOS*, 2 (1851), pp. 257–324.
84. Nāṣir-i Khusraw, *Safar-nāma*, ed. and tr. Charles Schefer (1820–1898) as *Sefer nameh, relation du voyage de Nassiri Khosrau en Syrie, en Palestine, en Égypte, en Arabie et en Perse* (Paris, 1881); Hermann Ethé, 'Nāsir Chusrau's Rūšanâinâma oder Buch der Erleuchtung', *ZDMG*, 33 (1879), pp. 645–665, 34 (1880), pp. 428–464, 617–642, and 36 (1882), pp. 96–106; and Edmond Fagnan, 'Le Livre de la félicité, par Nâçir ed-Dîn ben Khosroû', *ZDMG*, 34 (1880), pp. 643–674, containing the text and French translation of a work, the *Saʿādat-nāma*, wrongly attributed until recently to Nāṣir-i Khusraw.
85. P. Casanova, 'Notice sur un manuscrit de la secte des Assassins', *JA*, 9 série, 11 (1898), pp. 151–159; see also his 'Une date astronomique dans les Épîtres des Ikhwān aṣ Ṣafâʾ', *JA*, 11 série, 5 (1915), pp. 5–17.
86. P. Casanova, 'Monnaie des Assassins de Perse', *Revue Numismatique*, 3 série, 11 (1893), pp. 343–352.
87. Fr. Dieterici, *Die Abhandlungen der Ichwân es-Safâ in Auswahl; zum ersten Mal aus arabischen Handschriften* (Leipzig, 1883–1886), 2 vols.; also published as vols. 13 and 14 of his *Die Philosophie bei den Arabern im X. Jahrhundert n. Chr* (Leipzig–Berlin, 1883–1886), containing an almost complete German translation of the *Epistles*.
88. W. Monteith, 'Journal of a Tour through Azerdbijan and the Shores of the Caspian', *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society*, 3 (1833), especially pp. 15–16; J. Shiel, 'Itinerary from Tehrān to Alamūt and Khurrem-ābād in May 1837', *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society*, 8 (1838), pp. 430–434, which contains the account of the first Westerner in modern times who correctly identified the site of the fortress itself; and A. Eloy, *Relations de voyage en Orient* (Paris, 1843), p. 774.
89. M. van Berchem, 'Épigraphie des Assassins de Syrie', *JA*, 9 série, 9 (1897), pp. 453–501; reprinted in his *Opera Minora* (Geneva, 1978), vol. 1, pp. 453–501; also reprinted in Turner, ed., *Orientalism*, vol. 1, pp. 279–309.
90. M. van Berchem, 'Notes d'archéologie Arabe: Monuments et inscriptions Fatimites', *JA*, 8 série, 17 (1891), pp. 411–495, and 18 (1891), pp. 46–86, and also his 'Notes d'archéologie Arabe, deuxième article: Toulounides et Fatimites', *JA*, 8 série, 19 (1892), especially pp. 392–407; both articles reprinted in his *Opera Minora*, vol. 1, pp. 77–233.
91. 'Judgement of the Honourable Sir Joseph Arnould in the Khodjah Case, otherwise known as the Aga Khan Case, heard in the High Court of Bombay, during April and June 1866; Judgement delivered 12th November, 1866' (Bombay, 1867); see also *Bombay High Court Reports*, 12 (1866), pp. 323–363. This case has been summarized in H. B. E. Frere, 'The Khodjas, the Disciples of the Old Man of the Mountain',

Macmillan's Magazine, 34 (1876), pp. 342–350, 430–438; and more fully in Abdus Salam Picklay, *History of the Ismailis* (Bombay, 1940), pp. 113–170, and also in Asaf A. A. Fyzee, *Cases in the Muhammadan Law of India and Pakistan* (Oxford, 1965), pp. 504–549; and analyzed in Amrita Shodan, *A Question of Community: Religious Groups and Colonial Law* (Calcutta, 1999), pp. 82–116.

92. E. Griffini, 'Die jüngste ambrosianische Sammlung arabischer Handschriften', *ZDMG*, 69 (1915), especially pp. 80–88. For the description of another early manuscript of lesser Ismāʿīlī items coming from Yaman, see R. Strothmann, 'Kleinere ismailitische Schriften', in A. A. A. Fyzee, ed., *Islamic Research Association Miscellany* (Bombay, 1949), pp. 121–163.

93. A. A. Bobrinskoy, 'Sekta Ismailiya v Russkikh i Bukharskikh predelakh Sredney Azii', *Étnograficheskoe Obozrenie*, 2 (1902), pp. 1–20, published also separately (Moscow, 1902), and his *Gortsï verkhov'ev Pyandzha* (Moscow, 1908).

94. See A. A. Semenov, 'Iz oblasti religioznïkh verovaniy shughnanskikh ismailitov', *Mir Islama*, 1 (1912), pp. 523–561, and his two articles, 'Sheikh Dzhelal-ud-Din-Rumi po predstavleniyam shughnanskikh ismailitov', and 'Rasskaz shughnanskikh ismailitov o bukharskom shekhe Bekha-ud-Dine', appearing in *Zapiski Vostochnogo otdeleniya Imperatorskogo Russkogo Arkheologicheskogo obshchestva*, 22 (1915), pp. 247–256 and 321–326, respectively.

95. For descriptions of these two collections, see V. A. Ivanov, 'Ismailitskie rukopisi Aziatskago Muzeya. Sobranie I. Zarubina, 1916 g.', *Bulletin de l'Académie des Sciences de Russie*, 6 série, 11 (1917), pp. 359–386, summarized in E. Denison Ross, 'W. Ivanow, Ismaili MSS in the Asiatic Museum, Petrograd, 1917', *JRAS* (1919), pp. 429–435, and A. A. Semenov, 'Opisanie ismailitskikh rukopisey, sobrannïkh A. A. Semyonovïm', *Bulletin de l'Académie des Sciences de Russie*, 6 série, 12 (1918), pp. 2171–2202. These Ismāʿīlī manuscripts are currently kept at the St Petersburg branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, formerly the Institute of the Peoples of Asia, which has absorbed the Asiatic Museum and other oriental institutions of the former Academy of Sciences of the USSR (Akademiia Nauk SSSR); see O. F. Akimushkin et al., *Persidskie i Tadzhiskie rukopisi, Instituta Narodov Azii an SSSR*, ed. N. D. Muklukho-Maklai (Moscow, 1964), vol. 1, pp. 54–55, 208, 259, 313, 356, 530, 541, 600, 608.

96. L. Massignon, 'Esquisse d'une bibliographie Qarmaṭe', in R. A. Nicholson and T. W. Arnold, ed., *A Volume of Oriental Studies Presented to Edward G. Browne on his 60th Birthday* (Cambridge, 1922), pp. 329–338; reprinted in L. Massignon, *Opera Minora*, ed. Y. Moubarac (Paris, 1969), vol. 1, pp. 627–639, which does not include the Asiatic Museum's then newly acquired Ismāʿīlī items.

97. See Asaf A. A. Fyzee, 'Materials for an Ismaili Bibliography: 1920–1934', *JBBRAS*, NS, 11 (1935), pp. 59–65.

98. Asaf Fyzee donated some 200 manuscripts to the Bombay University Library; see M. Goriawala, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Fyzee Collection of Ismaili Manuscripts* (Bombay, 1965), and A. A. A. Fyzee, 'A Collection of Fatimid Manuscripts', in N. N. Gidwani, ed., *Comparative Librarianship: Essays in Honour of Professor D. N. Marshall* (Delhi, 1973), pp. 209–220, which describes the residue of Fyzee's Collection. Ḥusayn al-Hamdānī also donated part of his family's collection to the Bombay University (uncatalogued) while another portion remained in the possession of his

son, Professor Abbas Hamdani, who donated in 2006 the entire collection to The Institute of Ismaili Studies Library in London. The Zāhid ʿAlī Collection of some 226 Arabic Ismāʿīlī manuscripts was also donated in 1997 to The Institute of Ismaili Studies; see D. Cortese, *Arabic Ismaili Manuscripts: The Zāhid ʿAlī Collection in the Library of The Institute of Ismaili Studies* (London, 2003).

99. See F. Daftary, 'The Bibliography of Asaf A. A. Fyzee', *Indo-Iranica*, 37 (1984), pp. 49–63. See also A. A. A. Fyzee, 'The Study of the Literature of the Fatimid *Daʿwa*', in G. Makdisi, ed., *Arabic and Islamic Studies in Honor of Hamilton A. R. Gibb* (Leiden, 1965), pp. 232–249.
100. See Ḥ. F. al-Hamdānī, 'Some Unknown Ismāʿīlī Authors and their Works', *JRAS* (1933), pp. 359–378.
101. Zāhid ʿAlī, *Taʾrīkh-i Fāṭimiyyīn-i Miṣr* (Hyderabad, 1367/1948; 2nd ed., Karachi, 1963), 2 vols.
102. W. Ivanow, *A Guide to Ismaili Literature* (London, 1933), based partially on the *Fahrasat al-kutub waʾl-rasāʾil* of the Dāʾūdī Bohra author Ismāʿīl b. ʿAbd al-Rasūl al-Majdūʿ (d. 1183 or 1184/1769–1771), now edited by ʿAlī Naqī Munzavī (Tehran, 1966). See also P. Kraus, 'La bibliographie Ismaëlienne de W. Ivanow', *REI*, 6 (1932), pp. 483–490.
103. See F. Daftary, 'Anǰoman-e Esmāʿīlī', *EIR*, vol. 2, p. 84.
104. See the following articles by F. Daftary: 'Bibliography of the Publications of the late W. Ivanow', *Islamic Culture*, 45 (1971), pp. 56–57 and 56 (1982), pp. 239–240; 'W. Ivanow: A Biographical Notice', *Middle Eastern Studies*, 8 (1972), pp. 241–244, and 'Ivanow, Wladimir', *EIR* (forthcoming). See also H. Corbin and W. Ivanow, *Correspondance Corbin-Ivanow*, ed. S. Schmidtke (Paris, 1999).
105. W. Ivanow, *Ismaili Literature: A Bibliographical Survey* (Tehran, 1963), covering some 930 titles.
106. See J. D. Latham and H. W. Mitchell, 'The Bibliography of S. M. Stern', *JSS*, 15 (1970), pp. 226–238; reprinted with additions in S. M. Stern, *Hispano-Arabic Strophic Poetry: Studies by Samuel Miklos Stern*, ed. L. P. Harvey (Oxford, 1974), pp. 231–245, and F. Daftary, 'Bibliography of the Works of Wilferd Madelung', in F. Daftary and J. W. Meri, ed., *Culture and Memory in Medieval Islam: Essays in Honour of Wilferd Madelung* (London, 2003), pp. 5–40.
107. I. K. Poonawala, *Biobibliography of Ismāʿīlī Literature* (Malibu, CA, 1977), hereafter cited as *Bio*.
108. See F. Daftary, *Ismaili Literature: A Bibliography of Sources and Studies* (London, 2004).
109. Andrey E. Bertel's and M. Bakoev, *Alphabetic Catalogue of Manuscripts found by 1959–1963 Expedition in Gorno-Badakhshan Autonomous Region*, ed. B. G. Gafurov and A. M. Mirzoev (Moscow, 1967).
110. For the Institute's Ismāʿīlī manuscript holdings, in addition to the already-cited Zāhid ʿAlī Collection, see A. Gacek, *Catalogue of Arabic Manuscripts in the Library of The Institute of Ismaili Studies* (London, 1984), vol. 1, and D. Cortese, *Ismaili and Other Arabic Manuscripts: A Descriptive Catalogue of Manuscripts in the Library of The Institute of Ismaili Studies* (London, 2000). Catalogues of the Institute's Persian manuscripts and its *ginān* collection have not yet been published.
111. See P. E. Walker, 'Institute of Ismaili Studies', *EIR*, vol 12, pp. 164–166.

Notes to Chapter 2

1. See P. Crone and M. Hinds, *God's Caliph: Religious Authority in the First Centuries of Islam* (Cambridge, 1986), especially pp. 4–23.
2. W. Madelung has produced an exhaustive analysis of the available historiography on this subject in his *The Succession to Muḥammad: A Study of the Early Caliphate* (Cambridge, 1997); see also his 'Shīʿism in the Age of the Rightly-Guided Caliphs', in L. Clarke, ed., *Shīʿite Heritage: Essays on Classical and Modern Traditions* (Binghampton, NY, 2001), pp. 9–18, and his 'Shīʿa', *EI2*, vol. 9, pp. 420–424. In this connection see also al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, vol. 2, ed. W. Madelung (Beirut, 2003), covering the Prophet's succession and the caliphate of ʿAlī.
3. Henri Lammens (1862–1937), the Belgian orientalist and Jesuit missionary in Lebanon, in line with his generally unsympathetic attitude towards Shīʿism and his high regard for the Umayyads, produced an unfavourable account of Fāṭima in his *Fāṭima et les filles de Mahomet* (Rome, 1912), especially pp. 109–140; and 'Fāṭima', *EI*, vol. 2, pp. 85–88. An objective and thorough study is now to be found in L. Veccia Vaglieri, 'Fāṭima', *EI2*, vol. 2, pp. 841–850. The particular importance and reverence accorded to Fāṭima in Shīʿī thought has been studied in a number of works by L. Massignon, especially in his 'Der gnostische Kult der Fatima im schiitischen Islam', *EJ*, 6 (1938), pp. 161–173; reprinted in his *Opera Minora*, vol. 1, pp. 514–522, which contains most of Massignon's scattered writings on Shīʿism. H. Corbin has also dealt with this subject in his *Spiritual Body and Celestial Earth*, tr. N. Pearson (Princeton, 1977), pp. 51–73, and elsewhere.
4. S. H. Nasr, *Ideals and Realities of Islam* (New rev. ed., Cambridge, 2001), pp. 141 ff.
5. See, for example, W. M. Watt, *The Majesty that was Islam* (London, 1974), pp. 65–66.
6. The best modern exposition of this Shīʿī view in the English language is to be found in Sayyid Muḥammad Ṭabāṭabāʾī (1903–1981), *Shiʿite Islam*, ed. and tr. S. H. Nasr (London, 1975), especially pp. 39–50, 173ff., and in S. H. Nasr's introductory comments therein. Many of H. Corbin's works are also relevant here; see especially his 'Le combat spirituel du Shīʿisme', *EJ*, 30 (1961), pp. 69–125; *Histoire de la philosophie Islamique* I: *Des origines jusqu'à la mort d'Averroës (1198)* (Paris, 1964), pp. 62–79, and *En Islam Iranien. Aspects spirituels et philosophiques* (Paris, 1971–1972), vol. 1, pp. 39–53, 219–235. Also see Ayatollah Jaʿfar Sobhani, *Doctrines of Shiʿi Islam*, tr. and ed. R. Shah-Kazemi (London, 2001), especially pp. 96–120, and M. A. Amir-Moezzi and C. Jambet, *Qu'est-ce que le Shîʿisme?* (Paris, 2004), pp. 11–48.
7. See L. Veccia Vaglieri, 'Ghadīr Khumm', *EI2*, vol. 2, pp. 993–994, where additional references are given.
8. Amongst various modern studies of early Shīʿism mention may be made of S. Husain M. Jafri, *Origins and Early Development of Shīʿa Islam* (London, 1979), which adopts a traditional and well-documented Shīʿī approach; M. Momen, *An Introduction to Shiʿi Islam* (New Haven, CT, 1985), and H. Halm, *Shiʿism*, tr. J. Watson and M. Hill (2nd ed., Edinburgh, 2004), especially pp. 1–27. See also S. H. Nasr et al., ed., *Shiʿism: Doctrines, Thought and Spirituality* (Albany, NY, 1988). It may be recalled in passing that until not too long ago, the work of Dwight M. Donaldson (1884–1976), *The Shiʿite Religion* (London, 1933), written by a Christian missionary in Persia, was regarded as the standard work on the subject in the English language.

9. For more details on ʿAlī's activities during this period, see Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad al-Mufīd, *Kitāb al-Irshād: The Book of Guidance into the Lives of the Twelve Imams*, tr. I. K. A. Howard (London, 1981), pp. 143ff., and Jafri, *Origins*, pp. 58–79.
10. Some of the best results of modern research on the roots of discontent with ʿUthmān's caliphate are to be found in Hamilton A. R. Gibb, 'An Interpretation of Islamic History', *Journal of World History*, 1 (1953), pp. 39ff.; M. A. Shaban, *Islamic History: A New Interpretation* (Cambridge, 1971–1976), vol. 1, pp. 60–70; and M. Hinds, 'The Murder of the Caliph ʿUthmān', *IJMES*, 3 (1972), pp. 450–469; reprinted in his *Studies in Early Islamic History*, ed. J. Bacharach et al. (Princeton, 1996), pp. 29–55.
11. For many interesting details of the garrison towns in the broader context of early Islamic history and society, see Marshall G. S. Hodgson, *The Venture of Islam: Conscience and History in a World Civilization* (Chicago, 1974), vol. 1, pp. 206–217.
12. Jafri, *Origins*, pp. 117–123; M. Hinds, 'Kūfan Political Alignments and their Background in the Mid-Seventh Century A.D.', *IJMES*, 2 (1971), pp. 358–365; reprinted in his *Studies*, pp. 1–28, and H. Djait, 'Les Yamanites à Kūfa au I[er] siècle de l'Hégire', *JESHO*, 19 (1976), especially pp. 148–174. See also Shaban, *Islamic History*, vol. 1, pp. 50–51; G. H. A. Juynboll, 'The Qurrāʾ in Early Islamic History', *JESHO*, 16 (1973), pp. 113–129, and T. Nagel, 'Ḳurrāʾ', *EI2*, vol. 5, pp. 499–500.
13. The classical treatment of the first civil war, and the events of the subsequent Umayyad period, is still to be found in J. Wellhausen, *The Arab Kingdom and its Fall*, tr. M. G. Weir (Calcutta, 1927), pp. 75–112, originally published in German, *Das arabische Reich und sein Sturz* (Berlin, 1902), pp. 47–71. The ʿAlī-Muʿāwiya conflict has been studied more recently in Erling L. Petersen, *ʿAlī and Muʿāwiya in Early Arabic Tradition* (Copenhagen, 1964), where a full bibliography is given on pp. 188–192. See also P. Crone, 'ʿUthmāniyya', *EI2*, vol. 10, pp. 952–954. The same events have been examined on the basis of some Khārijī sources discovered in the twentieth century, by a number of Italian Islamicists, notably L. Veccia Vaglieri, who is also the foremost Western authority on the Khawārij; see her 'Il conflitto ʿAlī-Muʿāwiya e la secessione khārigita riesaminati alla luce di fonti ibāḍite', *AIUON*, *NS*, 4 (1952), pp. 1–95, and 5 (1953), pp. 1–98; and 'ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib', *EI2*, vol. 1, pp. 381–386; G. R. Hawting, *The First Dynasty of Islam: The Umayyad Caliphate AD 661–750* (2nd ed., London, 2000), pp. 21–33; G. Levi Della Vida, 'Khāridjites', *EI2*, vol. 4, pp. 1074–1077; and I. K. Poonawala and E. Kohlberg, 'ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭāleb', *EIR*, vol. 1, pp. 838–848.
14. See M. Guidi, 'Sui Ḫarigiti', *RSO*, 21 (1944), pp. 1–14; L. Veccia Vaglieri, 'Sulla denominazione Ḫawārig', *RSO*, 26 (1951), pp. 41–46; W. M. Watt, 'Khārijite Thought in the Umayyad Period', *Der Islam*, 36 (1961), pp. 215–231, also his *The Formative Period of Islamic Thought* (Edinburgh, 1973), pp. 9–37; and P. Crone, *Medieval Islamic Political Thought* (Edinburgh, 2004), pp. 54–64. On the Ibāḍīs, one of the main branches and today the only survivors of the Khawārij, see T. Lewicki, 'al-Ibāḍiyya', *EI2*, vol. 3, pp. 648–660.
15. Abū Jaʿfar Muḥammad b. Jarīr al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh al-rusul waʾl-mulūk*, ed. M. J. de Goeje et al. (Leiden, 1879–1901), I, pp. 3350ff.
16. W. M. Watt, *Islamic Philosophy and Theology* (Edinburgh, 1962), pp. 2–9, which reflects the author's emphasis on social factors in the genesis of Shīʿism. For Watt's different hypothesis contending how, for the Khawārij, the community rather than any individual came to acquire the charisma of leadership, see his 'The Conception

of the Charismatic Community', *Numen*, 7 (1960), pp. 77–90; arguments relevant to both types of charismata are to be found also in his *Formative Period*, pp. 36–37, 42–44; 'Shīʿism under the Umayyads', *JRAS* (1960), pp. 158–172, and his *Islam and the Integration of Society* (Evanston, 1961), pp. 103–106, 110–114.

17. For some details, see Wellhausen, *Arab Kingdom*, pp. 104–112; Jafri, *Origins*, pp. 130–154; L. Veccia Vaglieri, 'al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib', *EI2*, vol. 3, pp. 241–242, and W. Madelung, 'Ḥasan b. ʿAlī', *EIR*, vol. 12, pp. 26–28, where further references are given.
18. L. Veccia Vaglieri, 'Sulla origine della denominazione Sunniti', in *Studi Orientalistici in onore di Giorgio Levi Della Vida* (Rome, 1956), vol. 2, pp. 573–585, and L. Gardet, 'Djamāʿa', *EI2*, vol. 2, pp. 411–412.
19. J. Wellhausen, *The Religio-Political Factions in Early Islam*, tr. R. C. Ostle and S. M. Walzer (Amsterdam, 1975), pp. 96–101; this is a long overdue translation of *Die religiös-politischen Oppositionspartheien im alten Islam* (Berlin, 1901), an important study of the major events in the early history of the Khārijī and Shīʿī movements.
20. Abū Mikhnaf (d. 157/774) is the earliest Muslim historian who recorded the Shīʿī risings of the Umayyad period. But his detailed narratives have been preserved mainly in the famous chronicles of the Sunnī authors al-Balādhurī (d. 279/892) and al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/923). These historians have provided the chief sources for the thorough accounts of al-Ḥusayn's martyrdom given in Wellhausen, *Religio-Political Factions*, pp. 105–120; Jafri, *Origins*, pp. 174–221; L. Veccia Vaglieri, 'al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib', *EI2*, vol. 3, pp. 607–615, and W. Madelung, 'Ḥosayn b. ʿAlī', *EIR*, vol. 12, pp. 493–498. See also the accounts of Abu'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn al-Masʿūdī (d. 345/956), another noteworthy early Muslim historian, in his *Murūj al-dhahab*, ed. and tr. C. Barbier de Meynard and A. Pavet de Courteille (Paris, 1861–1876), vol. 5, pp. 127–147; Abu'l-Faraj ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn al-Iṣfahānī, *Maqātil al-Ṭālibiyyīn*, ed. A. Ṣaqr (Cairo, 1368/1949), pp. 78–122, which is an important work containing the biographies of many Ṭālibid martyrs, written by a Shīʿī author who died in 356/967, and al-Mufīd, *al-Irshād*, pp. 299–374. Also see A. Amanat, '*Meadow of the Martyrs*: Kāshifī's Persianization of the Shiʿi Martyrdom Narrative in the Late Tīmūrid Herat', in Daftary and Meri, ed., *Culture and Memory*, pp. 250–275, and P. Chelkowski, 'Taʿziya', *EI2*, vol. 10, pp. 406–408.
21. The most detailed account of al-Mukhtār's revolt is related in al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, II, pp. 520–752; see also Wellhausen, *Religio-Political Factions*, pp. 125–145, based mainly on al-Ṭabarī, and G. R. Hawting, 'al-Mukhtār b. ʿAbī ʿUbayd', *EI2*, vol. 7, pp. 521–524. No serious study has so far been made of al-Mukhtār and his enigmatic background, aside from H. D. van Gelder's *Muḫtar de valsche Profeet* (Leiden, 1888), still available only in Dutch, and K. A. Fariq's more recent and sketchy account, 'The Story of an Arab Diplomat', *Studies in Islam*, 3 (1966), pp. 53–80, 119–142, 227–241, and 4 (1967), pp. 50–59, published also separately (New Delhi, 1967).
22. The classical study of the *mawālī* and their problems was undertaken by the Austrian orientalist Alfred von Kremer (1828–1889), notably in his *Culturgeschichtliche Streifzüge auf dem gebiete des Islam* (Leipzig, 1873), and *Culturgeschichte des Orients unter den Chalifen* (Vienna, 1875–1877), vol. 2., pp. 154ff.; English translations of the relevant sections are to be found, respectively, in S. Khuda Bukhsh, *Contributions to the History of Islamic Civilization* (3rd ed., Calcutta, 1959), vol. 1, pp. 68–86; and in A. von Kremer, *The Orient under the Caliphs*, tr. S. Khuda Bukhsh (Calcutta, 1920), vol. 2,

pp. 107ff. The subject has been treated also by I. Goldziher in his *Muhammedanische Studien* (Halle, 1889–1890), vol. 1, pp. 104–146; English trans., *Muslim Studies*, tr. C. R. Barber and S. M. Stern (London, 1967–1971), vol. 1, pp. 101–136; see also B. Lewis, *The Arabs in History* (Rev. ed., New York, 1960), pp. 70ff.; E. Ashtor, *A Social and Economic History of the Near East in the Middle Ages* (London, 1976), pp. 22–29; and P. Crone, 'Mawlā: II. In Historical and Legal Usage', *EI2*, vol. 6, pp. 874–882.

23. The situation of the Persian *mawālī* has been investigated extensively by ʿAbd al-Ḥusayn Zarrīnkūb (1922–1999), the noted contemporary authority on the history of Arab rule over Persia; see especially his *Taʾrīkh-i Īrān baʿd az Islām* (2nd ed., Tehran, 1355/1976), vol. 1, pp. 283–384, and 'The Arab Conquest of Iran and its Aftermath', in *The Cambridge History of Iran*: Volume 4, *The Period from the Arab Invasion to the Saljuqs*, ed. Richard N. Frye (Cambridge, 1975), pp. 1–38. See also M. Azizi, *La domination Arabe et l'épanouissement du sentiment national en Iran* (Paris, 1938), pp. 28–72.
24. Most contemporary Western Islamicists, such as B. Lewis, 'Some Observations on the Significance of Heresy in the History of Islam', *Studia Islamica*, 1 (1953), pp. 44ff., by drawing on the findings of modern scholarship, have argued that although racial elements did play a part in the development of the Shīʿī movement, Shīʿism was nevertheless of Arab origin and it was in fact introduced into Persia (e.g., to the garrison town of Qumm) by the Arabs. As a corollary, they have concluded that Shīʿism should not be regarded as having been the expression of Persian 'national' aspirations. The latter view was held by a number of the nineteenth-century orientalists who were influenced by the then current racial theories of Joseph A. Gobineau (1816–1882) and others; see, for instance, Dozy, *Essai sur l'histoire de l'Islamisme*, pp. 189–221.
25. See Aḥmad b. ʿAlī b. ʿInaba, ʿ*Umdat al-ṭālib fī ansāb āl Abī Ṭālib*, ed. M. Ḥ. Āl al-Ṭāliqānī (Najaf, 1961), written by an important Imāmī genealogist who died in 828/1424, and B. Lewis, "ʿAlids', *EI2*, vol. 1, pp. 400–403.
26. See W. Madelung, 'The *Hāshimiyyāt* of al-Kumayt and Hāshimī Shiʿism', *Studia Islamica*, 70 (1989), pp. 5–26; reprinted in his *Religious and Ethnic Movements in Medieval Islam* (Hampshire, 1992), article V, also in Kohlberg, ed., *Shīʿism* (Aldershot, Hants, 2003), pp. 87–108. See also Hodgson, *Venture of Islam*, vol. 1, pp. 259–260; W. M. Watt, *Islamic Political Thought* (Edinburgh, 1968), p. 45; I. Goldziher, C. van Arendonk and A. S. Tritton, 'Ahl al-Bayt', *EI2*, vol. 1, pp. 257–258; and I. K. A. Howard, 'Ahl-e Bayt', *EIR*, vol. 1, p. 635.
27. B. Lewis, *The Origins of Ismāʿīlism* (Cambridge, 1940), p. 24.
28. See especially Claude Cahen, 'Points de vue sur la "Révolution ʿAbbāside"', in his *Les peuples Musulmans dans l'histoire médiévale* (Damascus, 1977), pp. 120, 128, an important study on early Shīʿism originally published in *Revue Historique*, 230 (1963), pp. 295–338, hereafter references are to the paginations of the reprinted text. In line with the opinion of many Western Islamicists, Cahen further argued that during the Umayyad period ʿAlid claims to the imamate were based on descent from ʿAlī, rather than from Fāṭima and ʿAlī; since direct descent from the Prophet in the female (Fāṭimid) line had still not acquired its later Shīʿī significance.
29. The most detailed and accurate accounts of the Kaysāniyya, often used by the heresiographers as a collective name for all the Shīʿī groups evolving out of al-Mukhtār's movement, are contained in al-Ḥasan b. Mūsā al-Nawbakhtī, *Firaq al-Shīʿa*, ed.

H. Ritter (Istanbul, 1931), pp. 20–37, 41–47; French trans., *Les sectes Shiites*, tr. M. J. Mashkūr (2nd ed., Tehran, 1980), pp. 37–58, 63–69, and in Saʿd b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Qummī, *Kitāb al-maqālāt wa'l-firaq*, ed. M. J. Mashkūr (Tehran, 1963), pp. 21–23, 25–44, 55–56, 64–70; see also W. Madelung, 'Kaysāniyya', *EI2*, vol. 4, pp. 836–838. It may be pointed out here that after the arguments of the late ʿAbbās Iqbāl, in his *Khānadān-i Nawbakhtī* (Tehran, 1311/1932), pp. 143–161, many scholars had come to consider al-Qummī as the real author of al-Nawbakhtī's *Firaq* but, with the discovery of al-Qummī's own partial heresiography on the Shīʿī sects, the genuineness of al-Nawbakhtī's authorship of the *Firaq* should no longer be doubted. For further comments on the two sources in question, see W. Madelung, 'Bemerkungen zur imamitischen Firaq-Literatur', *Der Islam*, 43 (1967), pp. 37ff.; reprinted in his *Religious Schools and Sects in Medieval Islam* (London, 1985), article XV; English trans. as 'Some Remarks on the Imāmī *Firaq* Literature', in Kohlberg, ed., *Shīʿism*, pp., 153ff.

30. See al-Nawbakhtī, *Firaq*, pp. 20–21; al-Qummī, *al-Maqālāt*, pp. 21–22; I. Friedlaender, 'The Heterodoxies of the Shiites in the Presentation of Ibn Ḥazm: Commentary', *JAOS*, 29 (1908), pp. 33–34, 93–95; H. Halm, *Die islamische Gnosis* (Zürich–Munich, 1982), pp. 43ff., and A. A. Dixon, 'Kaysān', *EI2*, vol. 4, p. 836. The Kaysāniyya were sometimes also called the Khashabiyya, originally an abusive name for al-Mukhtār's *mawālī* followers who were mainly armed with wooden clubs (singular, *khashaba*); see P. Crone, 'The Significance of Wooden Weapons in al-Mukhtār's Revolt and the ʿAbbāsid Revolution', in I. R. Netton, ed., *Studies in Honour of Clifford Edmund Bosworth*: Volume I, *Hunter of the East: Arabic and Semitic Studies* (Leiden, 2000), pp. 174–187; and C. van Arendonk, 'Khashabiyya', *EI2*, vol. 4, p. 1086.
31. For the situation of the Kaysānīs between the deaths of al-Mukhtār and Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya, see W. al-Qāḍī, *al-Kaysāniyya fi'l-ta'rīkh wa'l-adab* (Beirut, 1974), pp. 139–201. See also J. van Ess, 'al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya', *EI2*, vol. 12, Supplement, pp. 357–358.
32. The most reliable sources on the Kaysāniyya and other early Shīʿī groups are al-Nawbakhtī and al-Qummī, who are well informed and free from the biases of the Sunnī heresiographers. The earliest works in the latter category with the relevant sections on the Kaysāniyya and its sub-divisions, are: Abu'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Ismāʿīl al-Ashʿarī, *Kitāb maqālāt al-Islāmiyyīn*, ed. H. Ritter (Istanbul, 1929–1930), pp. 18–23; Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Malaṭī, *Kitāb al-tanbīh wa'l-radd*, ed. S. Dedering (Istanbul, 1936), which is an unreliable work concerned mainly with refuting. ʿAbd al-Qāhir b. Ṭāhir al-Baghdādī has a detailed, though extremely hostile, treatment of the Kaysānī-related groups in his *al-Farq bayn al-firaq*, pp. 27–38, 227–228, 234–236, 253ff.; English trans., *Moslem Schisms and Sects*, part I, tr. K. C. Seelye (New York, 1919), pp. 47–60, containing numerous errors, and part II, tr. A. S. Halkin (Tel Aviv, 1935), pp. 46–48, 56–61, 91ff.; Abū Muḥammad ʿAlī b. Aḥmad b. Ḥazm, *Kitāb al-fiṣal fi'l-milal* (Cairo, 1317–1321/1899–1903), vol. 4, pp. 179ff. Friedlaender has provided useful notes to Ibn Ḥazm in his already-cited English translation of the latter's sections on the Shīʿīs, in *JAOS*, 28 (1907), pp. 44ff., 77–78, and in his commentary thereto, in *JAOS*, 29 (1908), pp. 33–39; and finally, Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Shahrastānī, who is of a late date but rather well-balanced, supplies a few doctrinal details in his *Kitāb al-milal wa'l-niḥal*, ed. ʿA. M. al-Wakīl (Cairo, 1968), vol. 1, pp. 147–154; French trans., *Livre des religions et des sectes*, tr. D. Gimaret, G. Monnot and J. Jolivet

(Louvain-Paris, 1986–1993), vol. 1, pp. 437–456; partial English trans., *Muslim Sects and Divisions*, tr. A. K. Kazi and J. G. Flynn (London, 1984), pp. 126–132.

33. For brief surveys of the concept of the Mahdī, see D. S. Margoliouth, 'On Mahdis and Mahdism', *Proceedings of the British Academy*, 7 (1915–1916), pp. 213–233; also his 'Mahdī', *ERE*, vol. 8, pp. 336–340; D. B. Macdonald, 'al-Mahdī', *EI*, vol. 3, pp. 111–115, and W. Madelung, 'al-Mahdī', *EI2*, vol. 5, pp. 1230–1238. More detailed studies of messianism in Islam are to be found in I. Friedlaender, 'Die Messiasidee im Islam', in A. Freimann and M. Hildesheimer, ed., *Festschrift zum siebzigsten Geburtstage A. Berliner's* (Frankfurt-am-Main, 1903), pp. 116–130; Edgar Blochet, *Le Messianisme dans l'hétérodoxie Musulmane* (Paris, 1903); and more recently, A. A. Sachedina, *Islamic Messianism* (Albany, NY, 1981); J. M. Hussain, *The Occultation of the Twelfth Imam* (London, 1982); and Jan-Olaf Blichfeldt, *Early Mahdism* (Leiden, 1985).
34. James Darmesteter, *Le Mahdi* (Paris, 1885), especially pp. 26–32; Bernard Carra de Vaux, *Les penseurs de l'Islam* (Paris, 1921–1926), vol. 5, pp. 12ff.; Corbin, *Spiritual Body*, pp. 13–16, 36–50, 68–73; also his 'L'idée du Paraclet en philosophie Iranienne', in Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, *La Persia nel medioevo*, pp. 37–68. H. Corbin has devoted numerous studies to the role of the Mahdī in Twelver Shīʿism; see especially his 'Sur le Douzième Imām', *La Table Ronde*, 110 (1957), pp. 7–20; 'L'imām caché et la rénovation de l'homme en théologie Shīʿite', *EJ*, 28 (1959), pp. 47–87; 'Au pays de l'imām caché', *EJ*, 32 (1963), pp. 31–87; *Histoire*, pp. 101–109; and *En Islam*, vol. 4, pp. 303–460. Now also see M. A. Amir–Moezzi, *La religion discrète. Croyances et pratiques spirituelles dans l'Islam Shiʿite* (Paris, 2006).
35. C. Snouck Hurgronje, 'Der Mahdi', *Revue Coloniale Internationale*, 1 (1886), pp. 25–59; reprinted in his *Verspreide Geschriften*, ed. J. W. Wensinck (Bonn–Leipzig, 1923), vol. 1, pp. 147–181; I. Goldziher, *Introduction to Islamic Theology and Law*, tr. A. and R. Hamori (Princeton, 1981), pp. 192–202, 211–212; this is a most valuable translation of Goldziher's important lectures first published in German as *Vorlesungen über den Islam*, ed. F. Babinger (2nd ed., Heidelberg, 1925); see also Friedlaender, 'Heterodoxies: Commentary', pp. 23–30.
36. S. Moscati, 'Abū Hāshim', *EI2*, vol. 1, pp. 124–125, and T. Nagel, 'Abū Hāšem ʿAbd Allāh', *EIR*, vol. 1, pp. 314–315.
37. Al-Nawbakhtī, *Firaq*, pp. 30–31; al-Qummī, *al-Maqālāt*, pp. 37–38; al-Ashʿarī, *Maqālāt*, pp. 5–6, 23, and al-Baghdādī, *al-Farq*, pp. 227–228; tr. Halkin, pp. 46–48. See also William F. Tucker, 'Bayān b. Samʿān and the Bayāniyya', *Muslim World*, 65 (1975), pp. 241–253; reprinted in Kohlberg, ed., *Shīʿism*, pp. 195–207; Halm, *Islamische Gnosis*, pp. 55–64; and M. G. S. Hodgson, 'Bayān b. Samʿān al-Tamīmī', *EI2*, vol. 1, pp. 1116–1117.
38. Al-Nawbakhtī, *Firaq*, p. 28, where they are also referred to as al-Mukhtāriyya. See also al-Qāḍī, *al-Kaysāniyya*, pp. 212–237.
39. Al-Nawbakhtī, *Firaq*, pp. 29–30, 46–47, and al-Qummī, *al-Maqālāt*, pp. 39–40, 69.
40. The relevant issues and sources have been particularly investigated by Sabatino Moscati in his 'Il testamento di Abū Hāšim', *RSO*, 27 (1952), pp. 28–46, and 'Per una storia dell' antica Šī'a', *RSO*, 30 (1955), pp. 258ff.
41. See especially Wellhausen, *Arab Kingdom*, pp. 503ff.
42. Cahen, 'Points', pp. 125–127, and B. Lewis, 'Hāshimiyya', *EI2*, vol. 3, p. 265.

43. Al-Nawbakhtī, *Firaq*, pp. 29–32, 35; al-Qummī, *al-Maqālāt*, pp. 26–27, 39–40, 56; al-Baghdādī, *al-Farq*, p. 234; tr. Halkin, p. 56; Friedlaender, 'Heterodoxies: Commentary', pp. 44–45, 124–126; al-Qāḍī, *al-Kaysāniyya*, pp. 208ff.; and Halm, *Islamische Gnosis*, pp. 64ff., 69ff.
44. On the death of Ibn Muʿāwiya, shortly before the accession of the ʿAbbāsids, the Janāḥiyya split into several groups. Aside from the sources cited above, see al-Ashʿarī, *Maqālāt*, pp. 6, 22; al-Baghdādī, *al-Farq*, pp. 235–236; tr. Halkin, pp. 59–61; al-Shahrastānī, *al-Milal*, vol. 1, pp. 151–152; tr. Kazi, pp. 129–130; Moscati, 'Il testamento', pp. 32–33, 46; William F. Tucker, 'ʿAbd Allāh ibn Muʿāwiya and the Janāḥiyya: Rebels and Ideologues of the late Umayyad Period', *Studia Islamica*, 51 (1980), especially pp. 49–55; and Marshall G. S. Hodgson and M. Canard, 'Djanāḥiyya', *EI2*, vol. 2, p. 441.
45. Al-Nawbakhtī, *Firaq*, pp. 32, 41ff.; al-Qummī, *al-Maqālāt*, p. 44; al-Baghdādī, *al-Farq*, pp. 251–252; tr. Halkin, pp. 87–90; Azizi, *La domination*, pp. 136ff.; G. H. Sadighi, *Les mouvements religieux Iraniens au IIe et au IIIe siècle de l'hégire* (Paris, 1938), especially pp. 163–280; B. Scarcia Amoretti, 'Sects and Heresies', in *Cambridge History of Iran*, vol. 4, pp. 494–519; Richard N. Frye, *The Golden Age of Persia* (London, 1975), pp. 126–137; W. Madelung, *Religious Trends in Early Islamic Iran* (Albany, NY, 1988), pp. 1–12, and his 'Khurramiyya', *EI2*, vol. 5, pp. 63–65.
46. Our discussion of the *ghulāt* owes much to the views of Marshall Hodgson, as expounded especially in his *Venture of Islam*, vol. 1, pp. 258–267, also his 'How Did the Early Shīʿa Become Sectarian?', *JAOS*, 75 (1955), pp. 4–8; reprinted in Kohlberg, ed., *Shīʿism*, pp. 6–10, and 'Ghulāt', *EI2*, vol. 2, pp. 1093–1095.
47. I. Friedlaender, 'ʿAbdallāh b. Sabaʾ, der Begründer der Šīʿa, und sein jüdischer Ursprung', *Zeitschrift für Assyrologie*, 23 (1909), pp. 296–327, and 24 (1910), pp. 1–46; Halm, *Islamische Gnosis*, pp. 32–42; and Marshall G. S. Hodgson, 'ʿAbd Allāh b. Sabaʾ', *EI2*, vol. 1, p. 51.
48. Al-Nawbakhtī, *Firaq*, pp. 19–20; al-Qummī, *al-Maqālāt*, pp. 19–21, 44–45; al-Ashʿarī, *Maqālāt*, p. 15; al-Malaṭī, *Kitāb al-tanbīh*, pp. 14, 18–19; al-Baghdādī, *al-Farq*, pp. 223–226, 241, 254; tr. Halkin, pp. 41–45, 73–74, 92–93; Ibn Ḥazm, *al-Fiṣal*, vol. 4, p. 180; Friedlaender, 'Heterodoxies', pp. 45–46; and al-Shahrastānī, *al-Milal*, vol. 1, p. 174; tr. Kazi, pp. 150–151.
49. For an excellent survey of the changing criteria of *ghuluww* during the first three Islamic centuries, see W. al-Qāḍī, 'The Development of the Term *Ghulāt* in Muslim Literature with Special Reference to the Kaysāniyya', in A. Dietrich, ed., *Akten des VII. Kongresses für Arabistik und Islamwissenschaft* (Göttingen, 1976), pp. 295–319; reprinted in Kohlberg, ed., *Shīʿism*, pp. 169–193; also her *al-Kaysāniyya*, pp. 238–267.
50. Our discussion is mainly based on al-Nawbakhtī, *Firaq*, pp. 32–34, 35–37, and al-Qummī, *al-Maqālāt*, pp. 44–46, 48–50. Useful details are to be found also in al-Baghdādī, *al-Farq*, pp. 214–217, 253ff.; tr. Halkin, pp. 31–35, 91ff.
51. For the central Manichaean doctrine of redemption, whereby the transmigrating soul is the focus of the all-important salvational process, see Henri C. Puech, 'Der Begriff der Erlösung im Manichäismus', *EJ*, 4 (1936), pp. 183–286; G. Widengren, *Mani and Manichaeism*, tr. C. Kessler (New York, 1965), especially pp. 59–69, and Jes P. Asmussen, *Manichaean Literature* (Delmar, NY, 1975), pp. 6–8, 47–53, 78–97.

52. See W. Madelung, ʻʿAlī b. al-Ḥosayn', *EIR*, vol. 1, pp. 849–850, and E. Kohlberg, 'Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn', *EI2*, vol. 11, pp. 481–483.
53. See Jafri, *Origins*, pp. 246–247; Hodgson, 'How', p. 10, and Corbin, *En Islam*, vol. 1, pp. 53ff.
54. Al-Nawbakhtī, *Firaq*, pp. 52–53, and al-Qummī, *al-Maqālāt*, pp. 74–76.
55. Abū ʿAmr Muḥammad b. ʿUmar al-Kashshī, *Ikhtiyār maʿrifat al-rijāl*, abridged by Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṭūsī, ed. Ḥasan al-Musṭafawī (Mashhad, 1348/1969).
56. Aḥmad b. ʿAlī al-Najāshī, *Kitāb al-rijāl* (Bombay, 1317/1899); the Shaykh al-Ṭāʾifa Abū Jaʿfar Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṭūsī, *Fihrist kutub al-Shīʿa*, ed. A. Sprenger et al. (Calcutta, 1853–1855); also his *Rijāl al-Ṭūsī*, ed. M. Ṣ. Āl Baḥr al-ʿUlūm (Najaf, 1381/1961), and Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Shahrāshūb, *Maʿālim al-ʿulamāʾ*, ed. ʿA. Iqbāl (Tehran, 1353/1934); more recently some of these works have been reprinted in Najaf, Qumm, Mashhad and Tehran.
57. On aspects of al-Bāqir's teachings, see Arzina R. Lalani, *Early Shīʿī Thought: The Teachings of Imam Muḥammad al-Bāqir* (London, 2000), especially pp. 84–95, 114–126.
58. See especially W. Madelung, ʻʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbbās and Shiʿite Law', in U. Vermeulen and J. M. F. Van Reeth, ed., *Law, Christianity and Modernism in Islamic Society* (Leuven, 1998), pp. 13–25.
59. Al-Nawbakhtī, *Firaq*, pp. 37, 52, 54–55; al-Qummī, *al-Maqālāt*, pp. 43–44, 55, 74, 76–77; al-Ashʿarī, *Maqālāt*, pp. 6–9, 23–24; al-Malaṭī, *Kitāb al-tanbīh*, pp. 123ff.; al-Baghdādī, *al-Farq*, pp. 229–233; tr. Halkin, pp. 49–55; Ibn Ḥazm, *al-Fiṣal*, vol. 4, pp. 184–185; Friedlaender, 'Heterodoxies', pp. 59–60, and al-Shahrastānī, *al-Milal*, vol. 1, pp. 176–178; tr. Kazi, pp. 152–153. See also al-Kashshī, *al-Rijāl*, pp. 191–192, 223–228, 290–291, 302, 305, 483.
60. On the sources of al-Mughīra's ideas, see Friedlaender, 'Heterodoxies: Commentary', pp. 79–85, 91; William F. Tucker, 'Rebels and Gnostics: Al-Muġīra Ibn Saʿīd and the Muġīriyya', *Arabica*, 22 (1975), especially pp. 39–44, and Halm, *Islamische Gnosis*, pp. 89–96.
61. Corbin, *Histoire*, p. 112.
62. The Mandaeans, who appear in Arabic literature as the Ṣābiʾa, were numerous in southern ʿIrāq in al-Mughīra's time; and their few survivors are still to be found there as well as in southwestern Persia. For more details on this peculiar gnostic sect, also identified with the Sabaeans, and their obscure Iranian and Judaeo–Christian religious origins, see T. Fahd, 'Ṣābiʾa', *EI2*, vol. 8, pp. 675–678, where full references are given.
63. Corbin, *Histoire*, pp. 111–112. On the Valentinian school of Gnosticism, founded in the 2nd century AD by Valentinus and later developed, in different trends, by Marcus and other disciples, see E. F. Scott, 'Valentinianism', *ERE*, vol. 12, pp. 572–576; H. Jonas, *The Gnostic Religion* (2nd ed., Boston, 1963), pp. 174–197, and B. Layton, ed., *The Rediscovery of Gnosticism*: Volume One, *The School of Valentinus* (Leiden, 1980).
64. Al-Nawbakhtī, *Firaq*, pp. 34–35; al-Qummī, *al-Maqālāt*, pp. 46–47; al-Ashʿarī, *Maqālāt*, pp. 9–10, 24–25; al-Malaṭī, *Kitāb al-tanbīh*, p. 120; al-Baghdādī, *al-Farq*, pp. 234–235; tr. Halkin, pp. 57–58; Ibn Ḥazm, *al-Fiṣal*, vol. 4, pp. 185–186; Friedlaender, 'Heterodoxies', pp. 62–65; also his 'Heterodoxies: Commentary', pp. 89ff., 96;

al-Shahrastānī, *al-Milal*, vol. 1, pp. 178–179; tr. Kazi, pp. 153–154; Halm, *Islamische Gnosis*, pp. 86–89; and W. Madelung, 'Manṣūriyya', *EI2*, vol. 6, pp. 441–442.

65. See William F. Tucker, 'Abū Manṣūr al-ʿIjlī and the Manṣūriyya: A Study in Medieval Terrorism', *Der Islam*, 54 (1977), pp. 66–76.
66. It is interesting to note that whereas in al-Mughīra's cosmogony, Muḥammad and ʿAlī were the first persons created by God, Jesus and ʿAlī were the primordial men for Abū Manṣūr, reflecting Christian influences; see Friedlaender, 'Heterodoxies: Commentary', pp. 89–92.
67. This is the most frequently cited year; for other dates and their sources, see Jafri, *Origins*, pp. 255, 258; Lalani, *Early Shīʿī Thought*, pp. 55–57; W. Madelung, 'al-Bāqer, Abū Jaʿfar Moḥammad', *EIR*, vol. 3, pp. 725–726; and E. Kohlberg, 'Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Bāḳir', *EI2*, vol. 7, pp. 397–400.
68. Al-Nawbakhtī, *Firaq*, pp. 34, 53–55, and al-Qummī, *al-Maqālāt*, pp. 76–78.
69. Al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, II, p. 1700. For the meaning and different applications of this term, see Friedlaender, 'Heterodoxies: Commentary', pp. 137–159; J. H. Kramers, 'Rafiḍites', *SEI*, p. 466; W. M. Watt, 'The Rāfiḍites: A Preliminary Study', *Oriens*, 16 (1963), pp. 110–121; also his *Formative Period*, pp. 157ff.; and E. Kohlberg, 'al-Rāfiḍa', *EI2*, vol. 8, pp. 386–389.
70. See al-Iṣfahānī, *Maqātil*, pp. 178–184, and K. V. Zetterstéen, 'ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Ḥasan', *EI2*, vol. 1, p. 45.
71. On Zayd's revolt, see al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, II, pp. 1667–1688, 1698–1716; al-Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, vol. 5, pp. 467ff.; al-Iṣfahānī, *Maqātil*, pp. 133–151; Wellhausen, *Arab Kingdom*, pp. 337–338; also his *Religio-Political Factions*, pp. 162–163; C. van Arendonk, *Les débuts de l'Imāmat Zaidite au Yémen*, tr. J. Ryckmans (Leiden, 1960), pp. 28–33; R. Strothmann, 'Zaid b. ʿAlī', *EI*, vol. 4, pp. 1193–1194; and W. Madelung, 'Zayd b. ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn', *EI2*, vol. 11, pp. 473–474.
72. Al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, II, pp. 1710, 1770–1774; al-Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, vol. 6, pp. 2–4; al-Iṣfahānī, *Maqātil*, pp. 152–158; Wellhausen, *Arab Kingdom*, pp. 338–339, 359, 499–500; also his *Religio-Political Factions*, pp. 163–164; Arendonk, *Les débuts*, pp. 33–34; his 'Yaḥyā b. Zaid al-Ḥusainī', *EI*, vol. 4, pp. 1151–1152; and W. Madelung, 'Yaḥyā b. Zayd', *EI2*, vol. 11, pp. 249–250.
73. The influence of the Muʿtazila on Zaydī Shīʿism is investigated in W. Madelung, *Der Imam al-Qāsim ibn Ibrāhīm und die Glaubenslehre der Zaiditen* (Berlin, 1965), pp. 7–43, while a discussion of the connection between Muʿtazilism and Imāmī Shīʿism is to be found in Madelung, 'Imamism and Muʿtazilite Theology', in T. Fahd, ed., *Le Shîʿisme Imâmite*. Colloque de Strasbourg (Paris, 1970), pp. 13–29; reprinted in his *Religious Schools and Sects*, article VII.
74. The Zaydīs managed, by the second half of the 3rd/9th century, to establish two states, one in the southern coastal regions of the Caspian Sea and another in Yaman. Only the latter survived to modern times. For further details on the history and doctrines of the Zaydiyya, see R. Strothmann, *Das Staatsrecht der Zaiditen* (Strassburg, 1912); also his 'al-Zaidīya', *EI*, vol. 4, pp. 1196–1198; Arendonk, *Les débuts*; Madelung, *Der Imam al-Qāsim*, pp. 44–152; his 'The Alid rulers of Ṭabaristān, Daylamān and Gīlān', in *Atti del Terzo Congresso di Studi Arabi e Islamici, Ravello, 1966* (Naples, 1967), pp. 483–492; and his 'Zaydiyya', *EI2*, vol. 11, pp. 477–481; M. S. Khan, 'The Early History of Zaydī Shīʿism in Daylamān and Gīlān', *ZDMG*, 125 (1975), pp. 301–314; reprinted

in Kohlberg, ed., *Shīʿism*, pp. 221–234; R. B. Serjeant, 'The Zaydīs', in *Religion in the Middle East*, ed. A. J. Arberry (Cambridge, 1969), vol. 2, pp. 285–301; and Crone, *Medieval Islamic*, pp. 99–109.

75. Al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, III, pp. 143ff., and al-Iṣfahānī, *Maqātil*, pp. 206–209, 253, 256.
76. The most detailed account of this Ḥasanid movement is contained in al-Iṣfahānī, *Maqātil*, pp. 205–229, 232–309, 315–389; see also al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, III, pp. 66, 143–265, 282–318, 359ff.; al-Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, vol. 6, pp. 189–197; Theodor Nöldeke, *Sketches from Eastern History*, tr. J. S. Black (London, 1892), pp. 120–128; Arendonk, *Les débuts*, pp. 45–48; R. Traini, 'La corrispondenza tra al-Manṣūr e Muḥammad an-Nafs az-Zakiyyah', *AIUON*, NS, 14 (1964), pp. 773–798; L. Veccia Vaglieri, 'Divagazioni su due rivolti Alidi', in *A Francesco Gabrieli, Studi Orientalistici* (Rome, 1964), pp. 315–324, 328–332, 337–347; also her 'Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbd Allāh', *EI2*, vol. 3, pp. 983–985; and F. Buhl, 'Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh', *EI2*, vol. 7, pp. 388–389.
77. On Ibn Muʿāwiya's movement, see al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, II, pp. 1879–1887, 1947–1948, 1976–1981; al-Iṣfahānī, *Maqātil*, pp. 161–169; Wellhausen, *Arab Kingdom*, pp. 383–386, 393–395; also his *Religio-Political Factions*, pp. 164–165; Shaban, *Islamic History*, vol. 1, pp. 161–163; Tucker, 'ʿAbd Allāh ibn Muʿāwiya', pp. 39–49, 55–56; C. Edmund Bosworth, *Sīstān under the Arabs* (Rome, 1968), pp. 76–77; K. V. Zetterstéen, 'ʿAbd Allāh b. Muʿāwiya', *EI2*, vol. 1, pp. 48–49; and D. M. Dunlop, 'ʿAbdallāh b. Moʿāvīa', *EIR*, vol. 1, pp. 183–184.
78. New details of the ʿAbbāsid movement came to light with the discovery and publication of the anonymous *Akhbār al-dawla al-ʿAbbāsiyya*, ed. ʿA. ʿA. Dūrī and A. J. Muṭṭalibī (Beirut, 1971). Much useful information on the ʿAbbāsid revolution can still be derived from the classic works of Gerlof van Vloten (1866–1903), especially his *De Opkomst der Abbasiden in Chorasan* (Leiden, 1890), and *Recherches sur la domination Arabe, le Chiitisme et les croyances messianiques sous le khalifat des Omayades* (Amsterdam, 1894), and from Wellhausen's *Arab Kingdom*, pp. 492–566. More recently, the subject has been discussed in a number of monographs, notably F. Omar, *The ʿAbbāsid Caliphate*, 132/750–170/786 (Baghdad, 1969); M. A. Shaban, *The ʿAbbāsid Revolution* (Cambridge, 1970), especially pp. 149–168; Elton L. Daniel, *The Political and Social History of Khurasan under Abbasid Rule*, 747–820 (Minneapolis, MN, 1979), pp. 25–99; H. Kennedy, *The Early Abbasid Caliphate* (London, 1981), pp. 18–56, and J. Lassner, *The Shaping of ʿAbbāsid Rule* (Princeton, 1980), which contains a variety of interesting details. Briefer but important surveys are to be found in Cahen, 'Points', pp. 136–160; B. Lewis, 'ʿAbbāsids', *EI2*, vol. 1, pp. 15ff., and C. E. Bosworth, 'ʿAbbāsid Caliphate', *EIR*, vol. 1, pp. 89ff.
79. For a somewhat different view on the origins of the ʿAbbāsid movement, challenging the traditional account, see T. Nagel, *Untersuchungen zur Entstehung des abbasidischen Kalifates* (Bonn, 1972); his 'Das Kalifat der Abbasiden', in U. Haarmann, ed., *Geschichte der arabischen Welt* (Munich, 1991), pp. 101–165, and M. Sharon, *Black Banners from the East: The Establishment of the ʿAbbāsid State – Incubation of a Revolt* (Jerusalem–Leiden, 1983), and his *Black Banners from the East II: Revolt, the Social and Military Aspects of the ʿAbbāsid Revolution* (Jerusalem, 1990).
80. See P. Crone, 'On the Meaning of the ʿAbbāsid Call to al-Riḍā', in C. E. Bosworth et al., ed., *The Islamic World: From Classical to Modern Times, Essays in Honor of*

Bernard Lewis (Princeton, 1989), pp. 95–111; reprinted in Kohlberg, ed., *Shīʿism*, pp. 291–307; and her *Medieval Islamic*, pp. 87–98.

81. Zarrīnkūb, *Taʾrīkh-i Īrān*, vol. 1, pp. 390–404; Richard N. Frye, 'The Role of Abū Muslim in the ʿAbbāsid Revolt', *Muslim World*, 37 (1947), pp. 28–38; S. Moscati, 'Studi su Abū Muslim', *Rendiconti della Reale Accademia dei Lincei, Classe di Scienze Morali, Storiche e Filologiche*, serie 8, 4 (1949–1950), pp. 323–335, 474–495, and 5 (1950–1951), pp. 89–105; also his 'Abū Muslim', *EI2*, vol. 1, p. 141; Sharon, *Black Banners I*, pp. 201–226; and Ḡ. Ḥ. Yūsofī, 'Abū Moslem K̲orāsānī', *EIR*, vol. 1, pp. 340–344.
82. Al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, III, pp. 27ff.; al-Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, vol. 6, pp. 93–96, 133ff.; H. Laoust, *Les schismes dans l'Islam* (Paris, 1965), pp. 56–58, 61; Shaban, *Islamic History*, vol. 1, pp. 185–187; Jafri, *Origins*, pp. 273–274; Hodgson, *Venture of Islam*, vol. 1, pp. 275–276; Lassner, *Shaping*, pp. 59–60, 84, 145–147, 151–152; F. Omar, *ʿAbbāsid Caliphate*, pp. 139ff.; also his 'Some Aspects of the ʿAbbāsid–Ḥusaynid Relations during the Early ʿAbbāsid Period, 132–193 A.H./750–809 A.D.', *Arabica*, 22 (1975), pp. 172–173; S. Moscati, 'Abū Salama', *EI2*, vol. 1, p. 149; and R. W. Bulliet, 'Abū Salama K̲allāl', *EIR*, vol. 1, pp. 382–383.
83. Al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, III, p. 74, and Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar al-Narshakhī, *Taʾrīkh-i Bukhārā* (Bukhara, 1322/1904), pp. 79–82; ed. M. T. Mudarris Raḍavī (2nd ed., Tehran, 1363/1984), pp. 86–89; and its English trans., *The History of Bukhara*, tr. Richard N. Frye (Cambridge, MA, 1954), pp. 62–65.
84. Al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, III, pp. 129–133, 418–419; Friedlaender, 'Heterodoxies: Commentary', pp. 100–101, 121–124; and Lassner, *Shaping*, pp. 109–111, 159–160.
85. See Jafri, *Origins*, pp. 259–283; Momen, *Introduction to Shiʿi Islam*, pp. 38–39, 64–65, 70, 154–156; Halm, *Shiʿism*, pp. 28–31; and M. G. S. Hodgson, 'Djaʿfar al-Ṣādiḳ, *EI2*, vol. 2, pp. 374–375.
86. See J. Schacht, *The Origins of Muhammadan Jurisprudence* (Oxford, 1950), pp. 262–268; Asaf A. A. Fyzee, 'Shīʿī Legal Theories', in M. Khaduri and H. J. Liebesny, ed., *Law in the Middle East* (Washington, DC, 1955), vol. 1, pp. 113–131; and Fyzee, *Outlines of Muhammadan Law* (4th ed., Delhi, 1974), pp. 43–48, 80–87.
87. Hodgson, 'How', pp. 10–13; also his *Venture of Islam*, vol. 1, pp. 259–260, 374–376, and Jafri, *Origins*, pp. 289–300. Summary English expositions of the Imāmī Shīʿī doctrine of the imamate are to be found in Ṭabāṭabāʾī, *Shiʿite Islam*, pp. 173–190; Sobhani, *Doctrines*, pp. 96–112; Momen, *Introduction to Shiʿi Islam*, pp. 147–160; Crone, *Medieval Islamic*, pp. 111ff.; and Amir-Moezzi and Jambet, *Qu'est-ce*, pp. 63–65, 121–129. Many relevant arguments are also contained in M. A. Amir-Moezzi's *The Divine Guide in Early Shiʿism*, tr. D. Streight (Albany, NY, 1994), especially pp. 29–97. See also W. Madelung, 'Imāma', *EI2*, vol. 3, pp. 1166–1167.
88. See al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, III, pp. 169–189, 445–446; al-Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, vol. 6, pp. 198–203; al-Iṣfahānī, *Maqātil*, pp. 178ff.; Cahen, 'Points', pp. 155–156; and Omar, 'Some Aspects', pp. 173–175.
89. Hodgson, *Venture of Islam*, vol. 1, p. 260.
90. Al-Nawbakhtī, *Firaq*, pp. 56–57; al-Qummī, *al-Maqālāt*, pp. 78–79; Muḥammad b. Yaʿqūb al-Kulaynī (or al-Kulīnī), *al-Uṣūl min al-Kāfī*, ed. ʿAlī Akbar al-Ghaffārī (Tehran, 1388/1968), vol. 2, pp. 217–226. See also I. Goldziher, 'Das Prinzip

der Taḳijja im Islam', *ZDMG*, 60 (1906), pp. 213–226; R. Strothmann and M. Djebli, 'Taḳiyya', *EI2*, vol. 10, pp. 134–136; Corbin, *En Islam*, vol. 1, pp. 6, 87, 117; Ṭabāṭabā'ī, *Shiʿite Islam*, pp. 223–225; Sobhani, *Doctrines*, pp. 150–154; and E. Kohlberg, 'Some Imāmī-Shīʿī Views on Taqiyya', *JAOS*, 95 (1975), pp. 395–402; reprinted in his *Belief and Law in Imāmī Shīʿism* (Hampshire, 1991), article III.

91. These *ḥadīth*s are to be found in the *Kitāb al-ḥujja*, the opening book in al-Kulaynī's *al-Uṣūl min al-Kāfī*, vol. 1, pp. 168–548, and in the *Kitāb al-walāya* in al-Qāḍī al-Nuʿmān's *Daʿāʾim al-Islām*, ed. A. A. A. Fyzee (Cairo, 1951–1961), vol. 1, pp. 14–98; English trans., *The Pillars of Islam*, tr. Asaf A. A. Fyzee, completely revised by Ismail K. Poonawala (New Delhi, 2002–2004), vol. 1, pp. 18–122. See also A. Nanji, 'An Ismāʿīlī Theory of *Walāyah* in the *Daʿāʾim al-Islām* of al-Qāḍī al-Nuʿmān', in D. P. Little, ed., *Essays on Islamic Civilization Presented to Niyazi Berkes* (London, 1976), pp. 260–273; and Momen, *An Introduction to Shiʿi Islam*, pp. 147–160.
92. Al-Kulaynī, *al-Uṣūl*, vol. 1, pp. 376–377.
93. H. Corbin has investigated the various aspects of the subject of *walāya*, to be distinguished from *wilāya* meaning sanctity and guardianship, more than any other Western scholar; see especially his 'L'imām caché', pp. 87ff.; *Histoire*, pp. 45ff., 59–62, 66–70, 78–92; 'De la philosophie prophétique en Islam Shīʿite', *EJ*, 31 (1962), pp. 67ff., 78–91; 'Sur la notion de "walāyat" en Islam Shīʿite', in J. P. Charnay, ed., *Normes et valeurs dans l'Islam contemporain* (Paris, 1966), pp. 38–47; 'Imamologie et philosophie', in Fahd, ed., *Le Shîʿisme Imâmite*, pp. 161–172, and *En Islam*, vol. 1, pp. 39ff., 51, 235–284. M. A. Amir-Moezzi's *Divine Guide in Early Shiʿism* and other studies on Shīʿī spirituality, in his *La religion discrète*, are also relevant here.
94. See al-Kashshī, *al-Rijāl*, pp. 167, 251–252, 316–317, 345, 352, 375, 382–383; al-Najāshī, *al-Rijāl*, pp. 10, 92, 103–104, 148–149,154; al-Ṭūsī, *Rijāl*, pp. 142–341; Ibn Shahrāshūb, *Manāqib āl Abī Ṭālib* (Bombay, 1313/1896), vol. 5, p. 55, and Jafri, *Origins*, pp. 309–310.
95. Al-Kashshī, *al-Rijāl*, pp. 133–161, 185–191, 213, 255–280, 281–285; al-Najāshī, *al-Rijāl*, pp. 176, 228, 304–305; al-Ṭūsī, *Fihrist*, pp. 141–143, 212, 323, 355–356, and Ibn Shahrāshūb, *Maʿālim*, p. 115. See also Jafri, *Origins*, pp. 305–308; T. Fahd, 'Ǧaʿfar aṣ-Ṣādiq et la tradition scientifique Arabe', in Fahd, ed., *Le Shîʿisme Imâmite*, pp. 131–141; W. Madelung, 'The Shiite and Khārijite Contribution to Pre-Ashʿarite Kalām', in P. Morewedge, ed., *Islamic Philosophical Theology* (Albany, NY, 1979), pp. 120–139; reprinted in his *Religious Schools*, article VIII; and his 'Hishām b. al-Ḥakam', *EI2*, vol. 3, pp. 496–498.
96. J. Ruska, 'Ǧābir ibn Ḥajjān und seine Beziehungen zum Imām Ǧaʿfar aṣ-Ṣādiq', *Der Islam*, 16 (1927), pp. 264–266; also his 'The History of the Jābir Problem', *Islamic Culture*, 11 (1937), pp. 303–312; P. Kraus, 'Dschābir ibn Ḥajjān und die Ismaʿīlijja', in *Der Zusammenbruch der Dschābir-legende, Dritter Jahresbericht des Forschungs-Institut für Geschichte der Naturwissenschaften* (Berlin, 1930), pp. 23–42; reprinted in P. Kraus, *Alchemie, Ketzerei, Apokryphen im frühen Islam*, ed. R. Brague (Hildesheim, 1994), pp. 27–46; H. Corbin, 'Le Livre du Glorieux de Jābir ibn Ḥayyān', *EJ*, 18 (1950), especially pp. 47–86; reprinted in H. Corbin, *L'alchimie comme art hiératique* (Paris, 1986), pp. 145–182; also his *Histoire*, pp. 184–190; F. Sezgin, 'Das Problem des Ǧābir ibn Ḥayyān im Lichte neu gefundener Handschriften', *ZDMG*, 114 (1964), pp. 255–268; also his *Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums* (Leiden, 1967–),

vol. 4, pp. 132–269; and P. Kraus and M. Plessner, 'Djābir b. Ḥayyān', *EI2*, vol. 2, pp. 357–359.

97. Al-Kashshī, *al-Rijāl*, pp. 191–198, 373, 485; al-Najāshī, *al-Rijāl*, pp. 93–94; Halm, *Islamische Gnosis*, pp. 96ff.; and W. Madelung, 'Djābir al-Djuʿfī', *EI2*, vol. 12, Supplement, pp. 232–233.
98. Jafri, *Origins*, pp. 301–303.
99. The most detailed accounts of Abu'l-Khaṭṭāb and his ideas, as well as the various Khaṭṭābī subgroups, are to be found in al-Nawbakhtī, *Firaq*, pp. 37–41, 58–60; al-Qummī, *al-Maqālāt*, pp. 50–55, 63–64, 81–82, and al-Kashshī, *al-Rijāl*, pp. 224–226, 228, 290–308, 324, 344, 352–353, 365–366, 370, 482–483, 528–529, 571. See also Muḥammad b. Yaʿqūb al-Kulaynī, *al-Rawḍa min al-Kāfī*, ed. M. B. al-Bihbūdī and ʿA. A. al-Ghaffārī (Tehran, 1397/1977), vol. 2, pp. 42–43; al-Ashʿarī, *Maqālāt*, pp. 10–13; al-Baghdādī, *al-Farq*, pp. 236–237; tr. Halkin, pp. 62–66; Ibn Ḥazm, *al-Fiṣal*, vol. 4, p. 187; Friedlaender, 'Heterodoxies', pp. 68–69; also his 'Heterodoxies: Commentary', pp. 95–96, 111–113; al-Shahrastānī, *al-Milal*, vol. 1, pp. 179–181; tr. Kazi, pp. 154–155; Lewis, *Origins*, pp. 32ff.; also his 'Abu'l-Khaṭṭāb', *EI2*, vol. 1, p. 134; W. Ivanow, *Alleged Founder of Ismailism*, pp. 113–137; H. Corbin, *Étude préliminaire pour le 'Livre réunissant les deux sagesses' de Nasir-e Khosraw* (Tehran–Paris, 1953) pp. 14ff.; also his 'Une liturgie Shîʿite du Graal', in *Mélanges d'histoire des religions offerts à Henri Charles Puech* (Paris, 1974), especially pp. 83–93; reprinted in H. Corbin, *L'Iran et la philosophie* (Paris, 1990), pp. 190–207; English trans., 'A Shiite Liturgy of the Grail', in H. Corbin, *The Voyage and the Messenger: Iran and Philosophy*, tr. J. Rowe (Berkeley, 1998), pp. 173–204; Halm, *Islamische Gnosis*, pp. 199–217; A. A. Sachedina, 'Abu'l-Khaṭṭāb', *EII*, vol. 1, pp. 951–952; also his 'Abu'l-Ḵaṭṭāb', *EIR*, vol. 1, pp. 329–330; Ḥ. Anṣārī, "Abu'l-Khaṭṭāb', *GIE*, vol. 5, pp. 432–436; and W. Madelung, 'Khaṭṭābiyya', *EI2*, vol. 4, pp. 1132–1133.

Notes to Chapter 3

1. Al-Nawbakhtī, *Firaq*, p. 55; al-Qummī, *al-Maqālāt*, p. 78, and Sachedina, *Islamic Messianism*, pp. 153–154.
2. Lewis, *Origins*, pp. 38–39; Ivanow, *Alleged*, p. 159, and W. Madelung, 'Das Imamat in der frühen ismailitischen Lehre', *Der Islam*, 37 (1961), p. 44.
3. See al-Kulaynī, *al-Uṣūl*, vol. 1, pp. 307–311; al-Kashshī, *al-Rijāl*, pp. 451, 462; al-Mufīd, *al-Irshād*, pp. 436–440, 510, and Ṭabāṭabāʾī, *Shiʿite Islam*, pp. 75, 190, 205, 221, where additional Twelver sources are cited.
4. These groups are covered in the earliest extant Imāmī works on the Shīʿī sects; the relevant passages (excluding those on the two earliest Ismāʿīlī groups that will be discussed later) are to be found in al-Nawbakhtī, *Firaq*, pp. 57, 64–67, 71–72, and al-Qummī, *al-Maqālāt*, pp. 79–80, 86–89, both drawing on an earlier account by Hishām b. al-Ḥakam. See also al-Ashʿarī, *Maqālāt*, pp. 25, 27–29; Ibn Ḥazm, *al-Fiṣal*, vol. 4, pp. 93, 180; Friedlaender, 'Heterodoxies', pp. 44, 76; also his 'Heterodoxies: Commentary', pp. 39–40, 41, 50ff., 114; al-Shahrastānī, *al-Milal*, vol. 1, pp. 165–169; tr. Kazi, pp. 142–145; Omar, 'Some Aspects', pp. 178–179; W. M. Watt, 'The

Reappraisal of Abbasid Shiʿism', in Makdisi, ed., *Arabic and Islamic Studies in Honor of H. A. R. Gibb*, pp. 638–639, 645ff.; also his 'Sidelights on Early Imāmite Doctrine', *Studia Islamica*, 31 (1970), pp. 293–298; both articles reprinted in his *Early Islam: Collected Articles* (Edinburgh, 1990); R. Strothmann, 'Mūsā al-Kāẓim', *EI*, vol. 3, p. 741; and E. Kohlberg, 'Mūsā al-Kāẓim', *EI2*, vol. 7, pp. 645–648.

5. On this revolt, see al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, III, pp. 551–568; al-Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, vol. 6, pp. 266–268; al-Iṣfahānī, *Maqātil*, pp. 431ff., 442–460; Arendonk, *Les débuts*, pp. 62–65; Veccia Vaglieri, 'Divagazioni su due rivolti Alidi', pp. 315–316, 320–322, 335–339, 341–350, and her 'al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī, Ṣāḥib Fakhkh', *EI2*, vol. 3, pp. 615–617.
6. Al-Nawbakhtī, *Firaq*, pp. 67, 72ff.; al-Qummī, *al-Maqālāt*, pp. 89 and 93ff.; al-Kulaynī, *al-Uṣūl*, vol. 1, pp. 311–319; al-Iṣfahānī, *Maqātil*, pp. 561–562; Ṭabāṭabāʾī, *Shiʿite Islam*, pp. 63–64, 205–207; Laoust, *Schismes*, pp. 98–100; F. Gabrieli, *al-Maʾmūn e gliʿAlidi* (Leipzig, 1929), pp. 35ff.; B. Lewis, 'ʿAlī al-Riḍā', *EI2*, vol. 1, pp. 399–400; and W. Madelung, 'ʿAlī al-Reżā', *EIR*, vol. 1, pp. 877–880. The tomb of the Imam al-Riḍā situated at Mashhad, the capital of the modern-day province of Khurāsān, is the most sacred Shīʿī shrine in Persia.
7. With the formulation in the first half of the 4th/10th century of the doctrine of the twelve imams, the Imāmī Shīʿī doctrine of the imamate acquired its final important characteristic. It is this belief in a line of twelve imams, already reflected in al-Nawbakhtī, *Firaq*, pp. 90–93, al-Qummī, *al-Maqālāt*, pp. 102–106, al-Kulaynī, *al-Uṣūl*, vol. 1, pp. 328ff., and later refined by Shaykh al-Ṣadūq also known as Ibn Bābawayh (d. 381/991), Shaykh al-Mufīd (d. 413/1022), and others, which distinguishes Twelver Shīʿism from the earlier Imāmiyya. With the rising predominance of the Twelvers, the terms Imāmiyya and Ithnāʿashariyya gradually became synonymous, though the Ismāʿīlīs have also referred to themselves as Imāmī Shīʿīs. See Laoust, *Schismes*, pp. 146ff., 181–184; Watt, *Formative Period*, pp. 274–278; Nasr, *Ideals*, pp. 150–153, 160ff.; also his 'Ithnāʿashariyya', *EI2*, vol. 4, pp. 277–279; E. Kohlberg, 'From Imāmiyya to Ithnā-ʿashariyya', *BSOAS*, 39 (1976), pp. 521–534; reprinted in his *Belief and Law*, article XIV, and Sachedina, *Islamic Messianism*, pp. 39–179. For brief biographical notices on these twelve imams, see al-Kulaynī, *al-Uṣūl*, vol. 1, pp. 452–458, 461–525; al-Mufīd, *al-Irshād*, pp. 279–568; Ṭabāṭabāʾī, *Shiʿite Islam*, pp. 190–211, 220–222, where additional Shīʿī sources are cited; Halm, *Shiʿism*, pp. 28ff.; his 'ʿAskarī', *EIR*, vol. 2, p. 769; J. Eliash, 'Ḥasan al-ʿAskarī', *EI2*, vol. 3, pp. 246–247; and W. Madelung, 'ʿAlī al-Hādī', *EIR*, vol. 1, pp. 861–862. Many of Corbin's works are highly valuable for the study of Twelver Shīʿism.
8. Al-Nawbakhtī, *Firaq*, pp. 57–58, and al-Qummī, *al-Maqālāt*, p. 80. See also Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī, *Kitāb al-zīna*, part 3, ed. ʿA. S. al-Samarrāʾī in his *al-Ghuluww waʾl-firaq al-ghāliya* (Baghdad, 1988), pp. 287–289.
9. Al-Shahrastānī, *al-Milal*, vol. 1, pp. 27, 167–168; tr. Kazi, pp. 23, 144; tr. Gimaret, vol. 1, pp. 491–492. See also Friedlaender, 'Heterodoxies: Commentary', pp. 26, 40, 51.
10. Al-Nawbakhtī, *Firaq*, p. 58, and al-Qummī, *al-Maqālāt*, pp. 80–81. See also al-Ashʿarī, *Maqālāt*, pp. 26–27; al-Baghdādī, *al-Farq*, pp. 46–47; tr. Seelye, pp. 65–66; al-Shahrastānī, *al-Milal*, vol. 1, pp. 27–28, 168, 191ff.; tr. Kazi, pp. 23, 144, 163ff.; al-Mufīd, *al-Irshād*, p. 431; and al-Ṭūsī, *Rijāl*, p. 310.
11. Ivanow, *Alleged*, pp. 108–112.

12. See Abū Yaʿqūb al-Sijistānī, *Ithbāt al-nubūʾāt (al-nubuwwāt)*, ed. ʿĀ. Tāmir (Beirut, 1966), p. 190. Mubārak is also mentioned as a pseudonym of Ismāʿīl in a letter sent by the first Fāṭimid caliph to the Ismāʿīlīs in Yaman. This letter, as reported in the book *al-Farāʾiḍ wa-ḥudūd al-dīn* by Jaʿfar b. Manṣūr al-Yaman, has been published and translated by Ḥusayn F. al-Hamdānī as *On the Genealogy of Fatimid Caliphs* (Cairo, 1958), hereafter cited as *Genealogy*. The relevant passage on Mubārak is found in text p. 10, translation p. 12. For a detailed analysis of this letter and its more precise translation, and an interesting hypothesis regarding the descent of the early Ismāʿīlī imams, see A. Hamdani and F. de Blois, 'A Re-examination of al-Mahdī's Letter to the Yemenites on the Genealogy of the Fatimid Caliphs', *JRAS* (1983), pp. 173–207.
13. See al-Nawbakhtī, *Firaq*, p. 62, and al-Qummī, *al-Maqālāt*, p. 84; this can be gathered also from the earliest extant Zaydī reference to the nascent Ismāʿīliyya by the Zaydī Imam al-Qāsim b. Ibrāhīm (d. 246/860), in a treatise entitled *al-Radd ʿalāʾl-Rawāfiḍ*, cited in Madelung, 'Imamat', p. 46.
14. Al-Qummī, *al-Maqālāt*, p. 81, and al-Nawbakhtī, *Firaq*, pp. 58–59, where the group al-Ismāʿīliyya is identified with al-Khaṭṭābiyya. However, since al-Nawbakhtī does not discuss a group called al-Ismāʿīliyya, it seems that by the latter designation, similarly to al-Qummī, he is referring to *al-Ismāʿīliyya al-khāliṣa*, one of the two proto-Ismāʿīlī groups covered in his work.
15. Al-Nawbakhtī, *Firaq*, pp. 60–61, and al-Qummī, *al-Maqālāt*, p. 83.
16. See Lewis, *Origins*, pp. 33–35.
17. See al-Nawbakhtī, *Firaq*, p. 90, and al-Qummī, *al-Maqālāt*, p. 103, where the claims of Ismāʿīl and Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl are rejected; see also al-Kashshī, *al-Rijāl*, pp. 473–474, where Ismāʿīl is accused of being inclined to drink.
18. See Jaʿfar b. Manṣūr al-Yaman, *Asrār al-nuṭaqāʾ*, in W. Ivanow, *Ismaili Tradition Concerning the Rise of the Fatimids* (London, etc., 1942), text p. 98, translation p. 295, hereafter cited as *Rise*; Jaʿfar b. Manṣūr al-Yaman, *Sarāʾir wa-asrār al-nuṭaqāʾ*, ed. M. Ghālib (Beirut, 1984), pp. 256–257, 258; al-Qāḍī al-Nuʿmān, *Sharḥ al-akhbār*, ed. S. M. al-Ḥusaynī al-Jalālī (Qumm, 1409–1412/1988–1992), vol. 3, pp. 302, 309–310; Idrīs ʿImād al-Dīn, *ʿUyūn al-akhbār*, ed. M. Ghālib (Beirut, 1973–1984), vol. 4, pp. 332–350, and F. Daftary, 'Esmāʿīl b. Jaʿfar al-Ṣādeq', *EIR*, vol. 8, pp. 625–626, where additional sources are cited. ʿĀrif Tāmir places Ismāʿīl's birth in 101/719–720, in his *al-Imāma fiʾl-Islām* (Beirut, 1964?), p. 180; the same date is repeated in some Ismāʿīlī sources cited in M. T. Dānishpazhūh, 'Dhaylī bar taʾrīkh-i Ismāʿīliyya', *Revue de la Faculté des Lettres, Université de Tabriz*, 18 (1345/1966), p. 21. But M. Ghālib mentions the year 110/728–729 in his biographical work *Aʿlām al-Ismāʿīliyya* (Beirut, 1964), p. 161, a work however permeated with inaccuracies.
19. Ḥasan b. Nūḥ al-Bharūchī, *Kitāb al-azhār*, in ʿĀdil al-ʿAwwā, ed., *Muntakhabāt Ismāʿīliyya* (Damascus, 1958), pp. 234–235. According to Muḥammad Ḥusayn Farāhānī, *Safar-nāma*, ed. Ḥ. Farmān-Farmāʾīyān (Tehran, 1342/1963), p. 288; English trans., *A Shiʿite Pilgrimage to Mecca 1885–1886*, ed. and tr. H. Farmayan and E. L. Daniel (Austin, 1990), p. 274, Ismāʿīl's mausoleum still existed in 1885, but it was later destroyed by the Wahhābīs along with the graves of other ʿAlid imams located in the Baqīʿ cemetery.
20. Jaʿfar b. Manṣūr al-Yaman, *Asrār*, in Ivanow *Rise*, text pp. 103–104, translation pp. 301–302; ed. Ghālib, p. 262; Idrīs, *ʿUyūn*, vol. 4, p. 334; also his *Zahr al-maʿānī*,

in Ivanow, *Rise*, text pp. 47ff., translation pp. 232ff.; ed. M. Ghālib (Beirut, 1991), pp. 200–201, and al-Mufīd, *al-Irshād*, p. 431. This story is also related by the celebrated Persian historian Rashīd al-Dīn in his *Jāmiʿ al-tawārīkh: qismat-i Ismāʿīliyān*, ed. M. T. Dānishpazhūh and M. Mudarrisī Zanjānī (Tehran, 1338/1959), p. 10, hereafter cited as *Ismāʿīliyān*.

21. Al-Kashshī, *al-Rijāl*, pp. 376–382; see also Idrīs, *ʿUyūn*, vol. 4, pp. 326–327; al-Najāshī, *al-Rijāl*, p. 296; al-Ṭūsī, *Fihrist*, pp. 334–335; also his *Rijāl*, p. 310; and Ibn Shahrāshūb, *Manāqib*, vol. 5, p. 29.
22. Ibn ʿInaba, *ʿUmdat al-ṭālib*, p. 233. Zāhid ʿAlī also mentions the same year in his *Taʾrīkh-i Fāṭimiyyīn*, vol. 1, pp. 41, 43, 63.
23. The year 138/755–756 is mentioned in al-Maqrīzī, *Ittiʿāẓ*, vol. 1, p. 15. Other sources place Ismāʿīl's death in 145/762–763; see ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn ʿAṭā-Malik Juwaynī, *Taʾrīkh-i jahān-gushā*, ed. Muḥammad Qazvīnī (London, 1912–1937), vol. 3, p. 146, and Qazvīnī's commentary therein on p. 309; English translation, *The History of the World-Conqueror*, tr. John A. Boyle (Cambridge, MA, 1958), vol. 2, p. 643; Rashīd al-Dīn, *Ismāʿīliyān*, p. 10, and Dānishpazhūh, 'Dhaylī' (1345/1966), p. 21. An anonymous Ismāʿīlī treatise, *Dastūr al-munajjimīn*, quoted in de Goeje, *Mémoire sur les Carmathes du Bahraïn*, p. 203, mentions 145 AH as the year of Ismāʿīl's disappearance. On this work, perhaps written by a Nizārī Ismāʿīlī towards the end of the 5th/11th century, see P. Casanova, 'Un nouveau manuscrit de la secte des Assassins', *JA*, 11 série, 19 (1922), pp. 126–135, and M. Qazvīnī, *Yāddāshthā-yi Qazvīnī*, ed. Īraj Afshār (Tehran, 1332–1354/1953–1975), vol. 8, pp. 110–143, both Casanova and Qazvīnī were of the opinion that the unique manuscript copy of the *Dastūr* now preserved at the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, probably once belonged to the famous Ismāʿīlī library at Alamūt.
24. Al-Kashshī, *al-Rijāl*, pp. 217–218, 321, 325–326, 354–356, 390; some of these traditions are examined in W. Ivanow, 'Imam Ismail', *Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, NS, 19 (1923), pp. 305–310.
25. The most famous one amongst such works attributed to al-Mufaḍḍal b. ʿUmar al-Juʿfī is the *Kitāb al-haft waʾl-aẓilla*, ed. ʿĀ. Tāmir and Ign. A. Khalifé (2nd ed., Beirut, 1970), also edited by M. Ghālib (4th ed., Beirut, 1983); partial German trans., in Halm, *Islamische Gnosis*, pp. 240–274, reporting the views of the Imam al-Ṣādiq. See Ivanow, *Guide*, p. 30, where it is wrongly stated that al-Mufaḍḍal was executed in 145/762; also by Ivanow, *Ismaili Literature*, pp. 59, 64, 101; L. Massignon, 'Esquisse d'une bibliographie Nusayrie', in *Mélanges Syriens offerts à M. René Dussaud* (Paris, 1939), vol. 2, pp. 914–915, and Daftary, *Ismaili Literature*, p. 163.
26. On al-Mufaḍḍal and his group, see al-Kashshī, *al-Rijāl*, pp. 321–329, 509, 530–531; al-Najāshī, *al-Rijāl*, pp. 295–296; al-Ṭūsī, *Fihrist*, p. 337; also by al-Ṭūsī, *Rijāl*, pp. 314, 360; al-Ashʿarī, *Maqālāt*, pp. 13, 29; al-Baghdādī, *al-Farq*, p. 236; tr. Halkin, p. 65; and al-Shahrastānī, *al-Milal*, vol. 1, p. 168; tr. Kazi, p. 144; see also H. Halm, 'Das Buch der Schatten. Die Mufaḍḍal-Tradition der Ġulāt und die Ursprünge des Nuṣairiertums', *Der Islam*, 55 (1978), pp. 219–267, and 58 (1981), pp. 15–86.
27. Al-Kashshī, *al-Rijāl*, pp. 244–245; see also al-Najāshī, *al-Rijāl*, pp. 81–82; Lewis, *Origins*, p. 39, and Omar, 'Some Aspects', p. 177.

28. L. Massignon, ‘Explication du plan de Kūfa’, in his *Opera Minora*, vol. 3, p. 50. Al-Saffāḥ had established his capital at al-Anbār in 134/752. He died and was buried in his palace there in 136/754. Al-Manṣūr moved his capital from al-Anbār to al-Ḥīra shortly after taking power, which lends further support to the reports contending that Ismāʿīl’s death occurred after 136/754; see also Lassner, *Shaping*, pp. 155, 158–159.
29. See the following works by L. Massignon: ‘Bibliographie Qarmaṭe’, pp. 329–330; ‘Les origines Shīʿites de la famille vizirale des Banū’l-Furāt’, in *Mélanges Gaudefroy-Demombynes* (Cairo, 1935–1945), p. 26; and his ‘Ḳarmaṭians’, *EI*, vol. 2, p. 770, where Abu’l-Khaṭṭāb’s death is wrongly placed in 167/783, later changed to 145–147/762–764 in *SEI*, p. 221; Corbin, *Étude*, pp. 15–16, and also his ‘Une liturgie Shīʿite’, pp. 83, 85.
30. L. Massignon, *Salmān Pāk et les prémices spirituelles de l’Islam Iranien* (Tours, 1934), pp. 16–19; English trans., *Salmān Pāk and the Spiritual Beginnings of Iranian Islam*, tr. J. M. Unvala (Bombay, 1955), pp. 10–12. For a criticism of Massignon’s hypothesis, see Ivanow, *Alleged*, pp. 165–169.
31. Lewis, *Origins*, pp. 42ff. The *Asrār* of Jaʿfar b. Manṣūr al-Yaman, cited in Ivanow, *Rise*, text pp. 95–96, translation pp. 292–293, ed. Ghālib, pp. 256–257, reports that Ismāʿīl at one time, before Abu’l-Khaṭṭāb’s denouncement by the Imam al-Ṣādiq, had attended a school directed by Abu’l-Khaṭṭāb.
32. Ivanow, *Alleged*, pp. 138ff. See also al-Qāḍī, *al-Kaysāniyya*, pp. 289ff.
33. See these works by al-Nuʿmān: *Daʿāʾim*, vol. 1, pp. 49–50; tr. Poonawala, vol. 1, pp. 65–66, and *Kitāb al-majālis wa’l-musāyarāt*, ed. Ḥabīb al-Faqī et al. (Tunis, 1978), pp. 84–85.
34. See W. Ivanow, ‘Notes sur l’Ummu’l-kitab des Ismaëliens de l’Asie Centrale’, *REI*, 6 (1932), pp. 419–481; also his *Ismaili Literature*, pp. 193–195; L. Massignon, ‘Die Ursprünge und die Bedeutung des Gnostizismus im Islam’, *EJ*, 5 (1937), pp. 55ff.; and Daftary, *Ismaili Literature*, p. 165.
35. *Ummu’l-kitāb*, ed. W. Ivanow, in *Der Islam*, 23 (1936), text p. 11; Italian trans., *Ummu’l-kitāb, introduzione, traduzione e note*, tr. Pio Filippani-Ronconi (Naples, 1966), p. 23.
36. See Ivanow, *Alleged*, pp. 99–100, and Corbin, *Étude*, p. 16.
37. Ivanow, ‘Notes sur l’Ummu’l-kitab’, pp. 422–425; also Ivanow, *Studies in Early Persian Ismailism* (2nd ed., Bombay, 1955), pp. 8, 82, where it is stated that the original Arabic text of the treatise was probably composed in the 2nd/8th century; Corbin, *Étude*, pp. 12, 14; also his *Histoire*, pp. 111–112, and Madelung’s review of Filippani-Ronconi’s translation in *Oriens*, 25–26 (1976), pp. 352–358.
38. See H. Halm, *Kosmologie und Heilslehre der frühen Ismāʿīlīya* (Wiesbaden, 1978), pp. 142–168, an excellent study of early Ismāʿīlī thought, and also his *Islamische Gnosis*, pp. 113–198; see also E. F. Tijdens, ‘Der mythologisch–gnostische Hintergrund des Umm al-Kitāb’, *Acta Iranica*, 16 (1977), pp. 241–526, which was left unfinished by the death of its author. See also F. Daftary, ‘Umm al-Kitāb: 2. Among the Shīʿa’, *EI2*, vol. 10, pp. 854–855.
39. Al-Qummī, *al-Maqālāt*, pp. 56–59; see also L. Massignon, ‘Recherches sur les Shiʿite extrémistes à Bagdad’, *ZDMG*, 92 (1938), pp. 378–382; Halm, *Kosmologie*, pp. 157ff., and also his *Islamische Gnosis*, pp. 218ff.

40. Al-Qummī, *al-Maqālāt*, pp. 59–60, 63. See also al-Kashshī, *al-Rijāl*, pp. 305, 398–401; Ibn Ḥazm, *al-Fiṣal*, vol. 4, p. 186; Friedlaender, 'Heterodoxies', pp. 65–66; also his 'Heterodoxies: Commentary', pp. 101–103; al-Shahrastānī, *al-Milal*, vol. 1, pp. 175–176; tr. Kazi, pp. 151–152; Massignon, *Salmān Pāk*, pp. 44–45; tr. Unvala, p. 32; R. Strothmann, 'Morgenländische Geheimsekten in abendländischer Forschung und die Handschrift Kiel arab. 19', *Abhandlungen der Deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, Klasse für Sprachen, Literatur und Kunst*, 5 (1952), pp. 41–42, text pp. 25–27; Halm, *Islamische Gnosis*, pp. 225ff.; and B. Lewis, 'Bashshār al-Shaʿīrī', *EI2*, vol. 1, p. 1082.
41. On the Nuṣayrīs also known as the ʿAlawīs, see al-Nawbakhtī, *Firaq*, p. 78; al-Qummī, *al-Maqālāt*, pp. 100–101; al-Ashʿarī, *Maqālāt*, p. 15; al-Baghdādī, *al-Farq*, pp. 239–242; tr. Halkin, pp. 70–74; Ibn Ḥazm, *al-Fiṣal*, vol. 4, p. 188; Friedlaender, 'Heterodoxies', pp. 71–72; also his 'Heterodoxies: Commentary', pp. 126–128; and al-Shahrastānī, *al-Milal*, vol. 1, pp. 188–189; tr. Kazi, pp. 161–162. Amongst the modern authorities, aside from the standard studies of R. Dussaud, *Histoire et religion des Noṣairîs* (Paris, 1900), with a full bibliography, and R. Basset, 'Nusairis', *ERE*, vol. 3, pp. 417–419, reference may be made to R. Strothmann, 'Seelenwanderung bei den Nuṣairī', *Oriens*, 12 (1959), pp. 89–114, and other relevant articles of this scholar listed in Halm, *Kosmologie*, p. 203. L. Massignon, who regarded both the Nuṣayrīs and the Ismāʿīlīs as the heirs of the Khaṭṭābīs, has also produced valuable work here; see especially his 'Bibliographie Nuṣayrie', pp. 913–922; 'Nuṣairī', *EI*, vol. 3, pp. 963–967, and 'Les Nusayris', in *L'élaboration de l'Islam*. Colloque de Strasbourg (Paris, 1961), pp. 109–114. See also W. Kadi, "ʿAlawī', *EIR*, vol. 1, pp. 804–806; Halm, *Islamische Gnosis*, pp. 284–355, and his 'Nuṣayriyya', *EI2*, vol., 8, pp. 145–148. An extensive examination of the Nuṣayrī doctrines is now found in Meir M. Bar-Asher and A. Kofsky, *The Nuṣayrī-ʿAlawī Religion* (Leiden, 2002).
42. See L. Massignon, *La Mubāhala de Médine et l'hyperdulie de Fatima* (Paris, 1955), pp. 19–26; also his *Salmān Pāk*, pp. 30–39; tr. Unvala, pp. 20–28; J. Horvitz, 'Salmān al-Fārisī', *Der Islam*, 12 (1922), pp. 178–183; and G. Levi Della Vida, 'Salmān al-Fārisī', *EI2*, vol. 12, Supplement, pp. 701–702.
43. According to P. Filippani-Ronconi the *Umm al-kitāb* was originally produced by a Gnostic-Manichaean sect with cabalistic and Mazdaean strains in some Aramaic-Mesopotamian milieux. Later in the 2nd/8th century, the members of this sect became subjected to Muslim persecutions and fled to Khurāsān and Central Asia where the treatise was then influenced by Buddhist ideas. Still later, the sectarians in question became Muslims, and more specifically extremist Shīʿīs of the Mughīrī–Khaṭṭābī tradition. Eventually, during the 5th–6th/10th–11th centuries, these Central Asian Shīʿīs were converted to Ismāʿīlism, without incorporating any Ismāʿīlī doctrines into the *Umm al-kitāb*, which they continued to preserve. See Filippani-Ronconi's introductory section in his Italian translation of *Ummu'l-kitāb*, pp. xvii–lv; his 'Note sulla soteriologia e sul simbolismo cosmico dell'Umm'ul-Kitāb', *AIUON*, NS, 14 (1964), pp. 111–134, and 'The Soteriological Cosmology of Central-Asiatic Ismāʿīlism', in S. H. Nasr, ed., *Ismāʿīlī Contributions to Islamic Culture* (Tehran, 1977), pp. 101–120.
44. Idrīs, *ʿUyūn*, vol. 4, pp. 351–356; also by Idrīs, *Zahr al-maʿānī*, in Ivanow, *Rise*, text pp. 53–58, translation pp. 240–248; ed. Ghālib, pp. 204–208; English summary, based mainly on the *ʿUyūn*, in W. Ivanow, 'Ismailis and Qarmatians', *JBBRAS*, NS,

16 (1940), pp. 60–63. See also F. Daftary, 'Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl al-Maymūn', *EI2*, vol. 12, Supplement, pp. 634–635.

45. In the *Asrār*, cited in Ivanow, *Rise*, text p. 99, translation p. 296, ed. Ghālib, p. 259, it is furthermore mentioned that Muḥammad was fourteen years old when his father died. On this basis, it can be inferred, therefore, that Ismāʿīl b. Jaʿfar had predeceased his father by some twelve years, or around 136 AH.
46. Cited in Qazvīnī's notes in Juwaynī, *Taʾrīkh*, vol. 3, pp. 148, 310–312, and in Dānishpazhūh, 'Dhaylī' (1345/1966), p. 22.
47. The *Dastūr al-munajjimīn*, cited in de Goeje, *Mémoire*, p. 203, mentions India as the farthest region reached by Muḥammad; but according to Ibn ʿInaba, *ʿUmdat al-ṭālib*, p. 233, he left Medina much later, in the company of the caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd, for Baghdad, where he eventually died. On the other hand, Idrīs, in his *ʿUyūn*, vol. 4, pp. 353–354, and his *Zahr al-maʿānī*, cited in Ivanow, *Rise*, text p. 54, translation p. 241; ed. Ghālib, p. 205, names several towns in Persia ultimately reached by Muḥammad. Idrīs also reports that the remains of Muḥammad were transferred from Persia to Cairo during the rule of the Fāṭimid caliph al-Muʿizz. See also Juwaynī, *Taʾrīkh*, vol. 3, p. 148; tr. Boyle, vol. 2, p. 645; Rashīd al-Dīn, *Ismāʿīliyān*, p. 11, and P. H. Mamour, *Polemics on the Origin of the Fatimi Caliphs* (London, 1934), pp. 66–68.
48. See Qazvīnī's comments in Juwaynī, *Taʾrīkh*, vol. 3, p. 311, and Ivanow, *Rise*, p. 67. Zāhid ʿAlī in his *Taʾrīkh*, vol. 1, pp. 43, 65, places Muḥammad's death in 183/799, while both Tāmir, *al-Imāma*, p. 181, and M. Ghālib, *Taʾrīkh al-daʿwa al-Ismāʿīliyya* (2nd ed., Beirut, 1965), p. 46, mention the year 193/808–809.
49. Al-Kulaynī, *al-Uṣūl*, vol. 1, pp. 485–486; al-Kashshī, *al-Rijāl*, pp. 263–265, and Ibn Shahrāshūb, *Manāqib*, vol. 5, p. 77.
50. Ibn ʿInaba, *ʿUmdat al-ṭālib*, pp. 234ff.; Idrīs, *ʿUyūn*, vol. 4, p. 356; *Dastūr al-munajjimīn*, quoted in de Goeje, *Mémoire*, pp. 8–9, 203, and Ivanow, *Rise*, pp. 38–39. Ismāʿīlī sources avoid mentioning Muḥammad's first two sons, with the main exception of Idrīs, *Zahr al-maʿānī*, cited in Ivanow, *Rise*, text pp. 53–54, translation p. 241; ed. Ghālib, p. 205.
51. Al-Nawbakhtī, *Firaq*, p. 61, and al-Qummī, *al-Maqālāt*, p. 83. Just prior to their discussion of the Qarāmiṭa these authors also refer to a Khaṭṭābī subgroup recognizing a line of imams descended from Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl. See also Lewis, *Origins*, pp. 40–41, 78, and Ivanow, 'Ismailis and Qarmatians', pp. 79ff.
52. Al-Nawbakhtī, *Firaq*, pp. 61–64; al-Qummī, *al-Maqālāt*, pp. 83–86; English translation in Stern, *Studies*, pp. 47–53, with a note therein by W. Madelung. See also Stern, 'Ismāʿīlīs and Qarmaṭians', in *L'élaboration de l'Islam*, pp. 102, 103, 108; reprinted in his *Studies*, pp. 292, 293, 297–298; also in Kohlberg, ed., *Shīʿism*, pp. 270, 271, 275–276; and Madelung, 'Imamat', pp. 48ff.
53. R. Strothmann, 'Sabʿīya', *EI*, vol. 4, pp. 23–25, and H. Halm, 'Sabʿiyya', *EI2*, vol. 8, p. 683.
54. Al-Hamdānī, *Genealogy*, text pp. 10–11, translation p. 13.
55. Ibn Ḥawshab Manṣūr al-Yaman, *Kitāb al-rushd waʾl-hidāya*, partial ed. M. Kāmil Ḥusayn, in W. Ivanow, ed., *Collectanea*: Vol. 1 (Leiden, 1948), pp. 198ff.; tr. Ivanow in his *Studies*, pp. 43ff.
56. Jaʿfar b. Manṣūr al-Yaman, *Kitāb al-kashf*, ed. R. Strothmann (London, etc., 1952), pp. 62, 77, 103–104, 109–110, 135, 160, 170 and elsewhere. This important early

Ismāʿīlī text, compiled probably during the reign of the second Fāṭimid caliph-imam, al-Qāʾim, has been edited also by M. Ghālib (Beirut, 1984), but our references are to Strothmann's edition. See also Jaʿfar b. Manṣūr al-Yaman, *Asrār al-nuṭaqāʾ*, ed. Ghālib, pp. 21, 39, 109, 112.

57. *Ummu'l-kitāb*, text pp. 91–92; tr. Filippani-Ronconi, pp. 229–230; this is the only clear Ismāʿīlī idea found in the treatise. For similar ideas held by the Mukhammisa, see al-Qummī, *al-Maqālāt*, pp. 56, 59.
58. Stern, 'Ismāʿīlīs and Qarmaṭians', in *L'élaboration de l'Islam*, pp. 101; reprinted in his *Studies*, p. 291; reprinted in Kohlberg, ed., *Shīʿism*, pp. 268–269; see also Madelung, *Religious Trends*, p. 93.
59. Al-Nawbakhtī, *Firaq*, p. 64, and al-Qummī, *al-Maqālāt*, p. 86.
60. According to al-Muṭahhar b. Ṭāhir al-Muqaddasī (al-Maqdisī), *al-Badʾ wa'l-taʾrīkh*, ed. Cl. Huart (Paris, 1899–1919), vol. 1, p. 137, the title of Ibn Rizām's book was *al-Naqḍ ʿalā'l-Bāṭiniyya*; but in al-Maqrīzī, *Ittiʿāẓ*, vol. 1, p. 23, the book is mentioned as the *Kitāb radd ʿalā'l-Ismāʿīliyya*. See also C. H. Becker, *Beiträge zur Geschichte Ägyptens unter dem Islam* (Strassburg, 1902–1903), vol. 1, p. 6; I. Goldziher, *Streitschrift des Ġazālī gegen die Bāṭinijja-Sekte* (Leiden, 1916), p. 15; Ivanow, *Alleged*, p. 2; and Ṭāhā al-Walī, *al-Qarāmiṭa* (Beirut, 1981), pp. 235–239.
61. Al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, III, pp. 2124ff.; English trans., *The History of al-Ṭabarī*: Volume 37, *The ʿAbbāsid Recovery*, tr. Philip M. Fields (Albany, NY, 1987), pp. 169ff.
62. Idrīs, *ʿUyūn*, vol. 4, pp. 357–367, 390–404; English summary in Ivanow, 'Ismailis and Qarmatians', pp. 63ff., and in Ivanow, *Rise*, pp. 33ff. Another succinct Ismāʿīlī account of the ancestors of ʿAbd Allāh is found in the first volume of the *Kitāb al-azhār* of Ḥasan b. Nūḥ al-Bharūchī, in al-ʿAwwā, ed., *Muntakhabāt Ismāʿīliyya*, pp. 232–236, English summary in Ivanow, *Rise*, pp. 29ff.
63. The earliest Ismāʿīlī source relating these details is apparently the *Istitār al-imām* written by Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm (or Muḥammad) al-Nīsābūrī, who flourished towards the end of the 4th/10th century. This work was edited, together with another Ismāʿīlī text, by Ivanow in *Bulletin of the Faculty of Arts, University of Egypt*, 4, Part 2 (1936), pp. 93–107; English translation in Ivanow, *Rise*, translation pp. 157–183. The Arabic text of the *Istitār* is reproduced in *Akhbār al-Qarāmiṭa*, ed. S. Zakkār (2nd ed., Damascus, 1982), pp. 111–132, not referred to hereafter. See also Heinz Halm, 'Les Fatimides à Salamya', in *Mélanges offerts au Professeur Dominique Sourdel*; being, *REI*, 54 (1986), pp. 133–149; and J. H. Kramers and F. Daftary, 'Salamiyya', *EI2*, vol. 8, pp. 921–923.
64. Zāhid ʿAlī, *Taʾrīkh*, vol. 1, p. 43; M. Kāmil Ḥusayn, *Ṭāʾifat al-Ismāʿīliyya* (Cairo, 1959), p. 17; Tāmir, *al-Imāma*, p. 182; and Ghālib, *Aʿlām*, pp. 342–344.
65. Ivanow, *Rise*, pp. 41, 57; Zāhid ʿAlī, *Taʾrīkh*, vol. 1, p. 43; Husayn, *Ṭāʾifat*, p. 18; Tāmir, *al-Imāma*, p. 183. On ʿAbd Allāh al-Mahdī, see Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-aʿyān wa-anbāʾ abnāʾal-zamān*, ed. Iḥsān ʿAbbās (Beirut, 1968–1972), vol. 3, pp. 117–119; English trans., *Ibn Khallikan's Biographical Dictionary*, tr. William MacGuckin de Slane (Paris, 1842–1871), vol. 2, pp. 77–79; Ḥ. I. Ḥasan and Ṭ. A. Sharaf, *ʿUbayd Allāh al-Mahdī* (Cairo, 1947); Ghālib, *Aʿlām*, pp. 348–358; J. Walker, 'al-Mahdī 'Ubaid Allāh', *EI*, vol. 3, pp. 119–121, and F. Dachraoui, 'al-Mahdī ʿUbayd Allāh', *EI2*, vol. 5, pp. 1242–1244. A scholarly account of ʿAbd Allāh al-Mahdī may be found in H.

Halm, *The Empire of the Mahdi: The Rise of the Fatimids*, tr. M. Bonner (Leiden, 1996), pp. 58ff., 72–101, 128–140, 141–274.

66. In ʿAbd Allāh's letter cited in al-Hamdānī, *Genealogy*, text pp. 10–11, translation p. 13, he is named as an imam, while ʿAbd Allāh's father al-Ḥusayn b. Aḥmad is not included among the 'hidden imams'; his imamate is also implied in Jaʿfar b. Manṣūr al-Yaman, *Kitāb al-kashf*, pp. 98–99. See Ivanow, *Rise*, pp. 42–43, 59; and Madelung, 'Imamat', pp. 55, 71ff., where it is suggested that ʿAbd Allāh's father may have been elevated to the imamate retrospectively; and H. Halm, 'Aḥmad b. ʿAbdallāh', *EIR*, vol. 1, pp. 638–639.
67. Al-Nīsābūrī, *Istitār*, pp. 95–96; tr. Ivanow in *Rise*, translation pp. 37, 162–163, and Abu'l-Qāsim ʿAbd al-Ḥakīm b. Wahb al-Malījī, *al-Majālis al-Mustanṣiriyya*, ed. M. Kāmil Ḥusayn (Cairo, [1947]), p. 143.
68. See Mamour, *Polemics*, especially pp. 60–64, 124–155, 189–219; Zāhid ʿAlī, *Taʾrīkh*, vol. 1, pp. 74–75; Sami N. Makarem, 'The Hidden Imāms of the Ismāʿīlīs', *al-Abḥāth*, 22 (1969), pp. 23–37, and T. Nagel, *Frühe Ismailiya und Fatimiden im Lichte der Risālat Iftitāḥ ad-Daʿwa* (Bonn, 1972), pp. 56–72, examining also the main recent contributions.
69. Al-Hamdānī, *Genealogy*, text pp. 11–12, translation p. 14. See also al-Qummī, *al-Maqālāt*, p. 87–88, and Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat al-ansāb al-ʿArab*, ed. ʿA. M. Hārūn (Cairo, 1391/1971), pp. 59–60, which seem to support this claim. See also Madelung, 'Imamat', pp. 69–70; his 'Bemerkungen', pp. 38–39; and Hamdani and de Blois, 'A Re-examination', pp. 179–183, 200–201, arguing that the imams listed by ʿAbd Allāh al-Mahdī in fact belong to two parallel lines of descendants of Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq, representing the progenies of ʿAbd Allāh and his brother Ismāʿīl b. Jaʿfar. The authors of this controversial article further argue that the official Fāṭimid genealogy was later derived by combining the two lines and rearranging the genealogy claimed by al-Mahdī.
70. See al-Maqrīzī, *Ittiʿāẓ*, vol. 1, p. 22; Becker, *Beiträge*, vol. 1, pp. 4ff.; Massignon, 'Bibliographie Qarmaṭe', p. 334; Mamour, *Polemics*, pp. 35–36, 159ff.; Qazvīnī's notes in Juwaynī, *Taʾrīkh*, vol. 3, pp. 328–329; Lewis, *Origins*, pp. 6–8; Madelung, 'Imamat', pp. 58–59; and Stern, *Studies*, pp. 61–62.
71. Al-Maqrīzī utilized the historical part of Akhū Muḥsin's work in his history of the Fāṭimids, *Ittiʿāẓ*, vol. 1, pp. 22–29, 151–202 (reproduced in *Akhbār al-Qarāmiṭa*, pp. 325–383), and in his unfinished biographical history, *al-Muqaffā*, partially reproduced in *Akhbār al-Qarāmiṭa*, pp. 391ff. French translation of a relevant section from *al-Muqaffā* is contained in E. Fagnan, 'Nouveaux textes historiques relatifs à l'Afrique du Nord et à la Sicile: I, Traduction de la biographie d'Obeyd Allāh', in *Centenario della nascita di Michele Amari* (Palermo, 1910), vol. 2, pp. 35–85. The doctrinal part of Akhū Muḥsin's book is given in al-Maqrīzī's *Kitāb al-mawāʿiẓ wa'l-iʿtibār fī dhikr al-khiṭaṭ wa'l-āthār* (Būlāq, 1270/1853–1854), vol. 1, pp. 391–397; partial French trans., *Description historique et topographique de l'Égypte*, tr. U. Bouriant and P. Casanova, in *Mémoires publiés par les membres de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale du Caire* (Cairo, 1895–1920), vol. 4, pp. 122–144, partially reproduced in P. Casanova, 'La doctrine secrète des Fatimides d'Égypte', *BIFAO*, 18 (1921), pp. 130–165.
72. For instance, it is used in the chapter on the Bāṭiniyya in al-Baghdādī, *al-Farq*, pp. 266ff.; tr. Halkin, pp. 108ff.; it also provided one of the sources of Ismāʿīl b. Aḥmad

al-Bustī, a Muʿtazilī author who around 400/1009 produced an anti-Ismāʿīlī book entitled *Min kashf asrār al-Bāṭiniyya wa-ʿiwār madhhabihim*, ed. ʿA. S. al-ʿAbd al-Jādir, in his *al-Ismāʿīliyyūn: kashf al-asrār wa-naqd al-afkār* (Kuwait, 2002), pp. 187–369; see S. M. Stern, 'Abu'l-Qāsim al-Bustī and his Refutation of Ismāʿīlism', *JRAS* (1961), pp. 14–35; reprinted in his *Studies*, pp. 299–320. Ibn al-Jawzī (d. 597/1200), a historian and one of the most famous Ḥanbalī jurists of Baghdad, utilized the Ibn Rizām–Akhū Muḥsin account in his treatise on the Qarmaṭīs included in his major historical work *al-Muntaẓam*. This small treatise, *al-Qarāmiṭa*, included in *Akhbār al-Qarāmiṭa*, pp. 253–268, is also edited and translated in J. de Somogyi, 'A Treatise on the Qarmaṭians', *RSO*, 13 (1932), pp. 248–265. Many important later sources, such as Juwaynī, *Taʾrīkh*, vol. 3, pp. 152ff.; tr. Boyle, vol. 2, pp. 647ff., and Rashīd al-Dīn, *Ismāʿīliyān*, pp. 11ff., have drawn on the same account; for more references, see Lewis, *Origins*, pp. 58–60.

73. The text, and the list of the signatories of the manifesto with slight variations, may be found in Ibn al-Jawzī, *al-Muntaẓam*, ed. F. Krenkow (Hyderabad, 1357–1362/1938–1943), vol. 7, p. 255; Juwaynī, *Taʾrīkh*, vol. 3, pp. 174–177; tr. Boyle, vol. 2, pp. 658–660; Ibn Khaldūn, *The Muqaddimah*, tr. F. Rosenthal (2nd ed., Princeton, 1967), vol. 1, pp. 45–46; al-Maqrīzī, *Ittiʿāẓ*, vol. 1, pp. 43–44, and Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Nujūm al-zāhira fī mulūk Miṣr wa'l-Qāhira* (Cairo, 1348–1392/1929–1972), vol. 4, pp. 229–231; see also Mamour, *Polemics*, pp. 16–29; Lewis, *Origins*, pp. 8, 60–61; and al-Walī, *al-Qarāmiṭa*, pp. 361ff.
74. See Mamour, *Polemics*, pp. 30–42; Ivanow, *Alleged*, pp. 83–103, and A. Abel, 'Dayṣāniyya', *EI2*, vol. 2, p. 199.
75. This was a flourishing medieval town in Khūzistān founded at the beginning of the 2nd/8th century, and today its ruins to the south of Shūshtar are known as Band-i Qīr; see the anonymous *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam, the Regions of the World*, tr. V. Minorsky (2nd ed., London, 1970), pp. 75, 130, an important geographical work of the second half of the 4th/10th century; Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī, *Muʿjam al-buldān*, ed. F. Wüstenfeld (Leipzig, 1866–1973), vol. 3, p. 676; partial French translation, *Dictionnaire géographique, historique et littéraire de la Perse*, tr. C. Barbier de Meynard (Paris, 1861), pp. 402–403; G. Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate* (2nd ed., Cambridge, 1930), pp. 233, 236–237, 242, 246–247; and M. Streck and L. Lockhart, 'ʿAskar Mukram', *EI2*, vol. 1, p. 711.
76. This is the title reported by al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-arab*, vol. 25, p. 220; tr. de Sacy, *Exposé*, vol. 1, introduction p. 148. The same book has been referred to under other titles, such as *Kitāb al-balāgh al-akbar*, mentioned by the Zaydī author Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Daylamī in his *Bayān madhhab al-Bāṭiniyya*, ed. R. Strothmann (Istanbul, 1939), pp. 15, 30, 42, 59, 72–73, 75–76, 78–81, 84, 86, 91–94, an anti-Ismāʿīlī treatise forming part of a larger work completed in 707/1308, while al-Baghdādī, *al-Farq*, p. 278, knows the book as the *Kitāb al-siyāsa wa'l-balāgh*.
77. Ibn al-Nadīm, *al-Fihrist*, ed. Flügel, vol. 1, p. 189; ed. Tajaddud, p. 240; English trans., *The Fihrist of al-Nadīm*, tr. B. Dodge (New York, 1970), vol. 1, p. 471.
78. See Ivanow, *Guide*, pp. 41, 78; also his *Ismaili Literature*, pp. 38, 44, 97, and Poonawala, *Bio*, pp. 44, 56.
79. Becker, *Beiträge*, vol. 1, p. 7; Massignon, 'Bibliographie Qarmaṭe', pp. 332, 336; Ivanow, *Studies*, p. 125; Madelung, 'Fatimiden und Baḥrainqarmaṭen', *Der Islam*,

34 (1959), pp. 69–73; English trans., 'The Fatimids and the Qarmaṭīs of Baḥrayn', in *MIHT*, pp. 43–45; also his 'Imamat', pp. 112–114; and Stern, *Studies*, pp. 61, 64.

80. As preserved, for example, by al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-arab*, vol. 25, pp. 203–204, 216; tr. de Sacy, *Exposé*, vol. 1, introduction pp. 137–138.
81. Massignon, 'Bibliographie Qarmaṭe', pp. 330–331; also his 'Ḳarmaṭians', p. 768; Qazvīnī's notes in Juwaynī, *Taʾrīkh*, vol. 3, pp. 312–343; and Lewis, *Origins*, pp. 62–65.
82. Ivanow, *Rise*, pp. 127ff., 140–156, and also, *Alleged*, especially pp. 28–82.
83. Al-Kashshī, *al-Rijāl*, pp. 245–246, 389; al-Najāshī, *al-Rijāl*, p. 148; al-Ṭūsī, *Fihrist*, pp. 197–198; his *Rijāl*, pp. 135, 225; Ibn Shahrāshūb, *Maʿālim*, p. 65, and his *Manāqib*, vol. 5, p. 19. See also S. M. Stern, "Abd Allāh b. Maymūn', *EI2*, vol. 1, p. 48; H. Halm, "Abdallāh b. Maymūn al-Qaddāḥ', *EIR*, vol. 1, pp. 182–183; B. Lewis, 'Dindān', *EI2*, vol. 2, p. 301; and W. Madelung, 'Maymūn al-Ḳaddāḥ', *EI2*, vol. 6, p. 917.
84. Al-Hamdānī, *Genealogy*, text pp. 9–10, translation p. 12.
85. Ivanow had already made this inference in his *Alleged*, pp. 110–112, before this letter had come to light; see also Mamour, *Polemics*, pp. 68ff.
86. Cited in Ibn ʿInaba, *ʿUmdat al-ṭālib*, p. 233; see also Ivanow, *Alleged*, p. 106.
87. This epistle has been preserved in Idrīs, *ʿUyūn*, vol. 5, pp. 160–162; it is published and translated in Ivanow, 'Ismailis and Qarmatians', pp. 74–76, and also in Stern, 'Heterodox Ismāʿīlism at the Time of al-Muʿizz', *BSOAS*, 17 (1955), pp. 11–13, 26–27; reprinted in his *Studies*, pp. 259–261, 279–281.
88. Al-Nuʿmān, *al-Majālis*, pp. 405–411, 523–525. The text and English translation of the relevant passages are also to be found in Stern, 'Heterodox', pp. 14–17, 28–33; reprinted in his *Studies*, pp. 262–267, 281–288.
89. See Lewis, *Origins*, pp. 47–50, 53–54, 65–67; W. Ivanow, *Ibn al-Qaddah* (2nd ed., Bombay, 1957), pp. 135–141; and Madelung, 'Imamat', pp. 73ff.
90. See Stern, 'Heterodox', pp. 18–22; reprinted in his *Studies*, pp. 268–274.
91. For more details on the work of this Zaydī imam and author and its refutation by al-Kirmānī, entitled *al-Kāfiya fi'l-radd ʿalā'l-Hārūnī al-Ḥusaynī*, included in al-Kirmānī, *Majmūʿat rasāʾil al-Kirmānī*, ed. M. Ghālib (Beirut, 1983), pp. 148–182, see Ivanow, *Rise*, pp. 142–143, and also by Ivanow, *Ismaili Literature*, p. 44.
92. See, for example, de Sacy, *Exposé*, vol. 1, pp. 83ff.
93. Quoted in Ibn al-Nadīm, *al-Fihrist*, ed. Flügel, vol. 1, p. 187; ed. Tajaddud, p. 240; tr. Dodge, vol. 1, p. 465.
94. The relevant passage, quoted from a faulty manuscript, appears in Lewis, *Origins*, pp. 51–52 and (Arabic text) p. 109; a more complete excerpt of the same passage may be found in Ivanow, *Rise*, text pp. 35–39.
95. Ibrāhīm b. al-Ḥusayn al-Ḥāmidī, *Kitāb kanz al-walad*, ed. M. Ghālib (Wiesbaden, 1971), pp. 208, 211.
96. Idrīs, *ʿUyūn*, vol. 4, p. 335, and also by Idrīs, *Zahr al-maʿānī*, in Ivanow, *Rise*, text pp. 47, 49, 59–60, 64, translation pp. 233, 236, 248, 250, 256; ed. Ghālib, pp. 199, 201, 210–211, 216–217.
97. Idrīs, *Zahr al-maʿānī*, in Ivanow, *Rise*, text pp. 66ff., translation pp. 258ff.; ed. Ghālib, pp. 218ff.; and Madelung, 'Imamat', pp. 77–78; however, see also Idrīs, *ʿUyūn*, vol. 5, p. 89, and Hamdani and de Blois, 'A Re-examination', p. 190.
98. Qazvīnī's notes in Juwaynī, *Taʾrīkh*, vol. 3, pp. 335ff.; Stern, 'Heterodox', pp. 20–21; reprinted in his *Studies*, pp. 271–273, and also his "Abd Allāh b. Maymūn', p. 48.

99. Lewis, *Origins*, pp. 44ff., 71–73.
100. As preserved by al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-arab*, vol. 25, p. 191; tr. de Sacy, *Exposé*, vol. 1, introduction p. 171; Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz*, vol. 6, p. 46, and al-Maqrīzī, *Ittiʿāẓ*, vol. 1, p. 153. It may be added that al-Masʿūdī mentions the year 260/873–874 in his *Kitāb al-tanbīh*, p. 395; tr. Carra de Vaux, p. 501.
101. The Ibn Rizām-Akhū Muḥsin account of the *daʿwa* in southern ʿIrāq, aside from the already-noted direct quotation in Ibn al-Nadīm, may be found in al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-arab*, vol. 25, pp. 189ff.; tr. de Sacy, *Exposé*, vol. 1, introduction pp. 166ff.; and in Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz*, vol. 6, pp. 44ff., and al-Maqrīzī, *Ittiʿāẓ*, vol. 1, pp. 151ff. Al-Ṭabarī's account is to be found in his *Taʾrīkh*, III, pp. 2124ff.; tr. Fields, pp. 169ff. Relevant extracts from Thābit b. Sinān's history and Ibn al-ʿAdīm's *Bughyat al-ṭalab* are contained in *Akhbār al-Qarāmiṭa*, pp. 3ff. and 273ff. See also de Goeje, *Mémoire*, pp. 16ff., 199–203; Madelung, 'Fatimiden', pp. 37ff.; English trans., pp. 24 ff.; his 'Ḥamdān Ḳarmaṭ', *EI2*, vol. 3, pp. 123–124; also his 'Ḥamdān Qarmaṭ', *EIR*, vol. 11, pp. 634–635. A general treatment of the Qarmaṭī movement in ʿIrāq is contained in M. ʿA. ʿAlyān, *Qarāmiṭat al-ʿIrāq* (Cairo, 1970).
102. Al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, III, pp. 2129–2130; tr. Fields, p. 175; de Goeje, *Mémoire*, p. 26, and A. Popovic, *La révolte des esclaves en Iraq au III^e/IX^e siècle* (Paris, 1976), pp. 122, 167, 179–180; English trans., *The Revolt of African Slaves in Iraq in the 3rd/9th Century*, tr. L. King (Princeton, 1999), pp. 81–82, 139, 153.
103. See al-Kashshī, *al-Rijāl*, pp. 537–544; al-Najāshī, *al-Rijāl*, pp. 216–217; al-Ṭūsī, *Fihrist*, pp. 254–255, and Ibn Shahrāshūb, *Maʿālim*, pp. 80–81.
104. Ibn al-Nadīm, *al-Fihrist*, ed. Flügel, vol. 1, pp. 187, 188, 189; ed. Tajaddud, pp. 238, 239, 240; tr. Dodge, vol. 1, pp. 464, 468, 470, 472; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-arab*, vol. 25, pp. 191ff; tr. de Sacy, *Exposé*, vol. 1, introduction pp. 184ff.; Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz*, vol. 6, pp. 46–47, 79; al-Maqrīzī, *Ittiʿāẓ*, vol. 1, pp. 155, 185, and al-Maqrīzī, *al-Muqaffā*, cited in *Akhbār al-Qarāmiṭa*, pp. 395, 398. See also Ivanow, *Ismaili Literature*, p. 17; Poonawala, *Bio*, pp. 31–33; S. M. Stern, 'ʿAbdān', *EI2*, vol. 1, pp. 95–96; and W. Madelung, 'ʿAbdān b. al-Rabīṭ', *EIR*, vol. 1, pp. 207–208.
105. Al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, III, pp. 2126–2127; tr. Fields, pp. 171–173.
106. See de Goeje, *Mémoire*, pp. 33–34; B. Carra de Vaux and M. G. S. Hodgson, 'al-Djannābī, Abū Saʿīd', *EI2*, vol. 2, p. 452; W. Madelung, 'Abū Saʿīd J̌annābī', *EIR*, vol. 1, pp. 380–381, and R. Riḍāzāda Langarūdī, 'Abū Saʿīd Jannābī', *GIE*, vol. 5, pp. 541–544.
107. Al-Daylamī, *Bayān*, p. 21.
108. Al-Nuʿmān b. Muḥammad, *Iftitāḥ al-daʿwa wa-ibtidāʾ al-dawla*, ed. W. al-Qāḍī (Beirut, 1970), pp. 32–47; ed. F. Dachraoui (Tunis, 1975), pp. 2–18. An English translation of this work under the title of *Founding the Fatimid State*, tr. Hamid Haji, was published too late in 2006 to be incorporated in our references. Completed in 346/957, al-Nuʿmān's *Iftitāḥ* has been analyzed in the already-cited T. Nagel *Frühe Ismailiya und Fatimiden im Lichte der Risālat Iftitāḥ ad-Daʿwa*, and in I. K. Poonawala, 'The Beginning of the Ismaili *Daʿwa* and the Establishment of the Fatimid Dynasty as Commemorated by al-Qāḍī al-Nuʿmān', in Daftary and Meri, ed., *Culture and Memory*, pp. 338–363. See also Idrīs, *ʿUyūn*, vol. 4, pp. 396ff.; Zāhid ʿAlī, *Taʾrīkh*, vol. 1, pp. 68–71; Ḥ. F. al-Hamdānī with Ḥasan S. M. al-Juhanī, *al-Ṣulayḥiyyūn*

wa'l-ḥaraka al-Fāṭimiyya fi'l-Yaman (Cairo, 1955), pp. 27–48; Arendonk, *Les débuts*, pp. 119–126, 237–249; H. Halm, 'Die *Sīrat Ibn Ḥaušab*: Die ismailitische *daʿwa* im Jemen und die Fatimiden', *Die Welt des Orients*, 12 (1981), pp. 107–135; his 'Ebn Ḥawšab', *EIR*, vol. 8, pp. 28–29; and W. Madelung, 'Manṣūr al-Yaman', *EI2*, vol. 6, pp. 438–439. The establishment of the *daʿwa* in Yaman is also discussed in some detail by the Shāfiʿī jurist Bahāʾ al-Dīn al-Janadī (d. 732/1332) in his *Kitāb al-sulūk;* its relevant section on the Qarāmiṭa of Yaman, *Akhbār al-Qarāmiṭa bi'l-Yaman*, is to be found in Henry C. Kay, ed. and tr., *Yaman, its Early Mediaeval History* (London, 1892), text pp. 139–152, translation pp. 191–212. Al-Janadī quotes solely from Muḥammad b. Mālik al-Ḥammādī al-Yamānī, a Yamanī Sunnī jurist who became an Ismāʿīlī in the latter part of the 5th/11th century, but who later abjured and wrote an anti-Ismāʿīlī treatise, *Kashf asrār al-Bāṭiniyya wa-akhbār al-Qarāmiṭa*, ed. M. Z. al-Kawtharī (Cairo, 1939); reproduced in *Akhbār al-Qarāmiṭa*, pp. 201–251; French trans., *Dévoilement des secrets de la Bâtiniyya*, tr. A. Batal (Aldoha, 2002); English trans., *Disclosure of the Secrets of the Bâṭiniyya and the Annals of the Qarâmiṭa*, tr. M. Holland (Aldoha, n.d. [2003]). This work apparently served as the primary source on early Ismāʿīlism in Yaman for all subsequent Sunnī historians of Yaman. See also al-Walī, *al-Qarāmiṭa*, pp. 250–257.

109. Al-Nuʿmān, *Iftitāḥ*, ed. al-Qāḍī, pp. 45, 47; ed. Dachraoui, pp. 16–17, 18; Lewis, 'Ismāʿīlī Notes', pp. 599–600; S. M. Stern, 'Ismāʿīlī Propaganda and Fatimid Rule in Sind', *Islamic Culture*, 23 (1949), pp. 298ff.; reprinted in his *Studies*, pp. 177ff.; A. Hamdani, *The Beginnings of the Ismāʿīlī Daʿwa in Northern India* (Cairo, 1956), and also his 'The Dāʿī Jalam b. Shayban and the Ismaili State of Multan', in *The Great Ismaili Heroes*, ed. A. R. Kanji (Karachi, 1973), pp. 14–15.

110. The standard work on the Qarmaṭīs of Baḥrayn remains de Goeje's *Mémoire*, especially pp. 33–47, 69ff., covering the earliest phase of the *daʿwa* there. De Sacy also has a valuable discussion, based on various sources including Akhū Muḥsin in his *Exposé*, vol. 1, introduction pp. 211ff. The relevant portion of the Ibn Rizām–Akhū Muḥsin account may be found in Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz*, vol. 6, pp. 55–62, 91ff.; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-arab*, vol. 25, pp. 233ff., and al-Maqrīzī, *Ittiʿāẓ*, vol. 1, pp. 159ff. Relevant extracts from Thābit b. Sinān's *Taʾrīkh* and al-Maqrīzī's *al-Muqaffā* are included in *Akhbār al-Qarāmiṭa*, pp. 12–16, 35ff., 400ff. See also Lewis, *Origins*, pp. 76ff., and Madelung, 'Fatimiden', pp. 34ff.; English trans., pp. 21ff., which is the best modern survey of the sources and of the later history of the Qarmaṭīs of Baḥrayn.

111. Al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, III, pp. 2188ff., 2196–2197, 2205, 2232, 2291; English trans., *The History of al-Ṭabarī*: Volume 38, *The Return of the Caliphate to Baghdad*, tr. F. Rosenthal (Albany, NY, 1985), pp. 77ff., 86–89, 98, 128–129, 202, and al-Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, vol. 8, pp. 191ff.

112. Ibn Ḥawqal, *Kitāb ṣūrat al-arḍ*, ed. J. H. Kramers (2nd ed., Leiden, 1938–1939), pp. 25–27; French trans., *Configuration de la terre*, tr. J. H. Kramers and G. Wiet (Paris, 1964), vol. 1, pp. 24–26; Nāṣir-i Khusraw, *Safar-nāma*, ed. M. Dabīr Siyāqī (5th ed., Tehran, 1356/1977), pp. 147–151; English trans., *Nāṣer-e Khosraw's Book of Travels (Safarnāma)*, tr. W. M. Thackston, Jr. (Albany, NY, 1986), pp. 86–90. See also de Goeje, *Mémoire*, pp. 150ff., and Lewis, *Origins*, pp. 98–99.

113. Niẓām al-Mulk, *Siyar al-mulūk (Siyāsat-nāma)*, pp. 282–295, 297–305; tr. Darke, pp. 208–218, 220–226. Darke's edition supersedes Schefer's pioneering edition and

French translation of this work, *Siasset Namèh, traité de gouvernement* (Paris, 1891–1893), vol. 1, pp. 183–193, 194–195, and vol. 2, pp. 268–281, 283–284, and also the later Persian editions by ʿA. R. Khalkhālī (Tehran, 1310/1931), pp. 157–173, ʿA. Iqbāl (Tehran, 1320/1941), pp. 260–282, and by M. Mudarrisī Chahārdihī (Tehran, 1334/1955), pp. 215–236. It may be noted that Darke's second edition, adopted as our reference, is based on the oldest known, and hitherto most complete, manuscript of the text dated 673/1274 and preserved at the National Library of Tabrīz; this manuscript has been utilized also in the edition of J. Shuʿār (Tehran, 1348/1969), pp. 322–338 and 340–351. Besides a Russian translation by B. N. Zakhoder as *Siaset-Name, kniga o pravlenii* (Moscow, 1949), pp. 207–224, there is also a German translation of this work, *Siyāsatnāma: Gedanken und Geschichten*, tr. K. E. Schabinger von Schowingen (Munich, 1960), pp. 306–316 and 317–319, based on Schefer's incomplete text. Niẓam al-Mulk is used as the main authority in Stern's articles on the subject, 'The Early Ismāʿīlī Missionaries in North-West Persia and in Khurāsān and Transoxania', *BSOAS*, 23 (1960), pp. 59–60; reprinted in his *Studies*, pp. 189–233, and 'The First appearance of Ismāʿīlism in Iran', text of a lecture delivered at Tehran University, translated into Persian by S. H. Nasr and published in *Revue de la Faculté des Lettres, Université de Téhran*, 9 (1340/1961), pp. 1–13; published also separately, with the English text (Tehran, 1961).

114. Ibn al-Nadīm, *al-Fihrist*, ed. Flügel, vol. 1, p. 188; ed. Tajaddud, p. 239; tr. Dodge, vol. 1, pp. 467–468; al-Baghdādī, *al-Farq*, p. 267; tr. Halkin, pp. 112–113; al-Daylamī, *Bayān*, pp. 20–21; Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz*, vol. 6, pp. 95–96; al-Maqrīzī, *Ittiʿāẓ*, vol. 1, p. 186. Excerpts from some of these sources are to be found in Stern, 'Early', pp. 82–90; reprinted in his *Studies*, pp. 223–233.

115. Poonawala, *Bio*, p. 33, and L. Massignon, *La passion d'al-Hosayn Ibn Mansour al-Hallaj, martyr mystique de l'Islam* (Paris, 1922), vol. 1, pp. 77–80, where some parallels are drawn between Ghiyāth and Manṣūr al-Ḥallāj, the famous mystic who was suspected of Ismāʿīlī affiliations and was executed in 309/922. This discussion does not appear in the second revised edition of this important work by Massignon, published posthumously in 1975, and subsequently translated into English as *The Passion of al-Hallāj* (Princeton, 1982).

116. On Abū Ḥātim and his works, see al-Hamdānī, 'Some Unknown Ismāʿīlī Authors', pp. 365–369; al-Hamdānī's introductory comments in his incomplete edition of Abū Ḥātim's *Kitāb al-zīna* (Cairo, 1957–1958), vol. 1, pp. 14ff.; Ivanow, *Ismaili Literature*, pp. 24–26; Sezgin, *Geschichte*, vol. 1, p. 573; Poonawala, *Bio*, pp. 36–39; S. M. Stern, 'Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī', *EI2*, vol. 1, p. 125; H. Halm, 'Abū Ḥātem Rāzī', *EIR*, vol. 1, p. 315; and N. Jalālī Muqaddam, 'Abū Ḥātim Rāzī', *GIE*, vol. 5, pp. 307–310.

117. See al-Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, vol. 9, pp. 6–19; Ḥamza al-Iṣfahānī, *Taʾrīkh sinī mulūk al-arḍ*, ed. J. Īrānī Tabrīzī (Berlin, 1340/1921), pp. 152–153; al-Baghdādī, *al-Farq*, p. 267; tr. Halkin, pp. 112–113; Ibn Isfandiyār, *Taʾrīkh-i Ṭabaristān*, ed. ʿA. Iqbāl (Tehran, 1320/1941), vol. 1, pp. 285–295; abridged English trans., *History of Ṭabaristān*, tr. E. G. Browne (Leiden–London, 1905), pp. 209–217; Ẓahīr al-Dīn Marʿashī, *Taʾrīkh-i Ṭabaristān va Rūyān va Māzandarān*, ed. M. Ḥ. Tasbīḥī (Tehran, 1345/1966), pp. 68–72; H. L. Rabino, 'Les dynasties Alaouides du Mazandéran', *JA*, 210 (1927), pp. 256–258; George C. Miles, *The Numismatic History of Rayy* (New York, 1938),

pp. 143ff.; and W. Madelung, 'The Minor Dynasties of Northern Iran', in *Cambridge History of Iran*, vol. 4, pp. 206–212.

118. Ḥamīd al-Dīn al-Kirmānī, *al-Aqwāl al-dhahabiyya*, ed. Ṣ. al-Ṣāwī (Tehran, 1977), pp. 2–3. See also P. Kraus, ed., *Rasāʾil falsafiyya li-Abī Bakr Muḥammad ibn Zakariyyāʾ al-Rāzī* (Cairo, 1939), pp. 291ff.; Corbin, *Étude*, pp. 128ff.; also by Corbin, *Histoire*, pp. 194ff.; and M. Muḥaqqiq, *Fīlsūf-i Rayy* (2nd ed., Tehran, 1352/1973), pp. 3–8, 155ff., 166–167, 276.

119. During the caliphate of al-Rāḍī (322–339/934–940), when contemplating a march on Baghdad, Mardāwīj was accused of collaboration with Abū Ṭāhir, the leader of the Qarmaṭīs of Baḥrayn; see Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā al-Ṣūlī, *Akhbār al-Rāḍī wa'l-Muttaqī*, ed. J. Heyworth Dunne (London, 1935), pp. 20–21; French trans., *Akhbâr ar-Râdî billâh wa'l-Muttaqî billâh, (Histoire de la dynastie Abbaside de 322 à 333/934 à 944)*, tr. M. Canard (Algiers, 1946–1950), vol. 1, pp. 71–73.

120. Abu'l-Maʿālī Muḥammad b. ʿUbayd Allāh, *Bayān al-adyān*, ed. H. Rāḍī (Tehran, 1342/1963), pp. 67–69; al-Shahrastānī, *al-Milal*, vol. 1, pp. 181–184; tr. Kazi, pp. 156–158; Abu'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Zayd al-Bayhaqī, *Taʾrīkh-i Bayhaq*, ed. A. Bahmanyār (Tehran, 1317/1938), p. 253, ed. Q. S. K. Husaini (Hyderabad, 1968), p. 438; Muḥaqqiq, *Fīlsūf-i Rayy*, pp. 48–49; Madelung, 'Fatimiden', pp. 44–45; English trans., pp. 28–29; and his 'al-Kayyāl', *EI2*, vol. 4, p. 847. See also Idrīs, *ʿUyūn*, vol. 4, pp. 357–358, and Ivanow, 'Ismailis and Qarmatians', pp. 64–65, which adopts the account of Idrīs and wrongly presents Ibn al-Kayyāl as a dissenting *dāʿī* of the Imam ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl.

121. See ʿAbd al-Ḥayy b. al-Ḍaḥḥāk Gardīzī, *Zayn al-akhbār*, ed. ʿA. Ḥabībī (Tehran, 1347/1968), pp. 148–149; *Taʾrīkh-i Sīstān*, ed. M. T. Bahār (Tehran, 1314/1935), pp. 290–294, 300–302; English trans., *The Tārikh-e Sistān*, tr. M. Gold (Rome, 1976), pp. 233–237, 243–244; Mīrkhwānd, *Rawḍat al-ṣafāʾ* (Tehran, 1338–1339/1960), vol. 4, pp. 40–42; also by Mīrkhwānd, *Histoire des Samanides*, ed. and tr. Ch. Defrémery (Paris, 1845), text pp. 21–24, translation pp. 133–136; and V. V. Barthold, *Turkestan down to the Mongol Invasion*, ed. C. E. Bosworth (3rd ed., London, 1968), p. 241.

122. On al-Nasafī and his works, see Barthold, *Turkestan*, pp. 242–245; Ivanow, *Studies*, pp. 87ff.; also his *Ismaili Literature*, pp. 23–24; Sezgin, *Geschichte*, vol. 1, pp. 573–574; Poonawala, *Bio*, pp. 40–43, and his 'al-Nasafī', *EI2*, vol. 7, p. 968. Also see P. Crone and L. Treadwell, 'A New Text on Ismailism at the Samanid Court', in Chase F. Robinson, ed., *Texts, Documents and Artefacts: Islamic Studies in Honour of D. S. Richards* (Leiden, 2003), pp. 37–67, where the account of al-Thaʿālibī (d. 429/1038) is presented and analyzed.

123. See Nāṣir-i Khusraw, *Khwān al-ikhwān*, ed. Y. al-Khashshāb (Cairo, 1940), pp. 112, 115; ed. ʿA. Qavīm (Tehran, 1338/1959), pp. 131, 135, where al-Nasafī is referred to as the martyred *shaykh* and *khwāja;* Stern, 'Early', pp. 80–81, and also his 'Abu'l-Qāsim al-Bustī', p. 23; reprinted, respectively, in his *Studies*, pp. 220–222 and 308.

124. See Goldziher, *Streitschrift*, pp. 14–16, 23–24; Lewis, *Origins*, pp. 92–93, and also by Lewis, *Arabs in History*, pp. 108ff.

125. Cl. Cahen, 'La changeante portée sociale de quelques doctrines religieuses', in *L'élaboration de l'Islam*, pp. 12–15, 20–21, and Ashtor, *A Social and Economic History*, pp. 160ff.; see also I. P. Petrushevsky, *Islam in Iran*, tr. H. Evans (London,

1985), pp. 234ff., which reflects a characteristically Marxist approach emphasizing class conflicts.

126. Massignon repeated this hypothesis in his various writings which have been reprinted in his *Opera Minora*, vol. 1, pp. 369–422; see also his 'Ṣinf', *EI*, vol. 4, pp. 436–437. Massignon's ideas on the subject were pursued by B. Lewis, especially in his 'The Islamic Guilds', *Economic History Review*, 8 (1937), pp. 20–37, who advocated the milder opinion that if not actually created by the Ismāʿīlīs, the guilds were certainly used by them as instruments in their organization.
127. S. M. Stern, 'The Constitution of the Islamic City', and Cl. Cahen, 'Y a-t-il eu des corporations professionnelles dans le monde Musulman classique?', both in A. H. Hourani and S. M. Stern, ed., *The Islamic City* (Oxford, 1970), pp. 36–50 and 51–63, and G. Baer, 'Guilds in Middle Eastern History', in M. A. Cook, ed., *Studies in the Economic History of the Middle East* (London, 1970), especially pp. 11–17, 27–30.
128. See *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, p. 89; Gardīzī, *Zayn al-akhbār*, pp. 178–180; Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Muqaddasī (al-Maqdisī), *Aḥsan al-taqāsīm*, ed. M. J. de Goeje (2nd ed., Leiden, 1906), pp. 481–482, 485, in which this famous geographer-traveller relates the account of a visit he made in 375/985 to Multān, then under Ismāʿīlī rule; Nāṣiḥ b. Ẓafar al-Jurbādhaqānī, *Tarjuma-yi taʾrīkh-i Yamīnī*, ed. J. Shuʿār (Tehran, 1345/1966), pp. 278–280; Mīrkhwānd, *Rawḍat al-ṣafāʾ*, vol. 4, pp. 96–97; Hamdani, *Ismāʿīlī Daʿwa*, pp. 3–6; and A. Z. Khan, 'Ismaʿilism in Multan and Sind', *Journal of the Pakistan Historical Society*, 23 (1975), pp. 36–57. See also D. N. Maclean, *Religion and Society in Arab Sind* (Leiden, 1989), pp. 126–140.
129. See, for instance Ibn Ḥawshab, *Kitāb al-rushd*, p. 212.
130. See Abū Tamīm Maʿadd al-Mustanṣir biʾllāh, *al-Sijillāt al-Mustanṣiriyya*, ed. ʿA. M. Mājid (Cairo, 1954), pp. 157, 168, 176, 178, 179; al-Majdūʿ, *Fihrist*, p. 3; and Aḥmad b. ʿAlī al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā fī ṣināʿat al-inshāʾ* (Cairo, 1331–1338/1913–1920), vol. 9, pp. 18–20, vol. 10, pp. 434–435, vol. 13, pp. 238, 246, containing references to the designation of *al-daʿwa al-hādiya* used in certain Ismāʿīlī oaths and investiture diplomas quoted in this secretarial encyclopedic work.
131. See the Ibn Rizām–Akhū Muḥsin account as preserved in al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-arab*, vol. 25, pp. 227–232; tr. in de Sacy, *Exposé*, vol. 1, introduction pp. 193–200; Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz*, vol. 6, pp. 65–68, and al-Maqrīzī, *Ittiʿāẓ*, vol. 1, pp. 167–168. The main points of this anti-Ismāʿīlī account are corroborated by Ibn Ḥawqal, who had strong sympathies with the Fāṭimids, if he was not an Ismāʿīlī himself; see his *Ṣūrat al-arḍ*, p. 295; tr. Kramers and Wiet, vol. 2, p. 289. See also de Goeje, *Mémoire*, pp. 58–59; Ivanow, *Rise*, pp. 48ff.; Stern, 'Ismāʿīlīs and Qarmaṭians', pp. 104–106; reprinted in his *Studies*, pp. 294–296; also in Kohlberg, ed., *Shīʿism*, pp. 272–274; and Madelung, 'Imamat', pp. 59–65, 69ff.; and F. Daftary, 'A Major Schism in the Early Ismāʿīlī Movement', *Studia Islamica*, 77 (1993), pp. 123–139; reprinted in *IMMS*, pp. 45–61. For a somewhat different interpretation of this schism, see M. Brett, 'The Mīm, the ʿAyn and the Making of Ismāʿīlism', *BSOAS*, 57 (1994), pp. 25–39; reprinted in his *Ibn Khaldun and the Medieval Maghrib* (Aldershot, Hampshire, 1999), article III.
132. Jaʿfar b. Manṣūr al-Yaman, *Kitāb al-kashf*, pp. 97ff., 102ff. See also Madelung, 'Imamat', pp. 54–58.
133. Jaʿfar b. Manṣūr al-Yaman, *Kitāb al-kashf*, pp. 12, 60.

134. Ivanow, *Studies*, pp. 15–19; Corbin, *Histoire*, pp. 64ff., 146ff.; Madelung, 'Imamat', pp. 61ff.; and M. G. S. Hodgson, 'Ḥudjdja: In Shīʿī Terminology', *EI2*, vol. 3, pp. 544–545.
135. Al-Shahrastānī, *al-Milal*, vol. 1, p. 192; tr. Kazi, p. 164.
136. Ibn Ḥawshab, *Kitāb al-rushd*, p. 209; tr. Ivanow in *Studies*, p. 54; and Jaʿfar b. Manṣūr al-Yaman, *Kitāb al-kashf*, pp. 55, 60, 125.
137. Ibn Ḥawshab, *Kitāb al-rushd*, p. 201; tr. Ivanow in *Studies*, p. 46.
138. Jaʿfar b. Manṣūr al-Yaman, *Kitāb al-kashf*, p. 119.
139. Al-Nawbakhtī, *Firaq*, p. 63, and al-Qummī, *al-Maqālāt*, pp. 84–85.
140. Al-Hamdānī, *Genealogy*, text p. 10, translation p. 13.
141. Ibid., text pp. 12–13.
142. See Madelung, 'Imamat', pp. 80–86.
143. Some of these traditions are cited in Ivanow, *Rise*, pp. 61–65, 95–122, and text pp. 1–31; al-Nuʿmān, *Sharḥ al-akhbār*, vol. 3, pp. 371–399, 403–431. See also al-Nuʿmān, *al-Manāqib wa'l-mathālib*, ed. Mājid b. Aḥmad al-ʿAṭiyya (Beirut, 2002), pp. 391–397.
144. See Madelung, 'Imamat', pp. 65ff., 71–73.
145. Al-Nuʿmān, *al-Urjūza al-mukhtāra*, ed. I. K. Poonawala (Montreal, 1970), pp. 194–203; see also T. Nagel, 'Die Urǧūza al-Muḫtāra des Qāḍī an-Nuʿmān', *Die Welt des Islams*, 15 (1974), pp. 96–128.
146. According to Ibn Mālik al-Ḥammādī al-Yamānī, *Kashf asrār al-Bāṭiniyya*, ed. al-Kawtharī, p. 18, also in *Akhbār al-Qarāmiṭa*, p. 213.
147. See W. Madelung, 'Ḥamdān Qarmaṭ and the Dāʿī Abū ʿAlī', in W. Madelung et al., ed., *Proceedings of the 17th Congress of the UEAI* (St Petersburg, 1997), pp. 115–124, and his 'Ḥamdān Qarmaṭ', *EIR*, vol. 11, p. 635.
148. Ibn Ḥawqal, *Ṣūrat al-arḍ*, p. 96; tr. Kramers and Wiet, vol. 1, p. 94.
149. Al-Masʿūdī, *al-Tanbīh*, p. 391; tr. Carra de Vaux, p. 496; ʿArīb b. Saʿd al-Qurṭubī, *Ṣilat ta'rīkh al-Ṭabarī*, ed. M. J. de Goeje (Leiden, 1897), p. 137; Ibn al-Jawzī, *al-Muntaẓam*, vol. 6, p. 195; al-Daylamī, *Bayān*, p. 20; al-Maqrīzī, *Ittiʿāẓ*, vol. 1, p. 185; and Madelung, 'Fatimiden', pp. 84–85; English trans., pp. 51–52.
150. Al-Nuʿmān, *al-Risāla al-mudhhiba*, ed. ʿĀ. Tāmir in his *Khams Rasā'il Ismāʿīliyya* (Salamiyya, 1956), p. 41. For one such work attributed wrongly to ʿAbdān, see *Kitāb shajarat al-yaqīn*, ed. ʿĀ. Tāmir (Beirut, 1982). As Walker has now shown, this work was in fact produced later by a certain obscure Qarmaṭī author called Abū Tammām, who flourished in the first half of the 4th/10th century in Khurāsān. See Paul E. Walker, 'Abū Tammām and his *Kitāb al-Shajara*: A New Ismaili Treatise from the Tenth-Century Khurasan', *JAOS*, 114 (1994), pp. 343–352, and his 'An Ismaʿili Version of the Heresiography of the Seventy-two Erring Sects', in *MIHT*, pp. 161–177. Part of the *Kitāb al-shajara* has now been published under the title of *An Ismaili Heresiography: The 'Bāb al-shayṭān' from Abū Tammām's Kitāb al-shajara*, ed. and tr. W. Madelung and P. E. Walker (Leiden, 1998). See also Poonawala, *Bio*, pp. 31–33, 45–46, and Daftary, *Ismaili Literature*, pp. 107–108.
151. Ibn Ḥawqal, *Ṣūrat al-arḍ*, p. 295; tr. Kramers and Wiet, vol. 2, p. 289. See also Madelung, 'Fatimiden', pp. 39–40, 45–46; English trans., pp. 25, 29–30.
152. On the Musāfirids, also called Sallārids and Langarids, who held the key fortress of Shamīrān, in Ṭārum, and who were eventually uprooted by the Nizārīs, see A.

Kasravī, *Shahriyārān-i gumnām* (2nd ed., Tehran, 1335/1956), pp. 36–120; Cl. Huart, 'Les Mosāfirides de l'Adherbaïdjān', in Arnold and Nicholson, ed., *Oriental Studies Presented to Edward G. Browne*, pp. 228–256; V. Minorsky, *Studies in Caucasian History* (London, 1953), pp. 159–166, and also his 'Musāfirids', *EI2*, vol. 7, pp. 655–657.

153. See Stern, 'Early', pp. 70–74; reprinted in his *Studies*, pp. 208–212.

154. A detailed account of the activities of Zikrawayh and his sons is contained in al-Tabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, III, pp. 2218–2226, 2230–2232, 2237–2246, 2255–2266, 2269–2275; tr. Rosenthal, pp. 113–123, 126–129, 134–144, 157–168, 172–179. See also ʿArīb, *Ṣilat*, pp. 4–6, 9–18, 36; al-Masʿūdī, *al-Tanbīh*, pp. 370–376; tr. Carra de Vaux, pp. 475–480; excerpts from Thābit b. Sinān's *Taʾrīkh* and Ibn al-ʿAdīm's *Bughyat* in *Akhbār al-Qarāmiṭa*, pp. 16–35, 275ff., 287ff.; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-arab*, vol. 25, pp. 246–275; tr. de Sacy, *Exposé*, vol. 1, introduction pp. 200–209; Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz*, vol. 6, pp. 69–89; and al-Maqrīzī, *Ittiʿāẓ*, vol. 1, pp. 155, 168–179.

155. H. Halm, 'Die Söhne Zikrawaihs und das erste fatimidische Kalifat (290/903)', *Die Welt des Orients*, 10 (1979), pp. 30–53; his *The Empire of the Mahdi*, pp. 66–88, 183–190, and his 'Zakarawayh b. Mihrawayh', *EI2*, vol. 11, p. 405. See also de Goeje, *Mémoire*, pp. 47–58; Lewis, *Origins*, pp. 73–74; Ivanow, *Rise*, pp. 76–94; Hodgson, *Venture of Islam*, vol. 1, pp. 488–492; I. A. Bello, 'The Qarmaṭians', *Islamic Culture*, 54 (1980), especially pp. 233–236; K. V. Zetterstéen, 'Zikrawaih b. Mihrawaih', *EI*, vol. 4, pp. 1226–1227; and W. Madelung, 'Ḳarmaṭī', *EI2*, vol. 4, pp. 660–661.

156. Al-Masʿūdī, *al-Tanbīh*, p. 391; tr. Carra de Vaux, p. 496; ʿArīb, *Ṣilat*, p. 137; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-arab*, vol. 25, pp. 275–276; tr. de Sacy, *Exposé*, vol. 1, introduction p. 210; Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz*, vol. 6, p. 90; al-Maqrīzī, *Ittiʿāẓ*, vol. 1, pp. 179–180; de Goeje, *Mémoire*, pp. 99–100; Friedlaender, 'Heterodoxies: Commentary', pp. 110–111; Madelung, 'Fatimiden', pp. 82–84; English trans., pp. 50–51; and M. G. S. Hodgson, 'Baḳliyya', *EI2*, vol. 1, p. 962.

157. Jaʿfar's autobiographical work, an eyewitness account of al-Mahdī's flight from Salamiyya to Sijilmāsa, was dictated later to a certain Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Yamānī. The text of the *Sīrat al-ḥājib Jaʿfar b. ʿAlī* was edited by W. Ivanow in *Bulletin of the Faculty of Arts, University of Egypt*, 4, part 2 (1936), pp. 107–133; English trans., in Ivanow, *Rise*, pp. 184–233; French trans., in M. Canard, 'L'autobiographie d'un chambellan du Mahdī ʿObeidallāh le Fāṭimide', *Hespéris*, 39 (1952), pp. 279–324; reprinted in his *Miscellanea Orientalia* (London, 1973), article V.

158. The propagation of the *daʿwa* in the Maghrib and Abū ʿAbd Allāh's activities there, as well as ʿAbd Allāh al-Mahdī's flight from Salamiyya to the Maghrib, culminating in the establishment of the Fāṭimid caliphate, are treated at length in al-Nuʿmān, *Iftitāḥ*, ed. al-Qāḍī, pp. 71–222; ed. Dachraoui, pp. 47–257, drawing extensively on the *Sīra* of Abū ʿAbd Allāh which has not survived directly, and in Idrīs, *ʿUyūn*, vol. 5, pp. 44–88. Of relevance here are also the *Sīrat ḥājib Jaʿfar*, and al-Nīsābūrī, *Istitār*, pp. 96ff.; English trans. in Ivanow, *Rise*, pp. 164ff. Amongst numerous non-Ismāʿīlī sources on the subject, see Ibn Ḥammād (Ḥamādū), *Akhbār mulūk Banī ʿUbayd wa-siratuhum*, ed. and tr. M. Vonderheyden (Algiers–Paris, 1927), text pp. 7ff., French translation pp. 18ff.; Ibn ʿIdhārī al-Marrākushī, *al-Bayān al-mughrib fī akhbār al-Andalus wa'l-Maghrib*, ed. G. S. Colin and E. Lévi-Provençal (New ed., Leiden,

1948–1951), vol. 1, pp. 124ff.; Ibn Khaldūn, *Kitāb al-ʿibar*, partial French trans. as *Histoire des Berbères*, tr. W. MacGuckin de Slane, new edition by P. Casanova (Paris, 1968–1969), vol. 1, pp. 262ff., 291ff., 441ff., and vol. 2, pp. 506–521; al-Maqrīzī, *Ittiʿāẓ*, vol. 1, pp. 55–66; and Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, vol. 2, pp. 192–194; tr. de Slane, vol. 1, pp. 465–466. Of the secondary sources, mention may be made of Ḥasan and Sharaf, *ʿUbayd Allāh al-Mahdī*, pp. 124–143; F. Dachraoui, 'Contribution à l'histoire des Fāṭimides en Ifrīqiya', *Arabica*, 8 (1961), pp. 189–203; his 'Les commencements de la prédication Ismāʿīlienne en Ifrīqiya', *Studia Islamica*, 20 (1964), pp. 89–102; also by Dachraoui, *Le califat Fatimide au Maghreb, 295–365 H./909–975 Jc.* (Tunis, 1981), pp. 57–122; M. Talbi, *L'Émirat Aghlabide, 184–296/800–909. Histoire politique* (Paris, 1966), especially pp. 623–699; Nagel, *Frühe Ismailiya*, pp. 11–48; Madelung, 'Some Notes on Non-Ismāʿīlī Shiism in the Maghrib', *Studia Islamica*, 44 (1976), pp. 87–97; reprinted in his *Religious Schools*, article XIV; Halm, *Empire of the Mahdi*, pp. 9–128; S. M. Stern, 'Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Shīʿī', *EI2*, vol. 1, pp. 103–104; and M. Ḥabībī Maẓāhirī, 'Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Shīʿī', *GIE*, vol. 5, pp. 685–693.

159. The memoirs of Abū ʿAbd Allāh Jaʿfar b. Aḥmad b. al-Aswad Ibn al-Haytham, entitled *Kitāb al-munāẓarāt* and covering the period from Rajab 296/March 909 until the arrival of ʿAbd Allāh al-Mahdī in Qayrawān in Rabīʿ II 297/January 910, as preserved in the sixth volume of the *Kitāb al-azhār* compiled by Ḥasan b. Nūḥ al-Bharūchī, were published recently under the title of *The Advent of the Fatimids: A Contemporary Shiʿi Witness*, ed. and tr. W. Madelung and P. E. Walker (London, 2000), text pp. 1–128, translation pp. 63–175.
160. Al-Nuʿmān, *Iftitāḥ*, ed. al-Qāḍī, pp. 249–250; ed. Dachraoui, pp. 293–294.
161. See H. Halm, 'The Ismaʿili Oath of Allegiance (*ʿahd*) and the "Sessions of Wisdom" (*majālis al-ḥikma*) in Fatimid Times', in *MIHT*, especially pp. 91–99.
162. Jaʿfar b. Manṣūr al-Yaman, *Kitāb al-ʿālim wa'l-ghulām*, ed. and tr. James W. Morris as *The Master and the Disciple: An Early Islamic Spiritual Dialogue* (London, 2000), text pp. 1–95, translation pp. 63–171. See also J. W. Morris, 'Revisiting Religious Shiʿism and Early Sufism: The Fourth/Tenth-Century Dialogue of "The Sage and the Young Disciple"', in T. Lawson, ed., *Reason and Inspiration in Islam: Theology, Philosophy and Mysticism in Muslim Thought, Essays in Honour of Hermann Landolt* (London, 2005), pp. 102–116; H. Corbin, 'Un roman initiatique Ismaélien', *Cahiers de Civilisation Médiévale*, 15 (1972), pp. 1–25, 121–142; and his 'L'initiation Ismaélienne ou l'ésotérisme et le Verbe', *EJ*, 39 (1970), pp. 41–142, containing also a summary French translation of the text; reprinted, in H. Corbin, *L'homme et son ange* (Paris, 1983), pp. 81–205.
163. On the *bāṭinī ta'wīl* and the Ismāʿīlī distinction between the exoteric and the esoteric dimensions of religion, see the following studies by H. Corbin: 'Rituel Sabéen et exégèse Ismaélienne du rituel', *EJ*, 19 (1950), especially pp. 181–188, 229–246; reprinted in his *Temple et contemplation* (Paris, 1980), pp. 143–149, 183–196; English trans., 'Sabian Temple and Ismailism', in H. Corbin, *Temple and Contemplation*, tr. Philip Sherrard (London, 1986), pp. 132–138, 170–182; 'Herméneutique spirituelle comparée: I. Swedenborg–II. Gnose Ismaélienne', *EJ*, 33 (1964), pp. 122–153; reprinted in his *Face de Dieu, face de l'homme* (Paris, 1983), pp. 108–151; *Étude*, pp. 65–73; *Histoire*, pp. 27ff.; 'L'initiation Ismaélienne', pp. 63–84; and *En Islam*, vol. 1, pp. 212–218, and vol. 3, pp. 214ff. Also see B. Radtke, 'Bāṭen', *EIR*, vol. 2,

pp. 859–861; H. Halm, 'Bāṭenīya', *EIR*, vol. 2, pp. 861–863; M. G. S. Hodgson, 'Bāṭiniyya', *EI2*, vol. 1, pp. 1098–1100; F. Daftary and M. Hodgson, 'Bāṭiniyya', *EWI*, vol. 1, pp. 554–558; and I. K. Poonawala, 'Ismāʿīlī *taʾwīl* of the Qurʾān', in A. Rippin, ed., *Approaches to the History of the Interpretation of the Qurʾān* (Oxford, 1988), pp. 199–222, and his 'Taʾwīl', *EI2*, vol. 10, pp. 390–392.

164. For a general discussion of time and cyclicism in Ismāʿīlī thought, see H. Corbin, 'Le temps cyclique dans le Mazdéisme et dans l'Ismaélisme', *EJ*, 20 (1951), especially pp. 183–217; reprinted in his *Temps cyclique et gnose Ismaélienne* (Paris, 1982), pp. 39–69; English trans., 'Cyclical Time in Mazdaism and Ismailism', in *Papers from the Eranos Yearbooks*: Vol. 3, *Man and Time* (Princeton, 1957), pp. 144–172; reprinted in H. Corbin, *Cyclical Time and Ismaili Gnosis*, tr. R. Manheim and J. W. Morris (London, 1983), pp. 30–58; and Paul E. Walker, 'Eternal Cosmos and the Womb of History: Time in Early Ismaili Thought', *IJMES*, 9 (1978), pp. 355–366.

165. The cyclical division of history into revelational eras, and other related details, are clearly outlined in Ibn Ḥawshab, *Kitāb al-rushd*, pp. 189, 197ff., tr. Ivanow in *Studies*, pp. 33, 41ff., in Jaʿfar b. Manṣūr al-Yaman, *Kitāb al-kashf*, pp. 14ff., 104, 109–110, 113–114, 132–133, 138, 143, 150, 169–170, as well as in many Fāṭimid Ismāʿīlī works, such as al-Nuʿmān, *Asās al-taʾwīl*, ed. ʿĀ. Tāmir (Beirut, 1960), with an unpublished Persian version entitled *Bunyād-i taʾwīl*, prepared probably by the *dāʿī* al-Muʾayyad fi'l-Dīn al-Shīrāzī; and al-Sijistānī, *Ithbāt*, especially pp. 181–193. The Ibn Rizām–Akhū Muḥsin description of the subject may be found, for example, in al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-arab*, vol. 25, pp. 205–207; tr. de Sacy, *Exposé*, vol. 1, introduction pp. 103–110. See also Zāhid ʿAlī, *Hamāre Ismāʿīlī madhhab kī ḥaqīqat awr uskā niẓām* (Hyderabad, 1373/1954), pp. 576ff.; Madelung, 'Imamat', pp. 51ff.; Paul E. Walker, 'An Early Ismaili Interpretation of Man, History and Salvation', *Ohio Journal of Religious Studies*, 3 (1975), pp. 29–35; Hodgson, *Venture of Islam*, vol. 1, pp. 378–384; Corbin, *Histoire*, pp. 92ff., 127, 132; also his 'La prophétologie Ismaélienne', in *Les Cahiers de l'Herne: Henry Corbin*, ed. Ch. Jambet (Paris, 1981), pp. 138–149; Stern, *Studies*, pp. 30ff., 53–55; Halm, *Kosmologie*, pp. 18–37; also his 'Dawr', *EI2*, vol. 12, Supplement, pp. 206–207; and F. Daftary, 'Dawr', *EIR*, vol. 7, pp. 151–153.

166. This section is based on F. Daftary, *A Short History of the Ismailis* (Edinburgh, 1998), pp. 55–58.

167. Extracts from Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī's *Kitāb al-iṣlāḥ* and from other Ismāʿīlī works on the subject are to be found in Halm, *Kosmologie*, pp. 206–227. Now also see Abū Ḥātim's *Kitāb al-iṣlāḥ*, ed. Ḥ. Mīnūchihr and M. Muḥaqqiq (Tehran, 1377/1998), pp. 204–205, 210, 256. See also al-Sijistānī, *Kitāb al-iftikhār*, ed. M. Ghālib (Beirut, 1980), pp. 43–56; ed. I. K. Poonawala (Beirut, 2000), pp. 116–137.

168. The full Arabic text of this small treatise, discovered by S. M. Stern at the end of a manuscript belonging to Asaf A. A. Fyzee, is printed in Stern, *Studies*, pp. 6–16; see also Goriawala, *Catalogue*, p. 69.

169. For the Zaydī references, notably those contained in the biography of the Zaydī Imam al-Nāṣir li-Dīn Allāh Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā (d. 322/934) produced by ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar al-Hamdānī and preserved by the later historian al-Laḥjī, see Arendonk, *Les débuts*, pp. 330–334; Stern, *Studies*, pp. 3–5, and Halm, *Kosmologie*, pp. 58–60.

170. Stern, 'The Earliest Cosmological Doctrine of Ismāʿīlism', in his *Studies*, pp. 3–29, based chiefly on al-Murshid's *Risāla*; Halm, *Kosmologie*, especially pp. 18–127, and his 'The Cosmology of the Pre-Fatimid Ismāʿīliyya', in *MIHT*, pp. 75–83. See also Ian R. Netton, *Allāh Transcendent: Studies in the Structure and Semiotics of Islamic Philosophy, Theology and Cosmology* (London, 1989), pp. 203–209, and W. Madelung, 'Cosmogony and Cosmology: vi. In Ismaʿilism', *EIR*, vol. 6, pp. 322–323.
171. For the treatment of this triad by different Ismāʿīlī authors, see al-Sijistānī, *al-Iftikhār*, ed. Ghālib, pp. 43–46; ed. Poonawala, pp. 116–122; Jaʿfar b. Manṣūr al-Yaman, *Asrār al-nuṭaqāʾ*, ed. Ghālib, pp. 24–26, 81–82, both quoted in Halm, *Kosmologie*, pp. 206–209 and 220–222; al-Ḥāmidī, *Kanz*, p. 165; Nāṣir-i Khusraw, *Khwān al-ikhwān*, ed. al-Khashshāb, pp. 170ff; ed. Qavīm, pp. 199ff.; and Corbin, *Étude*, pp. 91–112.
172. See Madelung, *Religious Trends*, p. 95.

Notes to Chapter 4

1. L. Massignon, 'Mutanabbi, devant le siècle Ismaélien de I'Islam', in *Al Mutanabbi. Recueil publié à l'occasion de son millénaire* (Beirut, 1936), p. 1.
2. For a thorough survey of different categories of sources and modern studies on the Fāṭimids, see Paul E. Walker, *Exploring an Islamic Empire: Fatimid History and its Sources* (London, 2002), pp. 93–202, and his 'Al-Maqrīzī and the Fatimids', *Mamlūk Studies Review*, 7 (2003), pp. 83–97. See also A. Fuʾād Sayyid, 'Lumières nouvelles sur quelques sources de l'histoire Fatimide en Égypte', *Annales Islamologiques*, 13 (1977), pp. 1–41; also his *al-Dawla al-Fāṭimiyya fī Miṣr: tafsīr jadīd* (2nd ed., Cairo, 2000), pp. 29–92; M. Brett, *The Rise of the Fatimids: The World of the Mediterranean and the Middle East in the Fourth Century of the Hijra, Tenth Century CE* (Leiden, 2001), pp. 1–26; and F. Daftary, 'Taʾrīkh: taʾrīkh-nigārī-yi Ismāʿīliyān', *EWI*, vol. 6, pp. 133–136.
3. More than any other scholar, Solomon D. Goitein (1900–1985) has written on the Geniza papers, found in an old synagogue in Fusṭāṭ (Old Cairo), and their importance, see especially his: 'The Cairo Geniza as a Source for the History of Muslim Civilization', *Studia Islamica*, 3 (1955), pp. 75–91; 'The Documents of the Cairo Geniza as a Source for Mediterranean Social Studies', *JAOS*, 80 (1960), pp. 91–100; *Studies in Islamic History and Institutions* (Leiden, 1966), pp. 279–295, and 'Geniza', *EI2*, vol. 2, pp. 987–989. Professor Goitein also undertook a monumental socio-economic study, based on the Geniza records, in his *A Mediterranean Society* (Berkeley, 1967–1993), 6 vols. See also Paul E. Kahle, *The Cairo Geniza* (London, 1947), pp. 1–20, and S. Shaked, *A Tentative Bibliography of Geniza Documents* (The Hague–Paris, 1964).
4. See Ivanow, *Ismaili Literature*, pp. 23–50, and Poonawala, *Bio*, pp. 31–132.
5. Valuable details on the reigns of the first three Fāṭimids are contained in al-Nuʿmān, *Iftitāḥ*, ed. al-Qāḍī, pp. 245–282; ed. Dachraoui, pp. 287–339; and also in al-Nuʿmān's *al-Majālis*, which is a rich source of information. The fullest Ismāʿīlī account of this period, however, is contained in Idrīs, *ʿUyūn*, vol. 5, pp. 89–350, based on al-Nuʿmān and a number of Fāṭimid chronicles which have not survived.

The section from the *ʿUyūn* (vol. 5 and part of vol. 6) on the North African phase of the Fāṭimid caliphate has been edited separately by M. al-Yaʿlāwī as *Taʾrīkh al-khulafāʾ al-Fāṭimiyyīn biʾl-Maghrib* (Beirut, 1985), pp. 143–530. Extracts from the *ʿUyūn*, on al-Mahdī's reign, are included in Stern, *Studies*, pp. 96–145. Numerous Fāṭimid documents from this period are contained in Abū ʿAlī Manṣūr al-ʿAzīzī al-Jawdharī, *Sīrat al-ustādh Jawdhar*, ed. M. Kāmil Ḥusayn and M. ʿAbd al-Hādī Shaʿīra (Cairo, 1954), pp. 33–86, French trans., *Vie de l'ustadh Jaudhar (contenant sermons, lettres et rescrits des premiers califes Fâtimides)*, tr. M. Canard (Algiers, 1958), pp. 41–126. On this important Ismāʿīlī work compiled by al-Jawdharī, the private secretary to Jawdhar (d. 363/973) who held various posts under the first four Fāṭimids, see Canard's introduction to his translation of Jawdhar's *Sīra*, pp. 8–24, M. K. Ḥusayn, *Fī adab Miṣr al-Fāṭimiyya* (Cairo, 1950), pp. 114–116, Poonawala, *Bio*, pp. 90–91, and M. Canard, 'Djawdhar', *EI2*, vol. 2, p. 491. The North African phase of the Fāṭimid caliphate is covered in varying details also in numerous Sunnī historical sources, which will be referred to in connection with specific events. Aside from Ibn ʿIdhārī's *al-Bayān*, an important place is occupied by al-Maqrīzī's *Ittiʿāẓ*, vol. 1, pp. 65–92, for the period in question. See also Ibn Ẓāfir, *Akhbār al-duwwal al-munqaṭiʿa*, pp. 6–20, Ibn Ḥammād, *Akhbār*, text pp. 6–39, translation pp. 17–61, and Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, vol. 1, pp. 234–236, and vol. 5, pp. 19–20; tr. de Slane, vol. 1, pp. 218–221, and vol. 3, pp. 181–182. Of the secondary sources, mention may be made of Ḥasan, *Taʾrīkh al-dawla al-Fāṭimiyya* (3rd ed., Cairo, 1964), pp. 80–92; Zāhid ʿAlī, *Taʾrīkh*, vol. 1, pp. 123–147; ʿĀdila ʿA. al-Ḥamad, *Qiyām al-dawla al-Fāṭimiyya bi-bilād al-Maghrib* (Cairo, 1980), pp. 125–225; Dachraoui, *Califat Fatimide*, pp. 57–218, covering also the background to the establishment of the dynasty. Also by Dachraoui, 'al-Ḳāʾim', *EI2*, vol. 4, pp. 458–460, and 'al-Manṣūr Biʾllāh', *EI2*, vol. 6, pp. 434–435. Also see Halm, *Empire of the Mahdi*, pp. 141–137, and Brett, *Rise*, pp. 73–175.

6. Al-Nuʿmān, *Iftitāḥ*, ed. al-Qāḍī, pp. 259ff.; ed. Dachraoui, pp. 306 ff.; al-Nuʿmān, *al-Majālis*, pp. 183–184; Idrīs, *ʿUyūn*, vol. 5, pp. 116–123; Ibn ʿIdhārī, *al-Bayān*, vol. 1, pp. 150–151, 161, 163–165; Ibn Khaldūn, *Histoire*, vol. 2, pp. 521–523; al-Maqrīzī, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, vol. 1, pp. 350–351, and vol. 2, pp. 10–11; French tr., vol. 4, pp. 11–12; al-Maqrīzī, *Ittiʿāẓ*, vol. 1, pp. 67–68; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Nujūm*, vol. 3, p. 174; Ḥasan and Sharaf, *ʿUbayd Allāh*, pp. 263–269; Zāhid ʿAlī, *Taʾrīkh*, vol. 1, pp. 115–122; Madelung, 'Imamat', pp. 66, 80; al-Ḥamad, *Qiyām*, pp. 229–248; Dachraoui, *Califat Fatimide*, pp. 127–132; and Halm, *Empire of the Mahdi*, pp. 159–168.
7. For more details, see Ibn Ḥawqal, *Ṣūrat al-arḍ*, pp. 60ff., 83ff., 93ff., 100–107; tr. Kramers and Wiet, vol. 1, pp. 57ff., 79ff., 91ff., 98–105; al-Idrīsī, *Description de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne*, ed. and tr. R. Dozy and M. J. de Goeje (Leiden, 1866), text pp. 56ff., 70, 75–76, 85, 87–88, 98–99, translation pp. 65ff., 80–81, 86–87, 98, 100–102, 115–116; Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʿUmarī, *Masālik el abṣār fī mamālik el amṣār*: I, *L'Afrique, moins l'Égypte*, tr. M. Gaudefroy-Demombynes (Paris, 1927), pp. 96ff., 137ff.; Ibn Khaldūn, *Histoire*, vol. 1, pp. 37, 45, 169–170, 178, 182, 186ff., 194–197, 291–299, vol. 2, pp. 1ff., and vol. 3, pp. 179ff., 188ff., 196–197, 300ff.; E. Fagnan, *Extraits inédits relatifs au Maghreb* (Algiers, 1924), pp. 17–18, 41ff., 153–154; G. Marçais, *La Berbérie Musulmane et l'Orient au moyen âge* (Paris, 1946), especially pp. 133–156, the fullest modern treatment of the subject; Émile F. Gautier, *Le passé de l'Afrique du Nord* (Paris, 1952),

pp. 201ff., 322ff., 337–345; T. Lewicki, 'Le répartition géographique des groupements Ibāḍites dans l'Afrique du Nord au moyen-âge', *Rocznik Orientalistyczny*, 21 (1957), pp. 301–343; and Dachraoui, *Califat Fatimide*, pp. 31ff., 364ff.

8. See al-Nuʿmān, *al-Majālis*, pp. 115–116, 164ff., 173ff., 189ff.; Ibn ʿIdhārī, *al-Bayān*, vol. 1, pp. 175, 178ff., 185, 197–200, 209–216; Ibn Khaldūn, *Histoire*, vol. 1, pp. 258–260, 265ff., and vol. 2, pp. 145ff., 526–527, 567–571; Dozy, *Histoire des Musulmans d'Espagne*, vol. 3, pp. 13–21, 29–30, 33–49, 66–71, 76–79; H. I. Hasan, 'Relations between the Fâṭimids in North Africa and Egypt and the Umayyads in Spain during the 4th Century A.H. (10th Century A.D.)', *Bulletin of the Faculty of Arts, Fouad I University*, 10 (1948), pp. 39–83; M. Canard, 'L'impérialisme des Fatimides et leur propagande', *AIEO*, 6 (1942–1947), pp. 156ff.; reprinted in his *Miscellanea Orientalia* (London, 1973), article II; Muḥammad J. Surūr, *Siyāsat al-Fāṭimiyyīn al-khārijiyya* (Cairo, 1967), pp. 221–224; M. Yalaoui, 'Les relations entre Fāṭimides d'Ifriqiya et Omeyyades d'Espagne', in *Actas del II Coloquio Hispano-Tunecino de Estudios Históricos* (Madrid, 1973), pp. 13–30; also his 'Controverse entre le Fatimide al-Muʿizz et l'Omeyyade al-Nasir', *Cahiers de Tunisie*, 26 (1978), pp. 7–33; and Dachraoui, *Califat Fatimide*, pp. 138ff., 150ff., 163.

9. See Idrīs, *ʿUyūn*, vol. 5, pp. 125–136; Muḥammad b. Yūsuf al-Kindī, *Kitāb al-wulāt wa-kitāb al-quḍāt*, ed. R. Guest as *The Governors and Judges of Egypt*, together with an appendix derived mostly from *Rafʿ al-iṣr* by Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī (Leiden–London, 1912), pp. 268ff.; ʿArīb, *Ṣilat*, pp. 51ff., 79, 80–86; Ibn ʿIdhārī, *al-Bayān*, vol. 1, pp. 170–173, 181–182, 209; al-Maqrīzī, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, vol. 1, pp. 327–329; French tr., vol. 3, pp. 251–253, 255; al-Maqrīzī, *Ittiʿāẓ*, vol. 1, pp. 68–69, 71–72, 74; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Nujūm*, vol. 3, pp. 172–173, 184, 187, 196, 252; Ḥasan and Sharaf, *ʿUbayd Allāh*, pp. 172–186; Ḥasan, *Taʾrīkh*, pp. 112ff.; Surūr, *Miṣr fī ʿaṣr al-dawla al-Fāṭimiyya* (Cairo, 1960), pp. 27ff.; and Canard, 'L'impérialisme', pp. 169ff.

10. On Fāṭimid Sicily, see Ibn Ḥawqal, *Ṣūrat al-arḍ*, pp. 118–131; tr. Kramers and Wiet, vol. 1, pp. 117–130, relating the account of his visit to the island in 362/973; al-Jawdharī, *Sīra*, pp. 70–72, 87–89, 103–104, 114–117, 121, 125, 128–129, 135–137; tr. Canard, pp. 102–105, 127–130, 156–157, 172–177, 183, 189–190, 195–197, 207–209; these documents, preserved by Jawdhar who himself had close relations with the Kalbids, are also discussed and analyzed in M. Canard, 'Quelques notes relatives à la Sicile sous les premiers califes Fatimites', in *Studi Medievali in onore di Antonino de Stefano* (Palermo, 1956), pp. 569–576; reprinted in his *L'expansion Arabo-Islamique et ses répercussions* (London, 1974), article IV. The classical work here was produced by the great Italian orientalist Michele Amari (1806–1889), under the title of *Storia dei Musulmani di Sicilia*, second ed. by Carlo A. Nallino (Catania, 1933–1939), especially vol. 2, pp. 165–436. This study, first published in 1854–1872, has now been supplemented by Nallino's notes to his revised edition and by several articles in *Centenario della nascita di Michele Amari*. See also Fagnan, *Extraits*, pp. 110–115, 285–288; Ḥasan and Sharaf, *ʿUbayd Allāh*, pp. 199–204; Ḥasan, *Taʾrīkh*, pp. 97–109, 250–257; Surūr, *Siyāsat*, pp. 231–236; Halm, *Empire of the Mahdi*, pp. 176–180; Brett, *Rise*, pp. 236–243; Aziz Ahmad, *A History of Islamic Sicily* (Edinburgh, 1975), pp. 25–47; A. Pellitteri, *I Fatimite e la Sicilia (sec. x)* (Palermo, 1997), pp. 9–100; and several studies by Professor U. Rizzitano (1913–1980), especially his 'Nuove fonti Arabe per la storia dei Musulmani di Sicilia', *RSO*, 32 (1957), pp. 531–555; 'Gli Arabi in Italia',

in *L'Occidente e l'Islam nell' alto medioevo* (Spoleto, 1965), vol. 1, pp. 93–114; and 'Kalbids', *EI2*, vol. 4, pp. 496–497.

11. On Fāṭimid–Byzantine relations, especially in the western Mediterranean and during the North African phase of the Fāṭimid caliphate, see al-Nuʿmān, *Iftitāḥ*, ed. al-Qāḍī, p. 281; ed. Dachraoui, pp. 336–338; also by al-Nuʿmān, *al-Majālis*, pp. 167, 179, 366ff., 442–444; al-Jawdharī, *Sīra*, pp. 60–61, 125; tr. Canard, pp. 88–89,189–190; Idrīs, *ʿUyūn*, vol. 5, pp. 139, 151, 170–171, 328, 337–338, and Ibn Ḥawqal, *Ṣūrat al-arḍ*, pp. 200–201; tr. Kramers and Wiet, vol. 1, pp. 194–196. See also Amari, *Storia*, vol. 2, pp. 279ff., 288ff., 296–311, 318–322; M. Canard, 'Arabes et Bulgares au début du Xe siècle', *Byzantion*, 11 (1938), pp. 213–223; reprinted in his *Byzance et les Musulmans du Proche Orient* (London, 1973), article V; his 'L'impérialisme', pp. 185–193; and also Canard's 'Les sources Arabes de l'histoire Byzantine aux confins des Xe et XIe siècles', *Revue des Études Byzantines*, 19 (1961), especially pp. 284–292; reprinted in his *Byzance*, article XVII. See also S. M. Stern, 'An Embassy of the Byzantine Emperor to the Fatimid Caliph al-Muʿizz', *Byzantion*, 20 (1950), pp. 239–258; F. Dachraoui, 'La Crète dans le conflit entre Byzance et al-Muʿizz', *Cahiers de Tunisie*, 7 (1959), pp. 307–318; also his *Califat Fatimide*, pp. 155–157; A. Hamdani, 'Some Considerations on the Fāṭimid Caliphate as a Mediterranean Power', in *Atti del Terzo Congresso di Studi Arabi*, pp. 385–396, and also by Hamdani, 'Byzantine–Fāṭimid Relations before the Battle of Manzikert', *Byzantine Studies*, 1 (1974), pp. 169–179.

12. On anti-Fāṭimid grievances of the North African Mālikī Sunnīs, the most important sources, produced by contemporary Mālikī *faqīh*s, are Abu'l-ʿArab Muḥammad b. Aḥmad's *Ṭabaqāt ʿulamāʾ Ifrīqiya*, and its continuation under the same title by al-Khushanī, both of which are contained in *Classes des savants de l'Ifrīqiya*, ed. and tr. M. Ben Cheneb (Algiers, 1915–1920). See also al-Muqaddasī, *Aḥsan al-taqāsīm*, pp. 236–238; Abū Bakr al-Mālikī, *Riyāḍ al-nufū*s, ed. Ḥ. Muʾnis (Cairo, 1951–1960), vol. 2, pp. 43–83, also citing the accounts of the disputations between the first Fāṭimid caliph and some of the Mālikī jurists of Qayrawān, as preserved by this distinguished Mālikī jurist-historian of the second half of the 5th/11th century; Hady R. Idris, 'Contribution à l'histoire de l'Ifriḳiya: Tableau de la vie intellectuelle et administrative à Kairouan sous les Aġlabites et Fatimites', *REI*, 9 (1935), especially pp. 122–129, 144–152, and 10 (1936), pp. 72–88, based on al-Mālikī's *Riyāḍ*; Marçais, *Berbérie Musulmane*, pp. 131–156; H. Monès, 'Le Malékisme et l'échec des Fatimides en Ifriqiya', in *Études d'Orientalisme dédiées à la mémoire de Lévi-Provençal* (Paris, 1962), vol. 1, pp. 197–220; and Dachraoui, *Califat Fatimide*, pp. 397ff.

13. On Abū Yazīd and his revolt, see al-Nuʿmān, *al-Majālis*, pp. 72ff., 113–114, 214, 245, 323ff., 336–337, 429, 447, 492, 542, 555; al-Jawdharī, *Sīra*, pp. 44–58, 69; tr. Canard, pp. 62–66, 68–74, 76–80, 82–84, 100; Idrīs, *ʿUyūn*, vol. 5, pp. 172–318, Idrīs, *Taʾrīkh al-khulafāʾal-Fāṭimiyyīn*, ed. al-Yaʿlāwī, pp. 264–488, based mainly on a contemporary Fāṭimid chronicle that has not survived; Idrīs, *Zahr al-maʿānī*, in Ivanow, *Rise*, text pp. 78–80, translation pp. 272–274; ed. Ghālib, pp. 226–228; Abū Zakariyyāʾ al-Warjalānī, *Chronique d'Abou Zakaria*, tr. Émile Masqueray (Algiers–Paris, 1878), especially pp. 226–248, a partial translation of the oldest extant history of the Ibāḍīs of the Maghrib written in the second half of the 5th/11th century by a member of the group. A better French translation of this work may be found in R. Le Tourneau, 'La Chronique d'Abū Zakariyyāʾ al-Wargalānī (m. 471 H = 1078 J.C.):

Traduction annotée', *Revue Africaine*, 104 (1960), pp. 99–176, 322–390, and 105 (1961), pp. 117–176, 323–374; Ibn al-Athīr, *Ta'rīkh al-kāmil* (Cairo, 1303/1885), vol. 8, pp. 62, 138–145, apparently drawing on the same Fāṭimid chronicle used by Idrīs; Ibn ʿIdhārī, *al-Bayān*, vol. 1, pp. 216–220, and vol. 2, pp. 212–214, 216; Ibn Khaldūn, *Histoire*, vol. 1, pp. 203–204, vol. 2, pp. 5–6, 530–540, 553ff., and vol. 3, pp. 201–212; al-Maqrīzī, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, vol. 1, p. 35; French tr., vol. 4, p. 14; al-Maqrīzī, *Ittiʿāẓ*, vol. 1, pp. 75–85, 88–89. See also H. Fournel, *Les Berbères* (Paris, 1875–1881), vol. 2, pp. 223–276; Marçais, *Berbérie Musulmane*, pp. 147–153; Gautier, *Le passé*, pp. 363ff.; Zāhid ʿAlī, *Ta'rīkh*, vol. 1, pp. 138–145; R. Le Tourneau, 'La révolte d'Abū-Yazīd au Xme siècle', *Cahiers de Tunisie*, 1 (1953), pp. 103–125; Dachraoui, *Califat Fatimide*, pp. 165–183, 188–206; H. Halm, 'Der Mann auf dem Esel: Der Aufstand des Abū Yazīd gegen die Fatimiden nach einem Augenzeugenbericht', *Die Welt des Orients*, 15 (1984), pp. 144–204; his *Empire of the Mahdi*, pp. 298–309, 315–325; Brett, *Rise*, pp. 165–179; and S. M. Stern, 'Abū Yazīd al-Nukkārī', *EI2*, vol. 1, pp. 163–164.

14. According to al-Masʿūdī, *al-Tanbīh*, pp. 39, 394–395; tr. Carra de Vaux, pp. 496, 500–501, Abū Saʿīd was killed in Dhu'l-Qaʿda 300/June–July 913. If this date is correct, then his death must have been kept secret for some time, since it was officially reported in Baghdad only towards the end of 301 AH. Abū Saʿīd's death is placed in 300 AH also by ʿAbd al-Raḥīm al-Jawbarī, cited in de Goeje, *Mémoire*, p. 208, a writer and traveller who flourished in the first half of the 7th/13th century. ʿAbd al-Jabbār al-Hamadhānī, *Tathbīt dalā'il al-nubuwwa*, ed. ʿAbd al-Karīm ʿUthmān (Beirut, 1966–1969), pp. 242, 380; in *Akhbār al-Qarāmiṭa*, p. 151, also mentions the year 300 AH.
15. Louis Massignon, more than any other modern scholar, produced detailed studies on al-Ḥallāj and his thought; see especially his *La passion d'al-Hosayn Ibn Mansour al-Hallaj*, vol. 1, pp. 71–80, 138–146, 151–159, 252–257, 264, 275–279, 349–352, and vol. 2, pp. 586, 730–736, where the alleged relations and ideological affinities between al-Ḥallāj and the Qarmaṭīs are discussed in the wider perspective of Shīʿī-gnostic thought. The relevant arguments are not entirely reproduced in the revised edition of this classic work (Paris, 1975), vol. 1, pp. 213ff., 245–249, 342–350, 369–374, 559–560, vol. 3, pp. 205–209, and vol. 4, pp. 8–133, containing a comprehensive bibliography; see also L. Massignon and L. Gardet, 'al-Ḥallādj', *EI2*, vol. 3, pp. 99–104. Most of Massignon's scattered writings on al-Ḥallāj are collected in his *Opera Minora*, vol. 2, pp. 9–342.
16. On the Qarmaṭīs of Baḥrayn and their relations with the early Fāṭimids, see al-Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, vol. 8, pp. 285–286, 346, 374, and vol. 9, pp. 32, 76–77; al-Masʿūdī, *al-Tanbīh*, pp. 104–105, 378–387, 389–396; tr. Carra de Vaux, pp. 149, 483–492, 494–502; al-Ṣūlī, *Akhbār*, pp. 27, 68–70, 87, 88, 99, 117–118, 120, 130, 136, 140–141, 142, 143, 149–150, 205, 223, 233, 243, 250, 252, 254, 260, 264, 268, 269; tr. Canard, vol. 1, pp. 77, 122–124, 148–149, 152, 163, 184, 187, 195–196, 207, 217–218, 221, 223, 231–232, and vol. 2, pp. 27, 50, 66, 78, 88, 90, 92–93, 99, 103, 108, 110, 129; ʿArīb, *Ṣilat*, pp. 38, 59, 101, 110–111, 113, 118–120, 123–124, 127, 128, 130, 132–133, 134, 136–137, 139, 159, 162–163, 168, 184; Ibn Ḥawqal, *Ṣūrat al-ard*, pp. 295–296; tr. Kramers and Wiet, vol. 2, pp. 289–290; ʿAbd al-Jabbār al-Hamadhānī, *Tathbīt*, pp. 129–130, 342, 378–381, 386–399, 594ff.; al-Baghdādī, *al-Farq*, pp. 270–275, 278–282, 288; tr. Halkin, pp. 118–127, 131–138, 145–146; al-Daylamī, *Bayān*, pp. 71–96; Miskawayh,

Tajārib al-umam, ed. and tr. H. F. Amedroz and D. S. Margoliouth as *The Eclipse of the ʿAbbasid Caliphate* (Oxford–London, 1920–1921), text, vol. 1, pp. 33–35, 104–105, 109, 119, 120–122, 139–140, 145–146, 147–148, 165, 167–168, 172–183, 184–186, 201, 263, 284, 330, 367–370, 405, 408, and vol. 2, pp. 24, 55–57, 60–61, 126–127, 129; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, vol. 8, pp. 27, 45–47, 49–50, 53–58, 65, 67, 79, 93–94, 99, 107, 113–114, 123, 135, 161; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-arab*, vol. 25, pp. 243–244, 276ff.; tr. de Sacy, *Exposé*, vol. 1, introduction pp. 216ff.; Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz*, vol. 6, pp. 61–62, 91–94; al-Maqrīzī, *Ittiʿāẓ*, vol. 1, pp. 164–165, 180–185; Ibn Khaldūn's account in his *Kitāb al-ʿibar* (Beirut, 1958), vol. 4, pp. 181–195, which differs from other sources in some important respects, does not seem to be reliable, and Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Nujūm*, vol. 3, pp. 182, 197, 207–208, 211–213, 215, 217, 220, 224–226, 228, 232, 245, 260, 264, 278–279, 281, 287, 295, 301–302, 304–305. Of the secondary sources, aside from the pioneering study of de Goeje, *Mémoire*, pp. 69–115, 129–150, and Madelung's 'Fatimiden und Baḥrainqarmaṭen', pp. 34–54, 59–63, 66–67, 74–85, 88; English trans., pp. 21–34, 37–39, 41–42, 46–51, 54, which is a thorough survey of the various arguments regarding the Fāṭimid-Qarmaṭī relations and the relevant sources, see H. Bowen, *The Life and Times of ʿAlī Ibn ʿĪsā* (Cambridge, 1928), pp. 50–56, 136–141, 191–195, 205–206, 210–211, 237, 249, 261–263, 266–275, 279–280, 302, 350, 357–358; Lewis, *Origins*, pp. 80–89; Ivanow, 'Ismailis and Qarmatians', pp. 77–85; Ḥasan and Sharaf, *ʿUbayd Allāh*, pp. 94, 176, 180, 211–232, 277–279, 295ff.; Ḥasan, *Taʾrīkh*, pp. 385–394; Stern, 'Ismāʿīlīs', pp. 105–107; Stern, 'Early', pp. 75–76; G. T. Scanlon, 'Leadership in the Qarmaṭian Sect', *BIFAO*, 59 (1960), pp. 29–48; F. de Blois, 'The Abu Saʿidis or so-called "Qarmatians" of Bahrayn', *Proceedings of the Seminar for Arabian Studies*, 16 (1986), pp. 13–21; M. Canard, *Histoire de la dynastie des H'amdanides de Jazîra et de Syrie* (Paris, 1953), pp. 352–357; his 'al-Djannābī, Abū Ṭāhir', *EI2*, vol. 2, pp. 452–454; and R. Riḍāzāda Langarūdī, 'Abū Ṭāhir Jannābī', *GIE*, vol. 5, pp. 638–642.

17. On the Justānids, about whom only fragmentary information is available in the general chronicles and in some medieval local histories of the Caspian provinces, see Ibn Isfandiyār, *Taʾrīkh*, vol. 1, pp. 235, 243–244, 253–254, 256, 262, 274, 281; tr. Browne, pp. 169, 178–179, 190–191, 193, 196, 202–203, 206; Awliyāʾ Allāh Āmulī, *Taʾrīkh-i Rūyān*, ed. M. Sutūda (Tehran, 1348/1969), pp. 92, 96, 99, 104, 106, 109; Marʿashī, *Taʾrīkh-i Ṭabaristān*, pp. 133, 136, 139, 141, 145–146, 150; B. Dorn, ed., *Auszüge aus Muhammedanischen schriftstellern* (St Petersburg, 1858), pp. 26, 52, 450, 474–475, 498, containing a number of extracts from Arabic and Persian sources. See also R. Vasmer. 'Zur Chronologie der Ğastāniden und Sallāriden', *Islamica*, 3 (1927), pp. 165–186, 482–485; H. L. Rabino, 'Les provinces Caspiennes de la Perse, le Guīlān', *Revue du Monde Musulman*, 32 (1915–1916), pp. 387–392; also by Rabino, 'Rulers of Gilan', *JRAS* (1920), pp. 291–293; and his 'Les dynasties locales du Gîlân et du Daylam', *JA*, 237 (1949), pp. 308–309; Qazvīnī's notes in Juwaynī, *Taʾrīkh*, vol. 3, pp. 432–435; Kasravī, *Shahriyārān*, pp. 21–34, 111; V. Minorsky, *La domination des Dailamites* (Paris, 1932), pp. 6ff.; Minorsky, 'Daylam', *EI2*, vol. 2, especially pp. 191–192; and W. Madelung, 'Abū Isḥāq al-Ṣābī on the Alids of Ṭabaristān and Gīlān', *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, 26 (1967), especially pp. 52–57; reprinted in his *Religious and Ethnic Movements in Medieval Islam* (Hampshire, 1992), article VII.

18. Ibn Ḥawqal, *Ṣūrat al-arḍ*, pp. 348–349, 354; tr. Kramers and Wiet, vol. 2, pp. 341–342, 347. See also Kasravī, *Shahriyārān*, pp. 88–94, 118–119, and V. Minorsky, 'Caucasica IV', *BSOAS*, 14 (1952), pp. 514–529, containing commentaries on Ibn Ḥawqal's passages regarding the tributaries of Marzubān b. Muḥammad.
19. On the history of the Musāfirids under Marzubān and Wahsūdān, aside from the sources cited previously, see Ibn Ḥawqal, *Ṣūrat al-arḍ*, pp. 331ff.; tr. Kramers and Wiet, vol. 2, pp. 325ff.; Miskawayh, *Tajārib*, vol. 2, pp. 31–37, 62–67, 115, 135–136, 148–154, 166–167, 177–180, 219–220; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, vol. 8, pp. 125–126, 158–159, 165–167, 172, 175, based on Miskawayh; Rabino, 'Dynasties locales', pp. 310–313; Kasravī, *Shahriyārān*, pp. 59–63; V. Minorsky, *A History of Sharvān and Darband* (Cambridge, 1958), pp. 27, 60–62, 71, 76, 85, 112; Stern, 'Early', pp. 70ff.; Madelung, 'Minor Dynasties', pp. 224–225, 231ff.; G. C. Miles, 'Numismatics', in *Cambridge History of Iran*, vol. 4, p. 373, where the author mentions the existence of more specimens of Wahsūdān's coin dating from 343 AH, bearing the names of the early Ismāʿīlī imams up to Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl. See also Nāṣir-i Khusraw, *Safarnāma*, ed. Dabīr Siyāqī, pp. 6–8; tr. Thackston, pp. 4–5, where Nāṣir relates his visit to Shamīrān in 438/1046; Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, vol. 1, p. 239, and vol. 3, pp. 148–150; tr. Barbier de Meynard, pp. 318–321; M. Sutūda, 'Shamīrān', in *Yādnāma-yi Nāṣir-i Khusraw* (Mashhad, 1976), pp. 253–262; M. Kervran, 'Une forteresse d'Azerbaidjan: Samīrān', *REI*, 41 (1973), pp. 71–93; and P. Willey, *Eagle's Nest: Ismaili Castles in Iran and Syria* (London, 2005), pp. 134–141.
20. Madelung, 'Ḳarmaṭī', *EI2*, vol. 4, p. 622.
21. On al-Sijistānī and his contributions to Ismāʿīlī thought see the following works by Paul E. Walker: *Early Philosophical Shiism: The Ismaili Neoplatonism of Abū Yaʿqūb al-Sijistānī* (Cambridge, 1993), especially pp. 67–142; *Abū Yaʿqūb al-Sijistānī: Intellectual Missionary* (London, 1996), pp. 26–118; also his *The Wellsprings of Wisdom* (Salt Lake City, 1994), containing a complete English translation and study of al-Sijistānī's *Kitāb al-yanābīʿ*; and his 'Abū Yaʿqūb Sejestānī', *EIR*, vol. 1, pp. 396–398. See also H. Corbin's introductions to his edition of al-Sijistānī's *Kashf al-maḥjūb* (Tehran–Paris, 1949), pp. 5–25, the *dāʿī*'s only extant work in Persian, and to its French trans., *Le dévoilement des choses cachées* (Lagrasse, 1988), pp. 11–28; also by Corbin, 'L'Ismaélisme et le symbole de la Croix', *La Table Ronde*, 120 (December, 1957), pp. 122–134. Amongst other secondary studies, mention may be made of S. M. Stern, 'Arabico-Persica', in M. Boyce and I. Gershevitch, ed., *W. B. Henning Memorial Volume* (London, 1970), pp. 415–416; reprinted in his *History and Culture in the Medieval Muslim World* (London, 1984), article V; also his 'Abū Yaʿḳūb al-Sidjzī', *EI2*, vol. 1, p. 160; I. K. Poonawala, 'Al-Sijistānī and his *Kitāb al-Maqālīd*', in Little, ed., *Essays on Islamic Civilization*, pp. 274–283; his *Bio*, pp. 82–89; W. Madelung, 'Abū Yaʿqūb al-Sijistānī and Metempsychosis', in *Textes et Mémoires*, Volume XVI. *Iranica Varia: Papers in Honor of Professor Ehsan Yarshater* (Leiden, 1990), pp. 131–143; Daftary, *Ismaili Literature*, pp. 153–155; and ʿAbbās Zaryāb, 'Abū Yaʿqūb Sijzī', *GIE*, vol. 6, pp. 423–429.
22. See Muḥammad b. Surkh al-Nīshāpūrī, *Sharḥ-i qaṣīda-yi Fārsī-yi Khwāja Abu'l-Haytham Aḥmad b. Ḥasan Jurjānī*; (*Commentaire de la qasida Ismaélienne d'Abu'l-Haitham Jorjani*), ed. H. Corbin and M. Muʿīn (Tehran-Paris, 1955), and Corbin's French introduction thereto. Abu'l-Haytham's original *qaṣīda* may also be found in

Nāṣir-i Khusraw, *Kitāb-i jāmiʿ al-ḥikmatayn*, ed. H. Corbin and M. Muʿīn (Tehran-Paris, 1953), pp. 19–31; French trans., *Le livre réunissant les deux sagesses*, tr. Isabelle de Gastines (Paris, 1990), pp. 50–57, which is another commentary on the *qaṣīda* in question. See also G. Lazard, *Les premiers poètes Persans* (Tehran-Paris, 1964), vol. 1, pp. 24–25, 78–84, and vol. 2, pp. 52–63; Corbin, *Étude*, pp. 46–52; also his 'Abu'l-Hayṯam Gorgānī', *EIR*, vol. 1, pp. 316–317; and Ṣ. Muvaḥḥid, 'Abu'l-Haytham', *GIE*, vol. 6, pp. 409–410.

23. This mistake probably resulted from misreading a statement in al-Baghdādī, *al-Farq*, p. 267, tr. Halkin, p. 113; see Massignon, 'Bibliographie Qarmaṭe', p. 332; al-Hamdānī, 'Some Unknown Ismāʿīlī Authors and their Works', p. 368, and Ivanow, *Guide*, p. 33.
24. Ibn al-Nadīm, *al-Fihrist*, ed. Flügel, vol. 1, pp. 139, 189–190; ed. Tajaddud, pp. 154, 240–241; tr. Dodge, vol. 1, pp. 306, 472–473. See also Niẓām al-Mulk, *Siyar*, p. 287; tr. Darke, p. 212; Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī, *Irshād al-arīb ilā maʿrifat al-adīb*, ed. D. S. Margoliouth (Leiden–London, 1907–1927), vol. 5, p. 435; and Ghālib, *Aʿlām*, pp. 377–378.
25. Rashīd al-Dīn, *Ismāʿīliyān*, p. 12. This point is also mentioned by Rashīd al-Dīn's contemporary Abu'l-Qāsim ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAlī Kāshānī (al-Qāshānī), *Zubdat al-tawārīkh: bakhsh-i Fāṭimiyān va Nizāriyān*, ed. M. T. Dānishpazhūh (2nd ed., Tehran, 1366/1987), p. 23. It may also be noted that Kāshānī, p. 27, like al-Maqrīzī, places Ismāʿīl b. Jaʿfar's death in the year 138 AH.
26. Al-Sijistānī, *al-Iftikhār*, ed. Ghālib, p. 82; ed. Poonawala, p. 193.
27. On al-Muʿizz and his reign, see al-Nuʿmān, *al-Majālis*, containing many valuable details; al-Jawdharī, *Sīra*, pp. 87–148; tr. Canard, pp. 127–255; Idrīs, *ʿUyūn*, vol. 6, pp. 9–204; Idrīs, *Taʾrīkh al-khulafāʾal-Fāṭimiyyīn*, ed. al-Yaʿlāwī, pp. 523–739; Ibn Ẓāfir, *Akhbār*, pp. 21–30; Ibn Ḥammād, *Akhbār*, text pp. 40–48, translation pp. 62–72; Ibn Muyassar, *Akhbār*, pp. 159–168, covering only the years 363–365 AH; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, vol. 8, pp. 164–165, 173–174, 194–195, 204, 211–212, 214, 217–219; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, vol. 5, pp. 224–228; tr. de Slane, vol. 2, pp. 47–49 and vol. 3, pp. 377–381; Ibn ʿIdhārī, *al-Bayān*, vol. 1, pp. 221–223; Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz*, vol. 6, pp. 119–173; Ibn Khaldūn, *Histoire*, vol. 2, pp. 541–551; al-Maqrīzī, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, vol. 1, pp. 351–354, 361ff., 407–408; French tr., vol. 4, pp. 15–21, 42ff.; al-Maqrīzī, *Ittiʿāẓ*, vol. 1, pp. 93–150, 186–235, and Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Nujūm*, vol. 4, pp. 21ff., 28–42, 54ff., 58–59, 62, 69–79, 102–112, 128. Of the secondary sources, mention may be made of Ḥasan, *Taʾrīkh*, pp. 93–97, 122–151; Zāhid ʿAlī, *Taʾrīkh*, vol. 1, pp. 148–188; Surūr, *Miṣr*, pp. 22–24, 34–44, 47ff.; ʿA. Mājid, *Ẓuhūr khilāfat al-Fāṭimiyyīn wa-suqūṭuhā fī Miṣr* (Alexandria, 1968), pp. 103–117, 124ff.; Ḥasan I. Ḥasan and Ṭāhā A. Sharaf, *al-Muʿizz li-Dīn Allāh* (2nd ed., Cairo, 1963); Th. Bianquis, 'La prise du pouvoir par les Fatimides en Égypte (357–363/968–974)', *Annales Islamologiques*, 11 (1972), pp. 49–108; Dachraoui, *Califat Fatimide*, pp. 219–275; Halm, *Empire of the Mahdi*, pp. 338–420; also Halm, *Die Kalifen von Kairo. Die Fatimiden in Ägypten 973–1074* (Munich, 2003), pp. 82–118; Brett, *Rise*, pp. 183–185, 240–242, 259–266, 296–299, 316–324, 327–329; Sayyid, *al-Dawla*, pp. 121–157; and F. Dachraoui, 'al-Muʿizz li-Dīn Allāh', *EI2*, vol. 7, pp. 485–489.
28. On Jawhar, see al-Nuʿmān, *al-Majālis*, pp. 217, 256, 546; al-Jawdharī, *Sīra*, pp. 40, 51, 95, 99, 119, 122, 135; tr. Canard, pp. 55–56, 74, 142, 148, 179, 184–185, 206; Idrīs, *ʿUyūn*, vol. 6, pp. 80ff., 135–170; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, vol. 1, pp. 375–380; tr. de Slane, vol. 1, pp. 340–347; al-Maqrīzī, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, vol. 1, pp. 377–379; French

tr., vol. 4, pp. 83–87; ʿAlī I. Ḥasan, *Taʾrīkh Jawhar al-Ṣiqillī* (Cairo, 1933); I. Hrbek, 'Die Slawen im Dienste der Fāṭimiden', *Archiv Orientálni*, 21 (1953), pp. 543–581; Zawahir Noorally, 'Jawhar as-Siqilli', in *Great Ismaili Heroes*, ed. A. R. Kanji (Karachi, 1973), pp. 23–30; and H. Monès, 'Djawhar al-Ṣiḳillī', *EI2*, vol. 2, pp. 494–495.

29. On Zīrī b. Manād, his son Buluggīn, and the Zīrids, see Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, vol. 8, pp. 140, 197–198, 203, 205–206, 220–221, and vol. 9, p. 12; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, vol. 1, pp. 286–287, and vol. 2, pp. 343–344; tr. de Slane, vol. 1, pp. 267–268, 550; Ibn ʿIdhārī, *al-Bayān*, vol. 1, pp. 228ff., 239ff., and vol. 2, pp. 242–243, 293–294; Ibn Khaldūn, *Histoire*, vol. 2, pp. 4ff., 9ff., 43ff., 131, 149, 483–493 (quoting al-Nuwayrī), 532–533, 540, 542, 544, 548, 550, and vol. 3, pp. 211, 218, 233–234, 236, 256ff., 262, 294; Fournel, *Berbères*, vol. 2, pp. 205–206, 349ff., 355–363; L. Golvin, *Le Magrib central à l'époque des Zirides* (Paris, 1957), pp. 45–95; M. Yalaoui, 'Sur une possible régence du prince Fatimide ʿAbdallāh b. Muʿizz en Ifriqiya au IVe/Xe siècle', *Cahiers de Tunisie*, 22 (1974), pp. 7–22; Dachraoui, *Califat Fatimide*, pp. 269ff.; H. R. Idris, *La Berbérie orientale sous les Zīrīdes*, Xe–XIIe siècles (Paris, 1962), 2 vols., the most comprehensive study of the subject; H. R. Idris, 'Buluggīn b. Zīrī', *EI2*, vol. 1, p. 1309; G. Marçais, 'Zīrids', *EI*, vol. 4, pp. 1229–1230; and A. Tibi, 'Zīrids', *EI2*, vol. 11, pp. 513–515.

30. On ʿAlī b. Ḥamdūn and his sons, see al-Jawdharī, *Sīra*, pp. 75, 100–102, 123–124, 129–131, 140–141; tr. Canard, pp. 109–110, 152–154, 187–188, 197–199, 216–217; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, vol. 8, pp. 142, 206; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, vol. 1, p. 360; tr. de Slane, vol. 1, p. 326; Ibn ʿIdhārī, *al-Bayān*, vol. 2, pp. 242–244, 249, 278, 280; Ibn Khaldūn, *Histoire*, vol. 2, pp. 8, 11, 130, 151–152, 534, 542, 553–557, and vol. 3, pp. 234–235, 291; M. Canard, 'Une famille de partisans, puis d'adversaires, des Fatimides en Afrique du Nord', in *Mélanges d'histoire et d'archéologie de l'Occident Musulman*: II, *Hommage à Georges Marçais* (Algiers, 1957), pp. 33–49; reprinted in his *L'expansion Arabo-Islamique*, article V, where further sources are mentioned; and Dachraoui, *Califat Fatimide*, pp. 238ff.

31. Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, vol. 2, p. 27; also his *Ittiʿāẓ*, vol. 1, pp. 102–103; and Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Nujūm*, vol. 4, pp. 24, 30, 72–73.

32. On Shīʿism in Fāṭimid Egypt, see al-Maqrīzī, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, vol. 2, pp. 331ff.; Ḥasan, *Taʾrīkh*, pp. 117–122, 138ff.; Ḥasan and Sharaf, *al-Muʿizz*, pp. 69–76; and M. Kamil Hussein, 'Shiism in Egypt before the Fatimids', in A. A. A. Fyzee, ed., *Islamic Research Association Miscellany* (Bombay, etc., 1949), pp. 73–85.

33. Al-Maqrīzī is the foremost authority on the antiquities of Cairo. See his *al-Khiṭaṭ*, vol. 1, pp. 361–364, 377ff., and vol. 2, pp. 273–277; French tr., vol. 4, pp. 42–49, 81ff.; see also P. Ravaisse, 'Essai sur l'histoire et la topographie du Caire d'après Maqrizi', *Mémoires de la Mission Archéologique Française du Caire*, 1 (1886), pp. 409–480, and 3 (1889), pp. 33–114; P. Casanova, 'Histoire et description de la Citadelle du Caire', *Mémoires de la Mission Archéologique Française du Caire*, 6 (1897), pp. 509–781; K. A. C. Creswell, 'The Foundation of Cairo', *Bulletin of the Faculty of Arts, Fouad I University*, 1 (1933), pp. 258–281; also Creswell's 'The Founding of Cairo', in *Colloque international sur l'histoire du Caire* (Cairo, 1972), pp. 125–130; Ayman F. Sayyid, *La capitale de l'Égypte jusqu' à l'époque Fatimide: al-Qāhira et al-Fusṭāṭ; essai de reconstitution topographique* (Stuttgart, 1998), especially pp. 141–326, which is the most comprehensive modern study of Fāṭimid Cairo and its monuments with

full references to the sources; also by Ayman F. Sayyid, 'Le grand palais Fatimide au Caire', in M. Barrucand, ed., *L'Égypte Fatimide, son art et son histoire* (Paris, 1999), pp. 117–125; see also Halm, *Die Kalifen von Kairo*, pp. 18–40.

34. On Ibn Hāniʾ, see Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, vol. 4, pp. 421–424; tr. de Slane, vol. 3, pp. 123–127; A. von Kremer, 'Über den shiʿitischen Dichter Abū'l-Ḳāsim Muḥammad ibn Hāniʾ', *ZDMG*, 24 (1870), pp. 481–494; Canard, 'L'impérialisme', pp. 176–185; Ḥasan, *Ta'rīkh*, pp. 439–443; Ḥasan and Sharaf, *al-Muʿizz*, pp. 225–230; ʿĀ. Tāmir, *Ibn Hāniʾal-Andalusī Mutanabbī al-Maghrib* (Beirut, 1961); M. Nājī, *Ibn Hāniʾal-Andalusī* (Beirut, 1962); M. Yalaoui, *Un poète chiite d'Occident au IVème/Xème siècle: Ibn Hāniʾ al-Andalusī* (Tunis, 1976); Ivanow, *Ismaili Literature*, p. 37; Poonawala, *Bio*, pp. 47–48; Daftary, *Ismaili Literature*, pp. 116–117; M. Arzanda, 'Ibn Hāniʾ', *GIE*, vol. 5, pp. 93–97; and F. Dachraoui, 'Ibn Hāniʾ al-Andalusī', *EI2*, vol. 3, pp. 785–786. Ibn Hāniʾ's *Dīwān*, first lithographed at Būlāq in 1274/1858, has been published several times in Beirut. Its critical edition, however, remains the one prepared by Zāhid ʿAlī under the title of *Tabyīn al-maʿānī fī sharḥ dīwān Ibn Hāniʾal-Andalusī al-Maghribī* (Cairo, 1352/1933), originally submitted to the University of Oxford as a doctoral thesis; also edited by M. Yalaoui (Beirut, 1995). Several of Ibn Hāniʾ's poems are translated in R. P. Dewhurst, 'Abu Tammam and Ibn Hani', *JRAS* (1926), pp. 629, 639–642, and in H. Massé, 'Le poème d'Ibn Hani al-Andalusi sur la conquête de l'Égypte (969)', in *Mélanges d'histoire et d'archéologie*, pp. 121–127; a more complete English translation of his poems appears in *The Diwan of Abu Qasim Muhammad ibn Hani al-Azdi al-Andalusi*, tr. A. Wormhoudt (Oskaloosa, IA, 1985).

35. Ibn Hāniʾ, *Dīwān*, ed. Zāhid ʿAlī, the *qaṣīda*s starting on pages 42, 143, 183, 205, 335, 352, 365, 390, 429, 503, 540, 560, 593, 612, 649, 657, 728, 773.

36. See Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, vol. 8, p. 228.

37. The most complete text of this letter may be found in al-Maqrīzī, *Ittiʿāẓ*, vol. 1, pp. 189–202, reproduced in Ḥasan and Sharaf, *al-Muʿizz*, pp. 301–307; also in *Akhbār al-Qarāmiṭa*, pp. 367–383, and in al-Walī, *al-Qarāmiṭa*, pp. 289–300. Briefer versions are preserved in Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz*, vol. 6, pp. 149–156, and in al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-arab*, vol. 25, pp. 307–311; tr. de Sacy, *Exposé*, vol. 1, introduction pp. 227–238. The contemporary Thābit b. Sinān also mentions this letter under the events of the year 363 AH, see Lewis, *Origins*, pp. 81–82.

38. Madelung, 'Fatimiden', pp. 68–69, 85–88; English trans., pp. 42–43, 52–54, and also his 'Imamat', p. 101.

39. On al-Aʿṣam and the hostilities between the Qarmaṭīs and the Fāṭimids in the time of al-Muʿizz, in addition to the references cited in connection with the latter's caliphate, see Ibn al-Qalānisī, *Dhayl ta'rīkh Dimashq*, ed. Henry F. Amedroz (Leiden, 1908), pp. 1–11; relevant extracts from Thābit b. Sinān, al-Nuwayrī, and al-Maqrīzī's *al-Muqaffā*, in *Akhbār al-Qarāmiṭa*, pp. 57ff., 68, 73–74, 315–321, 393, 402ff.; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-arab*, vol. 25, pp. 304ff.; tr. de Sacy, *Exposé*, vol. 1, introduction pp. 219ff.; de Goeje, *Mémoire*, pp. 180–192; Madelung, 'Fatimiden', pp. 54–58, 63–65, 73–74; English trans., pp. 34–36, 39–40, 45–46; Ḥasan, *Ta'rīkh*, pp. 394ff.; Ḥasan and Sharaf, *al-Muʿizz*, pp. 106–127; M. J. Surūr, *al-Nufūdh al-Fāṭimī fī bilād al-Shām wa'l-ʿIrāq* (3rd ed., Cairo, 1964), pp. 10–38; also his *Siyāsat*, pp. 111–134; Canard, *Histoire*, pp. 632ff., 677ff., and also by Canard, 'al-Ḥasan al-Aʿṣam', *EI2*, vol. 3, p. 246.

40. On the relevant issues and policies, see W. Madelung, 'The Religious Policy of the Fatimids toward their Sunnī Subjects in the Maghrib', in Barrucand, ed., *L'Égypte Fatimide*, pp. 97–104, and also his 'A Treatise on the Imamate of the Fatimid Caliph al-Manṣūr Bi-llāh', in Robinson, ed., *Texts, Documents*, pp. 69–77.
41. For a review of the doctrinal reform of al-Muʿizz, see Madelung, 'Imamat', pp. 86–101.
42. See, for example, al-Nuʿmān's *Asās al-taʾwīl*, pp. 316–317, 333, 337–338, 351, and his *Taʾwīl al-daʿāʾim*, ed. Muḥammad Ḥasan al-Aʿẓamī (Cairo, 1967–1972), vol. 1, pp. 235, 269, and vol. 3, pp. 109, 130, 222–223. See also Madelung, 'Imamat', pp. 84–85.
43. Al-Nuʿmān, *al-Risāla al-mudhhiba*, in Tāmir, ed., *Khams rasāʾil Ismāʿīliyya*, pp. 45ff.
44. Ibid., pp. 70–71.
45. Ibid., pp. 66, 74ff., 79.
46. Some excerpts of *al-Munājāt* are contained in Guyard, 'Fragments', *Notices et Extraits*, text pp. 224–229, translation pp. 344–358; see also L. Massignon, *Recueil de textes inédits concernant l'histoire de la mystique en pays d'Islam* (Paris, 1929), pp. 215–217.
47. Excerpts from the *Adʿiyat al-ayyām al-sabʿa*, which may be identical with the *Munājāt* of al-Muʿizz, may be found in Zāhid ʿAlī, *Hamāre*, pp. 90ff.; also in his *Taʾrīkh*, vol. 2, pp. 254ff. The full text of the *Adʿiyat al-ayyām al-sabʿa*, attributed to al-Muʿizz, has recently been edited by Ismail K. Poonawala (Beirut, 2006).
48. See al-Muʿizz (supposed author), *Taʾwīl al-sharīʿa*, quoted in Zāhid ʿAlī, *Hamāre*, pp. 134ff., and in al-Daylamī, *Bayān*, pp. 43, 46; see also Idrīs, *Zahr al-maʿānī*, in Ivanow, *Rise*, text pp. 56–69, translation pp. 244–248; ed. Ghālib, pp. 207–221; and G. Troupeau, 'Un traité christologique attribué au calife Fatimide al-Muʿizz', *Annales Islamologiques*, 15 (1979), pp. 11–24. On the writings of al-Muʿizz, see Ivanow, *Ismaili Literature*, p. 31; Sezgin, *Geschichte*, vol. 1, p. 574; Poonawala, *Bio*, pp. 68–70; and Daftary, *Ismaili Literature*, pp. 132–133.
49. *Taʾwīl al-sharīʿa*, in Zāhid ʿAlī, *Hamāre*, p. 135.
50. Quotations from these works may be found in Zāhid ʿAlī, *Taʾrīkh*, vol. 2, pp. 257ff.; Madelung, 'Imamat', pp. 95ff.; H. Corbin, 'Épiphanie divine et naissance spirituelle dans la gnose Ismaélienne', *EJ*, 23 (1954), pp. 193ff.; reprinted in his *Temps cyclique*, pp. 116ff.; English translation, 'Divine Epiphany and Spiritual Birth in Ismailian Gnosis', in *Papers from the Eranos Yearbooks*: Vol. 5, *Man and Transformation* (Princeton, 1964), pp. 113ff.; reprinted in Corbin, *Cyclical Time*, pp. 103ff.
51. Quoted in Idrīs, *ʿUyūn*, vol. 5, pp. 206, 274–276, 319–320, 329–330; reproduced in Stern, *Studies*, pp. 148–152.
52. Al-Jawdharī, *Sīra*, pp. 126–127; tr. Canard, pp. 193–194.
53. For further details on the life and works of Jaʿfar b. Manṣūr al-Yaman, see Idrīs, *ʿUyūn*, vol. 6, pp. 49ff.; Ibn Mālik al-Ḥammādī al-Yamānī, *Kashf asrār al-Bāṭiniyya*, p. 40; al-Hamdānī, 'Some Unknown Ismāʿīlī Authors', pp. 370–371; Ḥasan *Taʾrīkh*, pp. 483–488; Ḥasan and Sharaf, *al-Muʿizz*, pp. 268–272; Madelung, 'Imamat', pp. 94–95; Stern, *Studies*, pp. 146–147; Ivanow, *Ismaili Literature*, pp. 21–22; Sezgin, *Geschichte*, vol. 1, pp. 578–579; Poonawala, *Bio*, pp. 70–75; H. Halm, 'Zur Datierung des ismāʿīlitischen "Buches der Zwischenzeiten und der zehn Konjunktionen" (*Kitāb al-fatarāt wa'l-qirānāt al-ʿašara*)', *Die Welt des Orients*, 8 (1975), pp. 91–107, and also his 'Djaʿfar b. Manṣūr al-Yaman', *EI2*, vol. 12, Supplement, pp. 236–237.

54. On the Fāṭimid vassal state of Multān, in addition to the sources cited previously, see Ibn Ḥawqal, *Ṣūrat al-arḍ*, pp. 321ff.; tr. Kramers and Wiet, vol. 2, pp. 314ff.; al-Baghdādī, *al-Farq*, p. 277; tr. Halkin, p. 130; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, vol. 9, p. 64; Rashīd al-Dīn, *Jāmiʿal-tawārīkh: tawārīkh-i Diyālama va āl-i Būya va āl-i Sāmān*, ed. Ahmed Ateş (Ankara, 1957), pp. 146–148; M. Nāẓim, *The Life and Times of Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Ghazna* (Cambridge, 1931), pp. 96–99; Andrey E. Bertel's, *Nasir-i Khosrov i ismailizm* (Moscow, 1959), pp. 85ff.; Persian trans., *Nāṣir-i Khusraw va Ismāʿīliyān*, tr. Yaḥyā Āriyanpūr (Tehran, 1346/1967), pp. 91ff.; C. E. Bosworth, *The Ghaznavids* (Edinburgh, 1963), pp. 52–53, 76, 199–200, 235; M. Habib, *Sultan Mahmud of Ghaznin* (2nd ed., Delhi, 1967), pp. 6–8, 25ff., 34, 71, 90–91; and A. Hamdani, 'The Fāṭimid-ʿAbbāsid Conflict in India', *Islamic Culture*, 41 (1967), pp. 185–191.
55. Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, vol. 9, p. 119; Nāẓim, *Maḥmūd of Ghazna*, p. 120; and Hamdani, *Ismāʿīlī Daʿwa*, pp. 6–8.
56. See Mīr Muḥammad Maʿṣūm Nāmī, *Taʾrīkh-i Sind*, ed. U. M. Daudpota (Poona, 1938), pp. 60, 148, 270–271, and Hamdani, *Ismāʿīlī Daʿwa*, pp. 8ff.
57. On al-Qāḍī al-Nuʿmān's life, works and family, see Idrīs, *ʿUyūn*, vol. 5, pp. 331ff., 346–347, and vol. 6, pp. 38–50, 185, 192, 195, 200, 215–216, 232, 276, 280, 311, 315, 322; al-Majdūʿ, *Fihrist*, pp. 18–37, 50–53, 65–72, 82, 96–97, 111–112, 134, 135–136, 187; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, vol. 5, pp. 415–423; tr. de Slane, vol. 3, pp. 565–574; Ahmad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Burd's *Dhayl* to al-Kindī's *Kitāb al-wulāt*, ed. Guest, pp. 494ff.; Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Rafʿal-iṣr*, in al-Kindī, *Kitāb al-wulāt*, ed. Guest, pp. 586–587, 589–603, 613; reproduced with English translation in Richard J. H. Gottheil, 'A Distinguished Family of Fatimide Cadis (al-Nuʿmān) in the Tenth Century', *JAOS*, 27 (1906), pp. 217–296; Ḥasan, *Taʾrīkh*, pp. 474–483; Ḥasan and Sharaf, *al-Muʿizz*, pp. 258–268; Zāhid ʿAlī, *Taʾrīkh*, vol. 2, pp. 109–111; Ḥusayn, *Fī adab*, pp. 42–54; Brockelmann, *Geschichte*, 1st ed., vol. 1, pp. 187–188; 2nd ed., vol. 1, p. 201; Supplement, vol. 1, pp. 324–325; Ivanow, *Guide*, pp. 37–40; Ivanow, *Ismaili Literature*, pp. 32–37; and Sezgin, *Geschichte*, vol. 1, pp. 575–578. Asaf Fyzee was the modern Ismāʿīlī scholar who initiated the study of al-Nuʿmān's life, see especially his 'Qadi an-Nuʿman, the Fatimid Jurist and Author', *JRAS* (1934), pp. 1–32; 'Ismaʿili Law and its Founder', *Islamic Culture*, 9 (1935), pp. 107–112; 'Qadi an-Nuʿman', in *Great Ismaili Heroes*, pp. 18–20; and 'al-Nuʿmān', *EI*, vol. 3, pp. 953–954. More recently, Ismail K. Poonawala has produced some valuable results in his 'Al-Qāḍī al-Nuʿmān's Works and the Sources', *BSOAS*, 36 (1973), pp. 109–115; 'A Reconsideration of al-Qāḍī al-Nuʿmān's *Madhhab*', *BSOAS*, 37 (1974), pp. 572–579; 'Al-Qāḍī al-Nuʿmān and Ismaʿili Jurisprudence', in *MIHT*, pp. 117–143; and *Bio*, pp. 48–68, containing a full description of al-Nuʿmān's published and unpublished works. For further references see F. Daftary, 'The Bibliography of Asaf A. A. Fyzee', *Indo-Iranica*, 37 (1984), pp. 49–63; his *Ismaili Literature*, pp. 142–146. See also Halm, *Empire of the Mahdi*, pp. 369–377, and F. Dachraoui, 'al-Nuʿmān', *EI2*, vol. 8, pp. 117–118.
58. Ibn Shahrāshūb, *Maʿālim*, p. 113.
59. Nūr Allāh al-Shūshtarī, *Majālis al-muʾminīn* (Tehran, 1375–1376/1955–1956), vol. 1, pp. 538–539.
60. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Ḥurr al-ʿĀmilī, *Amal al-āmil*, ed. A. al-Ḥusaynī (Baghdad, 1385/1965), vol. 2, p. 335; Muḥammad Bāqir al-Majlisī, *Biḥār al-anwār* (2nd

ed., Beirut, 1983), vol. 1, pp. 20, 38–39; Muḥammad al-Mahdī Baḥr al-ʿUlūm al-Ṭabāṭabāʾī, *Rijāl*, ed. Muḥammad Ṣādiq and Ḥusayn Baḥr al-ʿUlūm (Najaf, 1385–1386/1965–1966), vol. 4, pp. 5–14; and Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad Taqī al-Nūrī, *Mustadrak al-wasāʾil* (Tehran, 1318–1321/1900–1903), vol. 3, pp. 291, 313–322.

61. Muḥammad Muḥsin Āghā Buzurg al-Ṭihrānī, *al-Dharīʿa ilā taṣānīf al-Shīʿa* (Tehran–Najaf, 1353–1398/1934–1978), vol. 1, p. 60.
62. Muḥammad Bāqir al-Khwānsārī, *Kitāb rawḍāt al-jannāt* (Tehran, 1367/1948), pp. 727–728.
63. For summary discussions of the Imāmī sources of law, see R. Brunschvig, 'Les *uṣûl al-fiqh* Imâmites à leur stade ancien (Xe et XIe siècles)', in *Le Shîʿisme Imâmite*, pp. 201–213; Fyzee, *Outlines of Muhammadan Law*, pp. 43–48; W. Madelung, 'Authority in Twelver Shiism in the Absence of the Imam', in *La notion d'autorité au Moyen Age: Islam, Byzance, Occident*. Colloques internationaux de la Napoule, 1978 (Paris, 1982), pp. 163–173; reprinted in his *Religious Schools and Sects*, article X; and H. Modarressi Ṭabāṭabāʾī, *An Introduction to Shīʿī Law: A Bibliographical Study* (London, 1984), especially pp. 2–6, 9–10, 29–43, containing also an extensive survey of the relevant sources.
64. Al-Nuʿmān, *Ikhtilāf uṣūl al-madhāhib*, ed. S. T. Lokhandwalla (Simla, 1972), pp. 25, 230.
65. The *Daʿāʾim al-Islām* has been edited by Asaf A. A. Fyzee (Cairo, 1951–1961), 2 vols., reprinted several times; English translations by Asaf A. A. Fyzee, completely revised and annotated by I. K. Poonawala, as *The Pillars of Islam* (New Delhi, 2002–2004), 2 vols. On aspects of Fāṭimid Ismāʿīlī law and its sources, see A. A. A. Fyzee, 'The Fatimid Law of Inheritance', *Studia Islamica*, 9 (1958), pp. 61–69; his 'Aspects of Fāṭimid Law', *Studia Islamica*, 31 (1970), pp. 81–91; 'The Religion of the Ismailis', in S. T. Lokhandwalla, ed., *India and Contemporary Islam* (Simla, 1971), pp. 70–87; and his *Compendium of Fatimid Law* (Simla, 1969). See also R. Strothmann, 'Recht der Ismailiten', *Der Islam*, 31 (1954), pp. 131–146; R. Brunschvig, 'Fiqh Fatimide et histoire de l'Ifriqiya', in *Mélanges d'histoire et d'archéologie*, pp. 13–20; reprinted in his *Études d'Islamologie* (Paris, 1976), vol. 1, pp. 63–70; P. J. Vatikiotis, *The Fatimid Theory of State* (Lahore, 1957), pp. 69–85; F. Castro, 'Su *ġaṣb* e *taʿaddī* nel *fiqh* Fatimida', *Annali di Ca' Foscari*, serie orientale, 6 (1975), pp. 95–100; W. Madelung, 'The Sources of Ismāʿīlī Law', *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, 35 (1976), pp. 29–40; reprinted in his *Religious Schools and Sects*, article XVIII; Poonawala, 'Al-Qāḍī al-Nuʿmān', pp. 117ff.; and A. Cilardo, *Diritto ereditario Islamico delle scuole giuridiche Ismailita e Imamita* (Rome-Naples, 1993).
66. On the caliphate of al-ʿAzīz, see Idrīs, *ʿUyūn*, vol. 6, pp. 205–248; Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd al-Anṭākī, *Taʾrīkh*, ed. L. Cheikho et al. (Paris–Beirut, 1909), pp. 146–180; partial ed. and French trans., I. Kratchkovsky and A. A. Vasiliev, in *Patrologia Orientalis*, 23 (1932), pp. 371–450; Miskawayh, *Tajārib*, vol. 2, pp. 401–404; al-Rūdhrāwarī, *Dhayl kitāb tajārib al-umam*, as vol. 3 of *The Eclipse of the ʿAbbasid Caliphate*, pp. 208ff.; Ibn al-Qalānisī, *Dhayl*, pp. 14–44; Ibn Ẓāfir, *Akhbār*, pp. 31–42; Ibn Ḥammād, *Akhbār*, text pp. 48–49, translation pp. 73–75; Ibn Muyassar, *Akhbār*, pp. 168–176, covering the years 381–382 and 385–386 AH; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, vol. 8, pp. 230, 231–232, 236, and vol. 9, pp. 2–3, 6, 13, 14–15, 18, 19–20, 23–24, 27, 29, 31, 40; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, vol. 5, pp. 371–376; tr. de Slane, vol. 3, pp. 525–530; Ibn ʿIdhārī, *al-Bayān*,

vol. 1, pp. 229–232, 238, 247; Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz*, vol. 6, pp. 174–180, 186–239; al-Maqrīzī, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, vol. 1, pp. 378–379, 408, and vol. 2, pp. 284–285, 341; French tr., vol. 4, pp. 85–87; al-Maqrīzī, *Ittiʿāẓ*, vol. 1, pp. 236–299; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Nujūm*, vol. 4, pp. 112–176. See also Ḥasan, *Taʾrīkh*, pp. 156–163; Zāhid ʿAlī, *Taʾrīkh*, vol. 1, pp. 189–205; Surūr, *Siyāsat*, pp. 134ff., 142ff., 240–241; Mājid, *Ẓuhūr*, pp. 134ff.; ʿAlī Ḥusnī al-Kharbūṭlī, *al-ʿAzīz bi'llāh al-Fāṭimī* (Cairo, 1968); Halm, *Die Kalifen von Kairo*, pp. 119–166; Brett, *Rise*, pp. 346ff., 368ff., 414ff.; Poonawala, *Bio*, p. 82; Canard, *Histoire*, pp. 677–690, 696–705, 853–858, and also his 'al-ʿAzīz bi'llāh', *EI2*, vol. 1, pp. 823–825. A full account of the Fāṭimid conquest and domination of Syria is contained in Thierry Bianquis, *Damas et la Syrie sous la domination Fatimide, 359–468/969–1076* (Damascus, 1986–1989), 2 vols.

67. Al-Jawdharī, *Sīra*, pp. 62ff., 69, 74, 98, 105–106, 115; tr. Canard, pp. 91ff., 99–100, 107, 147, 159–160, 174.
68. See al-Jawdharī, *Sīra*, pp. 99–100, 120; tr. Canard, pp. 149–150, 181–182. On the other hand, according to Ibn Ḥammād, *Akhbār*, text p. 47, al-Muʿizz at one time designated Tamīm as his heir apparent, but later revoked this nomination. Ibn Ḥammād is apparently the only source relating this nomination.
69. Al-Jawdharī, *Sīra*, pp. 139–140; tr. Canard, pp. 213–216.
70. On Tamīm, see Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, vol. 1, pp. 301–303; tr. de Slane, vol. 1, pp. 279–281; Ḥasan and Sharaf, *al-Muʿizz*, pp. 230–232; Ḥusayn, *Fī adab*, pp. 170–173, 247–252; Muḥammad Ḥasan al-Aʿẓamī, *ʿAbqariyyat al-Fāṭimiyyīn* (Beirut, 1960), pp. 133–209, 235–240, containing also some of his poems; Ḥ. Sharaf, *Tamīm ibn al-Muʿizz* (Cairo, 1967); ʿĀrif Tāmir, *Tamīm al-Fāṭimī* (Beirut, 1982); Ivanow, *Ismaili Literature*, p. 38; Poonawala, *Bio*, pp. 76–78; and P. Smoor, 'Tamīm b. al-Muʿizz li-Dīn Allāh', *EI2*, vol. 10, pp. 171–172. Tamīm's *Dīwān*, which is devoted mainly to the praise of al-Muʿizz and al-ʿAzīz, was first edited by M. Ḥ. al-Aʿẓamī et al. (Cairo, 1957); it was reprinted, with some additional introductory materials, by Muḥammad Ḥasan al-Aʿẓamī (Beirut, 1970).
71. See al-al-Maqrīzī, *Ittiʿāẓ*, vol. 2, pp. 292–293.
72. See Canard, *Histoire*, pp. 541–572, and also his 'Abū Taghlib', *EI2*, vol. 12, Supplement, pp. 36–37.
73. On Abu'l-Fawāris al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad al-Mīhadhī, one of the Fāṭimid *dāʿī*s sent to Rayy in the time of al-ʿAzīz, and the ideas preached by him, see Ivanow, *Studies*, pp. 123–140; also Ivanow's *Ismaili Literature*, pp. 38–39; Sezgin, *Geschichte*, vol. 1, p. 578; and Poonawala, *Bio*, pp. 80–81.
74. On Ibn Killis, see Ibn al-Ṣayrafī, *al-Ishāra ilā man nāla al-wizāra*, ed. ʿAbd Allāh Muhkliṣ, in *BIFAO*, 25 (1924), pp. 90–94 (19–23); Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, tr. de Slane, vol. 4, pp. 359–368; al-Maqrīzī, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, vol. 2, pp. 5–8, 341; Ḥasan, *Taʾrīkh*, pp. 270–272, 298–300, 426–427; Zāhid ʿAlī, *Taʾrīkh*, vol. 1, pp. 197–198, and vol. 2, pp. 111–112, 130–131; Ḥusayn, *Fī adab*, pp. 54–59, 174–176; Muḥammad Ḥ. al-Manāwī, *al-Wizāra wa'l-wuzarāʾ fi'l-ʿaṣr al-Fāṭimī* (Cairo, 1970), pp. 35ff., 52, 74, 85–86, 94–96, 103–104, 126, 133–134, 143–144, 172–173, 193–195, 241; Walter J. Fischel, *Jews in the Economic and Political Life of Mediaeval Islam* (London, 1937), pp. 45–68; B. Lewis, 'Palṭiel: A Note', *BSOAS*, 30 (1967), pp. 179–181; Y. Lev, 'The Fatimid Vizier Yaʿqub Ibn Killis and the Beginning of the Fatimid Administration in Egypt', *Der Islam*, 58 (1981), pp. 237–249; Leila S. al-Imad, *The Fatimid*

Vizierate 969–1172 (Berlin, 1990), pp. 80–97; S. Saker, *Der Wille zur Macht. Der fatimidische Wesir Yaʿqūb ibn Killis* (Berlin, 2003); Ivanow, *Ismaili Literature*, p. 38; Sezgin, *Geschichte*, vol. 1, p. 579; Poonawala, *Bio*, pp. 78–79; M. Canard, 'Ibn Killis', *EI2*, vol. 3, pp. 840–841; and M. ʿA. Kāẓim Begī, 'Ibn Killis', *GIE*, vol. 4, pp. 521–524.

75. Ibn al-Ṣayrafī, *al-Ishāra*, in *BIFAO*, 25 (1924), pp. 87–90 (23–26), and al-Manāwī, *al-Wizāra*, pp. 241–244.
76. Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, vol. 1, pp. 388–389, 430–431; French tr., vol. 4, pp. 111ff.
77. On al-Ḥākim's reign, see Idrīs, *ʿUyūn*, vol. 6, pp. 248–304; al-Anṭākī, *Taʾrīkh*, ed. Cheikho et al., pp. 180–234; ed. Kratchkovsky and Vasiliev, in *Patrologia Orientalis*, 23 (1932), pp. 450–520, the latter edition ends with the events of the year 404 AH; al-Rūdhrāwarī, *Dhayl*, pp. 221–239; Ibn al-Ṣayrafī, *al-Ishāra*, in *BIFAO*, 25 (1924), pp. 80–87 (26–33); Ibn al-Qalānisī, *Dhayl*, pp. 44–71, 79; Ibn Ẓāfir, *Akhbār*, pp. 43–62; Ibn Ḥammād, *Akhbār*, text pp. 49–58, translation pp. 76–86; Ibn Muyassar, *Akhbār*, pp. 176–183, covering the years 386–387 AH; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, vol. 9, pp. 40–42, 44, 52–54, 68–70, 72–73, 75, 76–77, 79, 81, 86–89, 102, 108–109; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, vol. 5, pp. 292–298; tr. de Slane, vol. 3, pp. 449–454; Ibn ʿIdhārī, *al-Bayān*, vol. 1, pp. 247ff., 257ff., 267–270; al-Nuwayrī, in de Sacy, *Exposé*, vol. 1, introduction pp. 430–437; Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz*, vol. 6, pp. 256–312; al-Maqrīzī, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, vol. 2, pp. 14–15, 31, 36–37, 277ff., 282–283, 285–289, the last section also in de Sacy, *Chrestomathie*, vol. 1, pp. 74–104, French translation and notes in vol. 2, pp. 67–114, 410–462; al-Maqrīzī, *Ittiʿāẓ*, vol. 2, pp. 3–123; and Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Nujūm*, vol. 4, pp. 176–247. Besides the detailed biography of al-Ḥākim contained in de Sacy, *Exposé*, vol. 1, introduction pp. 278–429, which is still valuable, mention may be made of the following more recent monographs on this Fāṭimid caliph-imam: Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh ʿInān, *al-Ḥākim bi-Amr Allāh wa-asrār al-daʿwa al-Fāṭimiyya* (2nd ed., Cairo, 1959); ʿAbd al-Munʿim Mājid, *al-Ḥākim bi-Amr Allāh* (Cairo, 1959); Sadik A. Assaad, *Reign of al-Hakim bi Amr Allah (386/996–411/1021)* (Beirut, 1974); and Josef van Ess, *Chiliastische Erwartungen und die Versuchung der Göttlichkeit: Der Kalif al-Ḥākim* (*386–411 H.*) (Heidelberg, 1977). See also Ḥasan, *Taʾrīkh*, pp. 164–168, 205–209, 219–225, 228ff., 234ff., 272ff., 310ff., 378–379, 428, 443–445, 538–539; Zāhid ʿAlī, *Taʾrīkh*, vol. 1, pp. 206–261; Surūr, *Miṣr*, pp. 59–71, 122ff., 164ff.; Surūr, *Bilād al-Shām*, pp. 44ff., 84–85; and also his *Siyāsat*, pp. 139ff., 147–148, 242–243; Mājid, *Ẓuhūr*, pp. 162ff., 244ff., 339ff.; al-Manāwī, *al-Wizāra*, pp. 245–251; Vatikiotis, *Fatimid Theory of State*, pp. 149–159; Y. Rāġib, 'Un épisode obscur d'histoire Fatimide', *Studia Islamica*, 48 (1978), pp. 125–132; Th. Bianquis, 'al-H'ākim bi Amr Allāh', in *Les Africains*, 11 (1978), pp. 107–133; his *Damas et la Syrie*, vol. 1, pp. 215–387; Canard, *Histoire*, pp. 706–713; also his 'al-Ḥākim bi-Amr Allāh', *EI2*, vol. 3, pp. 76–82; Sayyid, *al-Dawla al-Fāṭimiyya*, pp. 161–186; Halm, *Die Kalifen von Kairo*, pp. 167–304; M. Brett, ''Abbasids, Fatimids and Seljuqs', in *The New Cambridge Medieval History*: Volume IV, *c.1024–c.1198*, part II, ed. D. Luscombe and J. Riley-Smith (Cambridge, 2004), pp. 675–689; and F. Daftary, 'Ḥākem be-Amr-Allāh', *EIR*, vol. 11, pp. 572–573.
78. On Barjawān, see Ibn al-Ṣayrafī, *al-Ishāra*, in *BIFAO*, 25(1924), pp. 85–86 (27–28); Ibn Khallikān,*Wafayāt*, vol. 1, pp. 270–271; tr. de Slane, vol. 1, p. 253; al-Maqrīzī, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, vol. 2, pp. 3–4; de Sacy, *Exposé*, vol. 1, introduction pp. 284ff.; al-Manāwī,

al-Wizāra, p. 245; Halm, *Die Kalifen von Kairo*, pp. 178–186; and B. Lewis, 'Bardjawān', *EI2*, vol. 1, pp. 1041–1042.

79. See M. Canard, 'La destruction de l'Église de la Résurrection par le calife Ḥākim et l'histoire de la descente du feu sacré', *Byzantion*, 35 (1965), pp. 16–43; reprinted in his *Byzance et les Musulmans*, article XX.
80. Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, vol. 1, pp. 391, 458–460, and vol. 2, pp. 342, 363; French tr., vol. 4, pp. 118–121; E. Quatremère, *Mémoires géographiques et historiques sur l'Égypte* (Paris, 1811), vol. 2, pp. 474–485; H. Halm, *The Fatimids and their Traditions of Learning* (London, 1997), pp. 71–78; his 'Al-Azhar, Dār al-ʿIlm, al-Raṣad. Forschungs- und Lehranstalten der Fatimiden in Kairo', in U. Vermeulen and D. de Smet, ed., *Egypt and Syria in the Fatimid, Ayyubid and Mamluk Eras* (Louvain, 1995), pp. 99–109; and D. Sourdel, 'Dār al-Ḥikma', *EI2*, vol. 2, pp. 126–127.
81. Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Nujūm*, vol. 4, pp. 222–223.
82. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Fāsī, *al-ʿIqd al-thāmin fī taʾrīkh al-balad al-amīn*, ed. A. Fuʾād Sayyid (Cairo, 1384/1965), vol. 4, pp. 69–79.
83. See M. Canard, 'Djarrāḥids', *EI2*, vol. 2, pp. 482–485.
84. See Idris, *Berbérie orientale*, vol. 1, pp. 143–149.
85. Abu'l-Fawāris Aḥmad b. Yaʿqūb, *al-Risāla fi'l-imāma*, ed. and tr. Sami N. Makarem as *The Political Doctrine of the Ismāʿīlīs* (Delmar, NY, 1977); excerpts in A. Ferré, 'Le traité sur l'imâmat', *Études Arabes: Dossiers*, 84–85 (1993), pp. 80–89. See also Ivanow, *Ismaili Literature*, p. 39; Sezgin, *Geschichte*, vol. 1, p. 579, and Poonawala, *Bio*, p. 94.
86. See Paul E. Walker, 'The Ismaili *Daʿwa* in the Reign of the Fatimid Caliph al-Ḥākim', *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt*, 30 (1993), pp. 161–182, and his 'The Ismāʿīlī Daʿwa and the Fāṭimid Caliphate', in *The Cambridge History of Egypt*: Volume I, *Islamic Egypt*, *640–1517*, ed. Carl F. Petry (Cambridge, 1998), pp. 141–145.
87. On al-Kirmānī's life and works, see Idrīs, *ʿUyūn*, vol. 6, pp. 283–288, 306; al-Hamdānī, 'Some Unknown Ismāʿīlī Authors', pp. 372–375; also his *al-Ṣulayḥiyyūn*, pp. 258–261; the introductory comments of M. Kāmil Ḥusayn and M. Muṣṭafā Ḥilmī in their edition of al-Kirmānī's *Rāḥat al-ʿaql* (Cairo, 1953); Ḥasan, *Taʾrīkh*, pp. 488–492; Zāhid ʿAlī, *Taʾrīkh*, vol. 2, pp. 114–115. A partial chronology of al-Kirmānī's works is contained in Josef van Ess, 'Biobibliographische Notizen zur islamischen Theologie. I. Zur Chronologie der Werke des Ḥamīdaddīn al-Kirmānī', *Die Welt des Orients*, 9 (1978), pp. 255–261. The most comprehensive studies of al-Kirmānī's metaphysical system, especially as elaborated in his *Rāḥat al-ʿaql*, may be found in Daniel de Smet, *La Quiétude de l'intellect: Néoplatonisme et gnose Ismaélienne dans l'oeuvre de Ḥamîd ad–Dîn al-Kirmânî (X^{e}/XI^{e}s)* (Louvain, 1995), and in Paul E. Walker, *Ḥamīd al-Dīn al-Kirmānī: Ismaili Thought in the Age of al-Ḥākim* (London, 1999). See also Ivanow, *Guide*, pp. 43–46; Ivanow, *Ismaili Literature*, pp. 40–45; Sezgin, *Geschichte*, vol. 1, pp. 580–582; Poonawala, *Bio*, pp. 94–102; J. T. P. de Bruijn, 'al-Kirmānī', *EI2*, vol. 5, pp. 166–167; and F. Daftary, 'Ḥamid-al-Din Kermāni', *EIR*, vol. 11, pp. 639–641.
88. See P. Kraus, 'Hebräische und syrische Zitate in ismāʿīlitischen Schriften', *Der Islam*, 19 (1931), pp. 243–263; reprinted in *his Alchemie, Ketzerei, Apokryphen im frühen Islam*, ed. R. Brague (Hildesheim, 1994), pp. 3–23, explaining that al-Kirmānī was familiar with the Hebrew text of the Old Testament, the Syriac version of the New Testament, and the post-Biblical Jewish writings; see also A. Baumstark, 'Zu den

Schriftzitaten al-Kirmānīs', *Der Islam*, 20 (1932), pp. 308–313, which is a note on the previous article, and Stern, *Studies*, pp. 84–95.

89. Gardīzī, *Zayn al-akhbār*, p. 181; al-Jurbādhaqānī, *Ta'rīkh-i Yamīnī*, pp. 369–373, containing the fullest details of a Fāṭimid embassy sent to Sultan Maḥmūd; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Nujūm*, vol. 4, p. 232, and Bertel's *Nasir-i Khosrov*, pp. 94–104; tr. Āriyanpūr, pp. 98–108. See also Halm, 'Fatimiden und Ghaznawiden', in I. R. Netton, ed., *Studies in Honour of Clifford Edmund Bosworth*, Volume I: *Hunter of the East: Arabic and Semitic Studies* (Leiden, 2000), pp. 209–221.
90. See Sami N. Makarem, 'Al-Ḥākim bi-Amrillāh's Appointment of his Successors', *al-Abḥāth*, 23 (1970), pp. 319–324, and Paul E. Walker, 'Succession to Rule in the Shiite Caliphate', *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt*, 32 (1995), especially pp. 239–248.
91. The classical treatment of the early history and doctrines of the Druzes is found in Silvestre de Sacy's *Exposé de la religion des Druzes*, which also describes the Druze literature then available in European libraries. A number of excerpts from the sacred scriptures of the Druzes are published and translated into French in de Sacy's *Chrestomathie Arabe*, vol. 1, pp. 260–309, and vol. 2, pp. 334–403. A list of the Druze epistles, which are usually copied in the same traditional sequence and collected in the same number of volumes, may be found in Ivanow, *Ismaili Literature*, pp. 112–125. An edition and Italian translation of an anonymous Druze work of the catechism genre may be found in P. Branca, *Un "catechismo" Druso della Biblioteca Reale di Torino* (Milan, 1996). Amongst numerous monographs on the Druzes, mention may be made of Philip K. Hitti, *The Origins of the Druze People and Religion* (New York, 1928), containing numerous inaccuracies; M. Kāmil Ḥusayn, *Ṭā'ifat al-Durūz* (Cairo, 1962); ʿAbd Allah Najjār, *Madhhab al-Durūz wa'l-tawḥīd* (Cairo, 1965); Sami N. Makarem, *The Druze Faith* (Delmar, NY, 1974); Nejla M. Abu-Izzeddin, *The Druzes: A New Study of their History, Faith and Society* (Leiden, 1984), the best modern survey written by a Druze scholar; R. B. Betts, *The Druze* (New Haven, CT, 1988); and Kais M. Firro, *A History of the Druzes* (Leiden, 1992), focusing on the more recent history of the Druzes. See also David R. W. Bryer, 'The Origins of the Druze Religion', *Der Islam*, 52 (1975), pp. 47–84, 239–262, and 53 (1976), pp. 5–27; Madelung, 'Imamat', pp. 114–127; also his 'Ḥamza b. ʿAlī', *EI2*, vol. 3, p. 154; M. G. S. Hodgson, 'Al-Darazī and Ḥamza in the Origin of the Druze Religion', *JAOS*, 82 (1962), pp. 5–20; Hodgson, 'al-Darazī', *EI2*, vol. 2, pp. 136–137; also his 'Durūz', *EI2*, vol. 2, pp. 631–634; Ign. Kratchkowsky and H. Halm, 'al-Muḳtanā', *EI2*, vol. 7, p. 544; H. Halm, 'Der Treuhänder Gottes: Die Edikte des Kalifen al-Ḥākim', *Der Islam*, 63 (1986), pp. 11–72 and his *Die Kalifen von Kairo*, pp. 281–297.
92. Ḥamīd al-Dīn al-Kirmānī, *al-Maṣābīḥ fī ithbāt al-imāma*, ed. M. Ghālib (Beirut, 1969), excerpt in Kraus, 'Hebräische', pp. 245–247. See also I. K. Poonawala, 'Hamid al-Din al-Kirmani and the Proto-Druze', *Journal of Druze Studies*, 1 (2000), pp. 71–94.
93. Al-Kirmānī, *Mabāsim al-bishārāt bi'l-imām al-Ḥākim bi–Amr Allāh*, ed. M. Kāmil Ḥusayn in his *Ṭā'ifat al-Durūz*, pp. 55–74, also in al-Kirmānī, *Majmūʿat rasā'il*, pp. 113–133, excerpt in Kraus, 'Hebräische', pp. 253–254.
94. Al-Kirmānī, *al-Risāla al-wāʿiẓa*, ed. M. Kāmil Ḥusayn, in *Bulletin of the Faculty of Arts, Fouad I University*, 14, part 1 (1952), pp. 1–29, also in al-Kirmānī, *Majmūʿat rasā'il*, pp. 134–147.

95. Al-Kirmānī, *al-Risāla al-durriyya fī maʿnā al-tawḥīd wa'l–muwaḥḥid wa'l–muwaḥḥad*, ed. M. Kāmil Ḥusayn (Cairo, 1952), pp. 13–34, edited together with his *al-Risāla al-naẓm fī muqābalāt al-ʿawālim*, containing further discussions of the issues raised in *al-Durriyya*; both of these short works are included in al-Kirmānī, *Majmūʿat rasāʾil*, pp. 19–34; English trans. of *al-Durriyya*, by F. M. Hunzai, may be found in *APP*, pp. 192–200.
96. See de Sacy, *Exposé*, vol. 2, pp. 335–348, and Abu-Izzeddin, *Druzes*, pp. 73, 108, 236.
97. On Sitt al-Mulk, see al-Anṭākī, *Taʾrīkh*, ed. Cheikho et al., pp. 207, 235–244; Ibn al-Qalānisī, *Dhayl*, pp. 44, 60; Ibn Ẓāfir, *Akhbār*, pp. 41, 57; Ibn Ḥammād, *Akhbār*, text p. 58, translation p. 87; Ibn Muyassar, *Akhbār*, pp. 175, 178; al-Maqrīzī, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, vol. 1, pp. 292, 354; his *Ittiʿāẓ*, vol. 1, pp. 271, 288–289, and vol. 2, pp. 33, 124–131, 174, 182–183; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Nujūm*, vol. 4, pp. 185–194, and Muḥammad b. ʿUbayd Allāh al-Musabbiḥī, *Akhbār Miṣr*, ed. A. F. Sayyid et al. (Cairo, 1978–1984), vol. 1, pp. 43, 94, 96, 110–111. Of the secondary studies, see Y. Lev, 'The Fāṭimid Princess Sitt al-Mulk', *JSS*, 32 (1987), pp. 319–328; his *State and Society in Fatimid Egypt* (Leiden, 1991), pp. 34–37; H. Halm, 'Le destin de la princesse Sitt al-Mulk', in Barrucand, ed., *L'Égypte Fatimide*, pp. 69–72; his *Die Kalifen von Kairo*, pp. 305–311; and his 'Sitt al-Mulk', *EI2*, vol. 9, pp. 685–686; Sayyid, *al-Dawla al-Fāṭimiyya*, pp. 181–182; and Delia Cortese and Simonetta Calderini, *Women and the Fatimids in the World of Islam* (Edinburgh, 2006), pp. 116–127.
98. On al-Ẓāhir's caliphate, see Idrīs, *ʿUyūn*, vol. 6, pp. 304–322; al-Musabbiḥī, *Akhbār*, ed. Sayyid, vol. 1, pp. 3–112; ed. W. G. Millward (Cairo, 1980), pp. 21–62, 171–248, covering parts of the years 414–415 AH, and in both editions, some gaps are filled by relevant extracts from al-Maqrīzī's *Ittiʿāẓ*; al-Anṭākī, ed. Cheikho et al., pp. 234ff.; Ibn al-Ṣayrafī, *al-Ishāra*, in *BIFAO*, 25 (1924), pp. 77–80 (33–36); Ibn al-Qalānisī, *Dhayl*, pp. 71–83; Ibn Ẓāfir, *Akhbār*, pp. 63–66; Ibn Ḥammād, *Akhbār*, text p. 58, translation pp. 87–88; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, vol. 9, pp. 110, 111, 113, 114–115, 117, 121, 123, 128, 136, 154; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, vol. 3, pp. 407–408; tr. de Slane, vol. 2, pp. 340–341; Ibn ʿIdhārī, *al-Bayān*, vol. 1, pp. 270ff.; Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz*, vol. 6, pp. 313–341; al-Maqrīzī, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, vol. 1, pp. 354–355; French tr., vol. 4, pp. 22–26; al-Maqrīzī, *Ittiʿāẓ*, vol. 2, pp. 124–183, and Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Nujūm*, vol. 4, pp. 247–283. Of the secondary sources, see Ḥasan, *Taʾrīkh*, pp. 168–169, 225, 237, 445–448; Zāhid ʿAlī, *Taʾrīkh*, vol. 1, pp. 262–272; Surūr, *Bilād al-Shām*, pp. 47ff., 55, 89; also his *Siyāsat*, pp. 141–142, 148–149, 177, 243ff.; Mājid, *Ẓuhūr*, pp. 145ff., 209, 220, 257–258, 282–283; al-Manāwī, *al-Wizāra*, pp. 251–253; Sayyid, *al-Dawla al-Fāṭimiyya*, pp. 182–186; Th. Bianquis, 'Une crise frumentaire dans l'Égypte Fatimide', *JESHO*, 23 (1980), pp. 67–101, and his 'al-Ẓāhir li-Iʿzāz Dīn Allāh', *EI2*, vol. 11, pp. 391–392.
99. On the reign of al-Mustanṣir, see Idrīs, *ʿUyūn*, vol. 6, pp. 322–359; also Idrīs, *ʿUyūn al-akhbār*, vol. 7, ed. and summary English trans. by A. F. Sayyid, in collaboration with Paul E. Walker and M. A. Pomerantz, as *The Fatimids and their Successors in Yaman: The History of an Islamic Community* (London, 2002), text pp. 3–186, translation pp. 33–75. Ibn al-Ṣayrafī, *al-Ishāra*, in *BIFAO*, 25 (1924), pp. 59–77 (36–54) and 26 (1925), pp. 66–67 (68–69); Ibn al-Qalānisī, *Dhayl*, pp. 83–128; Ibn Ẓāfir, *Akhbār*, pp. 67–81; Ibn Muyassar, *Akhbār*, pp. 3–59; Ibn Ḥammād, *Akhbār*, text p. 59, translation pp. 89–90; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, vol. 9, pp. 154–155, 158–159, 160, 170, 173, 177, 186–187, 189–190, 193, 200, 221–222, and vol. 10, pp. 4, 28–30, 35–36,

38, 43, 49, 60, 70, 77; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, vol. 5, pp. 229–231; tr. de Slane, vol. 3, pp. 381–384; Ibn ʿIdhārī, *al-Bayān*, vol. 1, pp. 275–301; Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz*, vol. 6, pp. 342–442; al-Maqrīzī, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, vol. 1, pp. 355–356; French tr., vol. 4, pp. 26–29; al-Maqrīzī, *Ittiʿāẓ*, vol. 2, pp. 184–334; and Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Nujūm*, vol. 5, pp. 1–141. Amongst the modern sources, see Ḥasan, *Taʾrīkh*, pp. 169–171, 210–211, 239ff., 252ff., 259–261; Zāhid ʿAlī, *Taʾrīkh*, vol. 1, pp. 273–323; Surūr, *Miṣr*, pp. 72ff., 87ff., 125ff., 133–139, 144–151, 169ff.; Surūr, *Bilād al-Shām*, pp. 56ff., 124ff.; Surūr, *Jazīrat al-ʿArab*, pp. 19ff., 54ff., 75ff.; also his *Siyāsat*, pp. 79ff., 149ff., 207ff., 228–230, 245–246; ʿAbd al-Munʿim Mājid, *al-Imām al-Mustanṣir bi'llāh al-Fāṭimī* (Cairo, 1961), also his *Ẓuhūr*, pp. 147–154, 162ff., 176–192, 196–205, 212ff., 220–229, 258–273, 283ff., 365ff.; Sayyid, *al-Dawla al-Fāṭimiyya*, pp. 187–219; Halm, *Die Kalifen von Kairo*, pp. 348–420; al-Manāwī, *al-Wizāra*, pp. 253–271; Fischel, *Jews*, pp. 68–89; Th. Bianquis, 'al-Yāzurī', *EI2*, vol. 11, pp. 319–320; and H. A. R. Gibb and P. Kraus, 'al-Mustanṣir Bi'llāh', *EI2*, vol. 7, pp. 729–732. A full account of Palestine under the Fāṭimids is contained in M. Gill, *A History of Palestine, 634–1099*, tr. E. Broido (Cambridge, 1992), pp. 335–429.

100. See Cortese and Calderini, *Women and the Fatimids*, pp. 45–46, 53, 109, 110–114.
101. See the detailed account of al-Maqrīzī in his *al-Khiṭaṭ*, vol. 1, pp. 335–337; French tr., vol. 3, pp. 275–283, and in his *Ighāthat al-umma bi-kashf al-ghumma*, ed. Muḥammad M. Ziyāda and Jamāl al-Dīn al-Shayyāl (Cairo, 1940), pp. 18–26; French trans., *Le traité des famines de Maqrīzī*, tr. G. Wiet (Leiden, 1962), pp. 18–27.
102. Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, vol. 1, pp. 408–409, and also his *Ittiʿāẓ*, vol. 2, pp. 294–295.
103. On Badr al-Jamālī, see Ibn al-Ṣayrafī, *al-Ishāra*, in *BIFAO*, 25 (1924), pp. 57–58 (55–56); Ibn al-Qalānisī, *Dhayl*, pp. 84, 91ff.; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, vol. 10, pp. 81–82; al-Maqrīzī, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, vol. 1, pp. 381–382; French tr., vol. 4, pp. 92–95; al-Maqrīzī, *Ittiʿāẓ*, vol. 2, pp. 268, 272, 311ff.; Mājid, *al-Mustanṣir*, pp. 179ff.; also his *Ẓuhūr*, pp. 392ff.; al-Imad, *Fatimid Vizierate*, pp. 96–109; Sayyid, *al-Dawla al-Fāṭimiyya*, pp. 209–220; Seta B. Dadoyan, *The Fatimid Armenians* (Leiden, 1997), pp. 106–127; C. H. Becker, 'Badr al-Djamālī', *EI2*, vol. 1, pp. 869–870; and Ṣ. Sajjādī, 'Badr al-Jamālī', *GIE*, vol. 11, pp. 531–533.
104. See P. E. Walker, 'Purloined Symbols of the Past: The Theft of Souvenirs and Sacred Relics in the Rivalry between the Abbasids and Fatimids', in Daftary and Meri, ed., *Culture and Memory*, pp. 364–387.
105. On al-Basāsīrī and his pro-Fāṭimid activities, see al-Muʾayyad fi'l-Dīn al-Shīrāzī, *Sīrat al-Muʾayyad fi'l–Dīn dāʿī al-duʿāt*, ed. M. Kāmil Ḥusayn (Cairo, 1949), especially pp. 94–184; partial English translation in Abbas H. al-Hamdani, 'The Sīra of al-Muʾayyad fi'd-Dīn ash-Shīrāzī' (Ph.D. thesis, University of London, 1950), pp. 58–105; Idrīs, *ʿUyūn*, vol. 7, text, pp. 48–74; Ẓahīr al-Dīn Nīshāpūrī, *Saljūq-nāma*, ed. I. Afshār (Tehran, 1332/1953), pp. 19–20; ed. A. H. Morton (Cambridge, 2004), pp. 15–17; in his introduction (pp. 23–31) Professor Morton argues that the text published by Ismāʿīl Afshār as Ẓahīr al-Dīn's *Saljūq-nāma* is in fact based on Abu'l-Qāsim b. ʿAlī Kāshānī's history of the Saljūqs from his *Zubdat al-tawārīkh*; Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Rāwandī, *Rāḥat al-ṣudūr*, ed. M. Iqbāl (London, 1921), pp. 107–110; al-Fatḥ b. ʿAlī al-Bundārī, *Zubdat al-nuṣra*, ed. M. Th. Houtsma (Leiden, 1889), pp. 12–18; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, vol. 9, pp. 208, 211ff., 217ff., 222–229; Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, vol. 1, pp. 608–609, and vol. 3, p. 595; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*,

vol. 1, pp. 192–193; tr. de Slane, vol. 1, pp. 172–174; Rashīd al-Dīn, *Jāmiʿ al-tawārīkh: taʾrīkh-i āl-i Saljūq*, ed. A. Ateş (Ankara, 1960), pp. 22–24, 180; English trans., *The History of the Seljuq Turks from the Jāmiʿ al-Tawārīkh*, tr. Kenneth A. Luther, ed. C. Edmund Bosworth (Richmond, Surrey, 2001), pp. 42–43, 153; al-Maqrīzī, *Ittiʿāẓ*, vol. 2, pp. 232–234, 252–258; and Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Nujūm*, vol. 5, pp. 5–12. See also Ḥasan, *Taʾrīkh*, pp. 232–234; Surūr, *Bilād al-Shām*, pp. 91–123; also his *Siyāsat*, pp. 179–206; Mājid, *Ẓuhūr*, pp. 169ff.; V. Klemm, *Memoirs of a Mission: The Ismaili Scholar, Statesman and Poet al-Muʾayyad fiʾl-Dīn al-Shīrāzī* (London, 2003), pp. 78–86; M. Canard, ʻal-Basāsīrīʼ, *EI2*, vol. 1, pp. 1073–1075; and Ṣ. Sajjādī, ʻBasāsīrīʼ, *GIE*, vol. 12, pp. 99–103.

106. For these names, see Idrīs, *ʿUyūn*, vol. 7, text pp. 4–5. For other lists, see Ibn Mālik al-Yamānī, *Kashf asrār al-Bāṭiniyya*, pp. 39–42, written by a Yamanī contemporary of the founder of the Ṣulayḥid dynasty, and al-Janadī's later work *Akhbār al-Qarāmiṭa*, in Kay, *Yaman*, text pp. 150–152, translation pp. 208–212.

107. The *dāʿī* Idrīs has detailed accounts of the Ṣulayḥids and the revitalization of the Ismāʿīlī *daʿwa* in Yaman in al-Mustanṣir's time in his *ʿUyūn al-akhbār*, vol. 7, text pp. 5–38 and many subsequent sections, and in *Nuzhat al-afkār*, vol. 1, which still remains unpublished. The works of Idrīs were utilized extensively by Ḥusayn F. al-Hamdānī in his ʻThe Doctrines and History of the Ismāʿīlī Daʿwat in Yemenʼ (Ph.D. thesis, University of London, 1931), especially chapter 2, and in *al-Ṣulayḥiyyūn*, chapters 4 and 6, which is still the best modern study on the subject. However, the earliest and most detailed account has been produced by ʿUmāra b. ʿAlī al-Ḥakamī (d. 569/1174), the famous Yamanī historian and poet, in his *Taʾrīkh al-Yaman*, published in Kay, *Yaman*, text pp. 14–48, translation pp. 19–64; more recently, this work has been edited by Ḥasan Sulaymān Maḥmūd (Cairo, 1957), pp. 34–130, and also by Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Akwaʿal-Ḥiwālī (Sanaa, 1985), but our references are to Kay's edition. Information on the early Ṣulayḥids is to be found also in Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, vol. 3, pp. 411–415; tr. de Slane, vol. 2, pp. 344–349, and in Ibn Khaldūn, *Taʾrīkh al-Yaman*, an extract from the *ʿIbar*, in Kay, *Yaman*, text pp. 107–111, translation pp. 145–151, amongst other sources. See also A. al-Hamdani, ʻSīraʼ, pp. 137–164; Ḥasan, *Taʾrīkh*, pp. 239–248; Surūr, *Jazīrat al-ʿArab*, pp. 75–106; also his *Siyāsat*, pp. 82–107; Mājid, *Ẓuhūr*, pp. 196ff.; Poonawala, *Bio*, pp. 103, 110–111; G. R. Smith, ʻṢulayḥidsʼ, *EI2*, vol. 9, pp. 815–817; and A. Hamdani, ʻSulayhidsʼ in *Medieval Islamic Civilization: An Encyclopedia*, ed. J. W. Meri (New York, 2006), vol. 2, pp. 776–778.

108. On Lamak's Egyptian embassy, and its purposes, see A. al-Hamdani, ʻSīraʼ, pp. 155–160, and also his ʻThe Dāʿī Ḥātim Ibn Ibrāhīm al-Ḥāmidī (d. 596 H./1199 A.D.) and his Book *Tuḥfat al-Qulūb*ʼ, *Oriens*, 23–24 (1970–1971), pp. 258–263.

109. See the already-cited *al-Sijillāt al-Mustanṣiriyya*, ed. Mājid, and al-Hamdānī, ʻLetters of al-Mustanṣirʼ, pp. 307ff., describing the contents of his letters. Some additional letters of al-Mustanṣir, not included in Mājid's collection, are preserved in Idrīs, *ʿUyūn*, vol. 7, text, pp. 103–110, of which five have been reproduced in al-Hamdānī, *al-Ṣulayḥiyyūn*, pp. 302–307, 319–320. See also Ivanow, *Ismaili Literature*, p. 49, and Poonawala, *Bio*, pp. 126–127.

110. On al-Sayyida Arwā's activities in the reign of al-Mustanṣir, see Idrīs, *ʿUyūn*, vol. 7, pp. 150–177. Of the modern studies on this remarkable Ṣulayḥid queen, see Ḥusain

F. al-Hamdānī, 'The Life and Times of Queen Saiyidah Arwā the Ṣulaiḥid of the Yemen', *Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society*, 18 (1931), pp. 505–517; Leila S. al-Imad, 'Women and Religion in the Fatimid Caliphate: The Case of al-Sayyidah al-Hurrah, Queen of Yemen', in Michel M. Mazzaoui and Vera B. Moreen, ed., *Intellectual Studies on Islam: Essays Written in Honor of Martin B. Dickson* (Salt Lake City, 1990), pp. 137–144; F. Mernissi, *The Forgotten Queens of Islam*, tr. M. J. Lakeland (Cambridge, 1993), pp. 139–158; F. Daftary, 'Sayyida Ḥurra: The Ismāʿīlī Ṣulayḥid Queen of Yemen', in Gavin R. G. Hambly, ed., *Women in the Medieval Islamic World* (New York, 1998), pp. 117–130; reprinted in *IMMS*, pp. 89–103; S. Traboulsi, 'The Queen was Actually a Man: Arwā Bint Aḥmad and the Politics of Religion', *Arabica*, 50 (2003), pp. 96–108; Cortese and Calderini, *Women and the Fatimids*, pp. 129–140; and A. Hamdani, 'Arwa', in *Medieval Islamic Civilization: An Encyclopedia*, vol. 1, pp. 70–71.

111. Abu'l-Faḍl b. Muḥammad b. Ḥusayn Bayhaqī, *Taʾrīkh-i Bayhaqī*, ed. ʿAlī Akbar Fayyāḍ (2nd ed., Mashhad, 1356/1977), pp. 71–72, 220–236; English translation in H. M. Elliot and J. Dowson, *The History of India as told by its own Historians* (London, 1867–1877), vol. 2, pp. 88–100; Gardīzī, *Zayn al-akhbār*, pp. 196–197; Bosworth, *Ghaznavids*, pp. 182–184; and B. Spuler, 'Ḥasanak', *EI2*, vol. 3, pp. 255–256.
112. See the anonymous Arabic treatise entitled *al-Tarjama al-ẓāhira li-firqat Bohrat al-bāhira*, ed. H. M. Fakhr, in *JBBRAS*, NS, 16 (1940), pp. 87–98; English translation and additional materials in K. M. Jhaveri, 'A Legendary History of the Bohoras', *JBBRAS*, NS, 9 (1933), pp. 37–52; ʿAlī Muḥammad Khān, *Mirat-i Ahmadi*, ed. and tr. Syed Nawab Ali et al. (Baroda, 1927–1965), Persian text, Supplement, pp. 128–131; English translation, pp. 107–110. See also R. E. Enthoven, *The Tribes and Castes of Bombay* (Bombay, 1920–1922), vol. 1, pp. 197–200; A. al-Hamdani, 'Sīra', pp. 166–177; and Satish C. Misra, *Muslim Communities in Gujarat* (New York, 1964), pp. 9ff.
113. Idrīs, *ʿUyūn*, vol. 7, text pp. 153–154, 161; al-Mustanṣir, *al-Sijillāt*, pp. 167–169, 203–206, and al-Hamdani, 'Letters of al-Mustanṣir', pp. 321, 324.
114. See Ḥasan, *Taʾrīkh*, pp. 608ff.; Rāshid al-Barrāwī, *Ḥālat Miṣr al-iqtiṣādiyya fī ʿahd al-Fāṭimiyyīn* (Cairo, 1948); B. Lewis, 'The Fatimids and the Route to India', *Revue de la Faculté des Sciences Économiques de l'Université d'Istanbul*, 11 (1949–1950), pp. 50–54; S. D. Goitein, 'From the Mediterranean to India: Documents on the Trade to India, South Arabia and East Africa from the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries', *Speculum*, 29 (1954), pp. 181–197; also his *Studies in Islamic History and Institutions*, pp. 329–350; and G. T. Scanlon, 'A Note on Fāṭimid-Saljūq Trade', in Donald S. Richards, ed., *Islamic Civilisation, 950–1150* (Oxford, 1973), pp. 265–274.
115. On these events, see Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, vol. 9, pp. 180, 195–197; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, vol. 5, pp. 233–235; tr. de Slane, vol. 3, pp. 386–388; Ibn ʿIdhārī, *al-Bayān*, vol. 1, pp. 277–279, 288ff.; Ibn Khaldūn, *Histoire*, vol. 1, pp. 29–46, and vol. 2, pp. 29ff.; al-Maqrīzī, *Ittiʿāẓ*, vol. 2, pp. 214ff., and Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Nujūm*, vol. 5, pp. 50–51. See also R. Le Tourneau, 'Nouvelles orientations des Berbères d'Afrique du Nord (950–1150)', in Richards, ed., *Islamic Civilisation*, pp. 135ff., H. R. Idris, 'Sur le retour des Zîrîdes à l'obédience Fâṭimide', *AIEO*, 11 (1953), pp. 25–39; also his *Berbérie orientale*, pp. 172–203, where the various dates mentioned by the chroniclers for the Zīrid renouncement of their Fāṭimid allegiance are also considered, and his 'Hilāl', *EI2*, vol. 3, pp. 385–387. M. Brett has produced several

studies on these issues, questioning the traditional views on the Hilālī invasion, see his 'Fatimid Historiography: A Case Study – The Quarrel with the Zirids, 1048–58', in D. O. Morgan, ed., *Medieval Historical Writing in the Christian and Islamic Worlds* (London, 1982), pp. 47–59; his 'The Flood of the Dam and the Sons of the New Moon', in *Mélanges offerts à Mohamed Talbi* (Manouba, 1993), pp. 55–67, both reprinted in his *Ibn Khaldun and the Medieval Maghrib*, articles VIII and IX, respectively, and his "ʿAbbasids, Fatimids and Seljuqs', in *The New Cambridge Medieval History*, vol. IV, part II, pp. 689–709.

116. See Amari, *Storia*, vol. 3, pp. 52–133, 372ff.; M. Canard, 'Une lettre du calife Fâṭimite al-Ḥâfiẓ (524–544/1130–1149) à Roger II', in *Atti del convegno internazionale di studi Ruggeriani* (Palermo, 1955), vol. 1, pp. 125–146, reprinted in his *Miscellanea Orientalia*, article VII; and Aziz Ahmad, *History of Islamic Sicily*, pp. 48–62.

117. These points can be gathered from Ibn Sīnā's autobiography, *Sīrat al-Shaykh al-Raʾīs*, which was completed by one of his disciples, Abū ʿUbayd al-Juzjānī; see the Arabic text and English translation of this work entitled *The Life of Ibn Sina*, ed. and tr. William E. Gohlman (Albany, NY, 1974), pp. 17–20. Professor Saʿīd Nafīsī (1897–1966) also prepared an edition together with a Persian translation of this biography as *Sargudhasht-i Ibn Sīnā* (Tehran, 1331/1952); while an earlier English translation may be found in A. J. Arberry, *Avicenna on Theology* (London, 1951), pp. 4–5, 9. See also S. Nafīsī, *Pūr-i Sīnā* (Tehran, 1333/1954), pp. 2ff., 63, 101, 107–108, 152, 205–214, 218; W. Ivanow, 'Abū ʿAlī Sīnā va Ismāʿīliyān-i makhfī', in *Jashn-nāma-yi Ibn Sīnā* (Tehran, 1334/1955), vol. 2, pp. 450–454; H. Corbin, *Avicenna and the Visionary Recital*, tr. W. R. Trask (New York, 1960), pp. 243–257, 314–318, and also his *Histoire*, pp. 238ff.

118. Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, vol. 9. pp. 180–181, and vol. 10, pp. 58–59, 84; al-Maqrīzī, *Ittiʿāẓ*, vol. 2, pp. 191–192; and Barthold, *Turkestan*, pp. 251, 304–305, 316–318.

119. The principal sources on the life and activities of al-Muʾayyad are his already-cited autobiography, *Sīrat al-Muʾayyad*, and his *Dīwān*, ed. M. Kāmil Ḥusayn (Cairo, 1949); with much information in Ḥusayn's introductions to both works. ʿĀrif Tāmir prepared another edition of al-Muʾayyad's autobiography under the title of *Mudhakkirāt dāʿī duʿāt al-dawla al-Fāṭimiyya al-Muʾayyad fi'l-Dīn* (Beirut, 1983). The *dāʿī* Idrīs devotes large sections to al-Muʾayyad in his *ʿUyūn*, vol. 6, pp. 329–359, and at the beginning of vol. 7, text pp. 37–84, 152–153. Briefer though valuable references may also be found in Ibn al-Balkhī, *The Fārs-nāma*, ed. G. Le Strange and R. A. Nicholson (London, 1921), p. 119, a local history of Fārs written around 498/1105, and in Ibn al-Ṣayrafī, *al-Ishāra*, in *BIFAO*, 25 (1924), pp. 61, 65, 69 (44, 48, 52). In modern times, Ḥusayn al-Hamdānī was the first person to call the attention of researchers to the important role of this *dāʿī* in the events of the Fāṭimid state; see especially his 'Doctrines and History', pp. 97ff.; 'Some Unknown Ismāʿīlī Authors', pp. 375–377; 'The History of the Ismāʿīlī Daʿwat and its Literature during the Last Phase of the Fāṭimid Empire', *JRAS* (1932), pp. 129–135; *al-Ṣulayḥiyyūn*, pp. 175–179, 261–265; and 'al-Muʾaiyad fi'l-Dīn', *EI*, vol. 3, p. 615. See also Ḥasan, *Taʾrīkh*, pp. 492–500; Zāhid ʿAlī, *Taʾrīkh*, vol. 1, pp. 116–118; Ḥusayn, *Fī adab*, pp. 59–65; J. Muscati and A. M. Moulvi, *Life and Lectures of the Grand Missionary al-Muayyad fid-Din al-Shirazi* (Karachi, 1950), pp. 3–77, a somewhat popular account; A. al-Hamdani drew extensively on al-Muʾayyad's autobiography in his

dissertation, 'Sīra', especially pp. 19–135, summarized in his 'The Fatimid Daʿi al-Muʾayyad: His Life and Work', in *Great Ismaili Heroes*, pp. 41–47. Verena Klemm has now produced major studies of al-Muʾayyad's career, based on his *Sīra*, in her doctoral thesis, *Die Mission des fāṭimidischen Agenten al-Muʾayyad fī d-dīn in Šīrāz* (Frankfurt-am-Main, 1989), and in the already cited *Memoirs of a Mission*. Another important modern study of this *dāʿī*, focusing on his poetry, is Tahera Qutbuddin's *Al-Muʾayyad al-Shīrāzī and Fatimid Daʿwa Poetry* (Leiden, 2005). See also Ivanow, *Ismaili Literature*, pp. 45–47; Poonawala, *Bio*, pp. 103–109; his 'al-Muʾayyad fi'l-Dīn', *EI2*, vol. 7, pp. 270–271; and Daftary, *Ismaili Literature*, pp. 130–131.

120. Al-Muʾayyad, *Dīwān*, pp. 256–258, and Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, vol. 9, p. 199.
121. Al-Muʾayyad fi'l-Dīn al-Shīrāzī, *al-Majālis al-Muʾayyadiyya*, ed. M. Ghālib (Beirut, 1974–1984), vols. 1 and 3. Another edition of the first three volumes of this work has been produced by the Bohra scholar Ḥātim Ḥamīd al-Dīn (Bombay–Oxford, 1395–1424/1975–2005); but hereafter our references are to Ghālib's edition. A selection of these *Majālis* by Ḥātim b. Ibrāhīm al-Ḥamīdī, entitled *Jāmiʿ al-ḥaqāʾiq*, has been edited by Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Qādir ʿAbd al-Nāṣir (Cairo, 1975). An English summary of some of al-Muʾayyad's lectures may be found in Muscati and Moulvi, *Life and Lectures*, pp. 78–183; reprinted in *APP*, pp. 281–290.
122. This correspondence, included in the 13th *Majlis* of the 6th volume, is reproduced in Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-udabāʾ* (Cairo, 1936–1938), vol. 3, pp. 176–213, and also in his *Irshād*, vol. 1, pp. 194–214; it is edited, translated and analyzed in D. S. Margoliouth, 'Abu'l-ʿAlā al-Maʿarrī's Correspondence on Vegetarianism', *JRAS* (1902), pp. 289–332. See also R. A. Nicholson, *Studies in Islamic Poetry* (Cambridge, 1921), pp. 134–136, 141–142.
123. See P. Kraus, 'Beiträge zur islamischen Ketzergeschichte: Das Kitāb az-Zumurruḏ des Ibn ar-Rāwandī', *RSO*, 14 (1933–1934), pp. 93–129, 335–379, where the relevant lectures, 17th to 22nd of the 5th volume, are reproduced on pp. 96–109; reprinted in his *Alchemie, Ketzerei*, pp. 109–190.
124. This spurious autobiography was used by Luṭf ʿAlī Beg Ādhar (d. 1195/1781) in his *Ātashkada* (Bombay, 1299/1881–1882), pp. 202–208; in more recent times, only one reprint edition of this work, based on the one lithographed in Calcutta in 1277/1860, has appeared (Tehran, 1337/1958), pp. 202–208. An abridgement of this autobiography was included in the introduction to the first lithographic edition of Nāṣir's *Dīwān* (Tabrīz, 1280/1864); it also appeared in a subsequent undated edition of his *Dīwān* lithographed in Bombay, pp. 2–14. Copies of this work, entitled *Sargudhasht-i Nāṣir-i Khusraw*, are still preserved by the Central Asian Ismāʿīlīs; see Bertel's and Bakoev, *Alphabetic Catalogue*, pp. 64–65.
125. After several lithographic editions, the first critical edition of Nāṣir-i Khusraw's *Dīwān* was prepared by the late Persian judge and scholar Sayyid Naṣr Allāh Taqavī (1871–1947), assisted by ʿAlī Akbar Dihkhudā and Mujtabā Mīnuvī (Tehran, 1304–1307/1925–1928), containing a valuable biographical introduction by the Persian scholar-politician Sayyid Hasan Taqizadeh (1878–1970). Subsequently, an improved edition of the *Dīwān*, based on the oldest known manuscript copy dated 736/1335, was prepared by M. Mīnuvī (1903–1977) and M. Muḥaqqiq (Tehran, 1353/1974). Some of Nāṣir's odes have been translated into English in a volume entitled *Forty Poems from the Divan*, tr. Peter L. Wilson and G. R. Aavani (Tehran, 1977), and

also in A. Schimmel, *Make a Shield from Wisdom: Selected Verses from Nāṣir-i Khusraw's Dīvān* (London, 1993). In the case of Nāṣir's *Safar-nāma*, besides the edition prepared by Schefer which provided the basis for several later editions produced in India and Persia, and that of Dabīr Siyāqī, mention may also be made of M. Ghanīzāda's edition (Berlin, 1341/1922). Aside from Schefer's French translation and Thackston's English translation, the *Safar-nāma* has been translated into German, Russian, Turkish, Arabic and Urdu; see Daftary, *Ismaili Literature*, pp. 138–139. In order to understand Nāṣir-i Khusraw's ideas, it is also essential to study his prose writings. These include the small corpus preserved by the Ismāʿīlīs of Central Asia, notably his *Wajh-i dīn*, ed. M. Ghanīzāda and M. Qazvīnī (Berlin, 1343/1924), with a better edition by Gholam Reza Aavani (Tehran, 1977), and his *Shish faṣl*, ed. and tr. W. Ivanow (Leiden, 1949); as well as other works, found in Istanbul libraries and elsewhere, such as his *Khwān al-ikhwān, Jāmiʿ al-ḥikmatayn*, and *Zād al-musāfirīn*, ed. M. Badhl al-Raḥmān (Berlin, 1341/1923); ed. S. I. ʿImādī Ḥāʾirī (Tehran, 1384/2005); our references are to the Berlin edition of the *Zād al-musāfirīn*.

126. See, for instance, Nāṣir-i Khusraw's *Gushāʾish va rahāʾish*, ed. S. Nafīsī (Leiden, 1950), pp. 82, 121, 123; ed. and tr. F. M. Hunzai as *Knowledge and Liberation: A Treatise on Philosophical Theology* (London, 1998), text pp. 49, 72, 73, translation pp. 82, 110, 111–112, omitting the relevant sentences; Italian trans., *Il libro dello scioglimento e della liberazione*, tr. P. Filippani-Ronconi (Naples, 1959), pp. 68, 99, 100, where the scribe clearly admits his censorship of certain passages in the original text.

127. On Nāṣir-i Khusraw's life, thought and works, aside from his own writings, see Dawlatshāh b. ʿAlāʾ al-Dawla, *Tadhkirat al-shuʿarāʾ*, ed. E. G. Browne (London-Leiden, 1901), pp. 61–64; partial English translation, *Memoirs of the Poets*, tr. P. B. Vachha (Bombay, 1909), pp. 29–33, amongst other medieval biographical works on Persian poets; H. Ethé, 'Neupersische Litteratur', in W. Geiger and E. Kuhn, ed., *Grundriss der iranischen Philologie* (Strassburg, 1895–1904), vol. 2, pp. 278–282; Edward G. Browne, 'Nasir-i-Khusraw, Poet, Traveller, and Propagandist', *JRAS* (1905), especially pp. 313–352; Browne, *A Literary History of Persia, from Firdawsi to Saʿdi*, pp. 218–246; J. Rypka, *History of Iranian Literature*, ed. K. Jahn (Dordrecht, 1968), pp. 185–189; Dh. Ṣafā, *Taʾrīkh-i adabiyyāt dar Īrān* (4th ed., Tehran, 1342–1373/1963–1994), vol. 2, pp. 165–166, 443–456, 893–898; and a number of studies by Mahdī Muḥaqqiq including his *Taḥlīl-i ashʿār-i Nāṣir-i Khusraw* (3rd ed., Tehran, 1359/1980), and articles reprinted in his *Bīst guftār* (Tehran, 1976), pp. 279–300, 359–364, see Daftary, *Ismaili Literature*, pp. 350–351. After the initial efforts of Éthe, Browne and Taqizadeh, a number of other scholars have attempted to shed further light on aspects of Nāṣir's life and career in the Ismāʿīlī movement; see especially Y. el-Khachab, *Nāṣir-é Ḫosraw, son voyage, sa pensée religieuse, sa philosophie et sa poésie* (Cairo, 1940); W. Ivanow, *Nasir-i Khusraw and Ismailism* (Bombay, 1948); also Ivanow, *Problems in Nasir-i Khusraw's Biography* (Bombay, 1956); Corbin, *Étude*, pp. 25–39, 46–48, 128–144; Corbin, 'Nāṣir-i Khusrau and Iranian Ismāʿīlism', in *Cambridge History of Iran*, vol. 4, pp. 520–542; Bertel's *Nasir-i Khosrov*, especially pp. 148–264; tr. Āriyanpūr, pp. 149–256; Filippani-Ronconi, *Ismaeliti*, pp. 121–127. Numerous publications of Russian and Tajik scholars, such as N. Arabzoda, G. A. Ashurov and T. O. Muradova are listed in Daftary, *Ismaili Literature*,

pp. 205–206, 208–209, 352–353, and a number of shorter studies by Bertel's, Dabīr Siyāqī, and others appeared in *Yādnāma-yi Nāṣir-i Khusraw*, produced on the occasion of Nāṣir's millenary. For the most recent study, see Alice C. Hunsberger, *Nasir Khusraw, The Ruby of Badakhshan: A Portrait of the Persian Poet, Traveller and Philosopher* (London, 2000); also her 'Nasir Khusraw: Fatimid Intellectual', in F. Daftary, ed., *Intellectual Traditions in Islam* (London, 2000), pp. 112–129. See also Charles A. Storey, *Persian Literature: A Bio-bibliographical Survey* (London, 1927–), vol. 1, part 2, pp. 1138–1141; Ivanow, *Guide*, pp. 89–96; Ivanow, *Ismaili Literature*, pp. 159–163; Poonawala, *Bio*, pp. 111–125, 430–436; Daftary, *Ismaili Literature*, pp. 134–140; E. E. Bertel's, 'Nāṣir-i Khusraw', *EI*, vol. 3, pp. 869–870; A. Nanji, 'Nāṣir-i Khusraw', *EI2*, vol. 7, pp. 1006–1007; and S. H. Nasr, 'Nāṣir-i Khusraw', *ER*, vol. 10, pp. 312–313. Now also see L. Ājurlū, *Kitābshināsī-yi jāmiʿ-i Ḥakīm Nāṣir-i Khusraw Qubādiyānī*, ed. R. Musalmāniyān Qubādiyānī (Tehran, 1384/2005).

128. *Dīwān*, ed. Taqavī, p. 173; ed. Mīnuvī, p. 507.
129. *Safar-nāma*, ed. Schefer, text pp. 1–2, translation pp. 3–4; ed. Ghanīzāda, p. 3; ed. Dabīr Siyāqī, p. 2; tr. Thackston, pp. 1–2.
130. *Dīwān*, ed. Taqavī, pp. 172–177; ed. Mīnuvī, pp. 505–515; translated and analyzed in Ivanow, *Nasir-i Khusraw*, pp. 17–35, and also in his *Problems*, pp. 21–40.
131. *Safar-nāma*, ed. Schefer, text pp. 42–56, translation pp. 124–160; ed. Ghanīzāda, pp. 59–81; ed. Dabīr Siyāqī, pp. 74–100; tr. Thackston, pp. 44–58.
132. See three works by Nāṣir-i Khusraw: *Zād al-musāfirīn*, p. 397; *Jāmiʿ al-ḥikmatayn*, pp. 15, 16–17; tr. de Gastines, pp. 47–48, and *Dīwān*, ed. Taqavī, pp. 309, 313, 321, 402, 404, 413, 420, 439, 451, 472, 478; ed. Mīnuvī, pp. 8, 10, 17, 51, 56, 86, 92, 366, 416, 459, 490 and elsewhere.
133. Abu'l-Maʿālī, *Bayān al-adyān*, pp. 39–40. The passages in question are also contained in the partial edition of this work in Charles Schefer, *Chrestomathie Persane* (Paris, 1883–1885), vol. 1, p. 161. For Nāṣir's own references to his visit to Māzandarān, see his *Dīwān*, ed. Taqavī, pp. 413, 506; ed. Mīnuvī, pp. 56, 516.
134. Nāṣir-i Khusraw, *Zād al-musāfirīn*, pp. 3, 402, and also his *Dīwān*, ed. Taqavī, pp. 110, 217, 430, 448; ed. Mīnuvī, pp. 162, 234, 287, 436; tr. Wilson and Aavani, pp. 73, 113.
135. Nāṣir refers to these unhappy events in many of his odes; see his *Dīwān*, ed. Taqavī, especially pp. 5, 190–191, 205, 272–273, 287, 289, 294, 331, 387, 429, 465, 467, 469, 489; ed. Mīnuvī, pp. 11, 138–139, 153, 156–157, 209, 303, 310, 343, 351, 400–401, 419, 435, 446, 539; tr. Wilson and Aavani, pp. 62, 97, 113.
136. See *Zād al-musāfirīn*, p. 280.
137. *Dīwān*, ed. Taqavī, p. 281; ed. Mīnuvī, p. 195; tr. Wilson and Aavani, p. 115, where *pānzdah*, or fifteen, is erroneously translated as fifty.
138. See *Jāmiʿal-ḥikmatayn*, pp. 15, 17, 314–316; tr. de Gastines, pp. 47, 48, 327–329; ʿA. Ḥabībī, 'ʿAlī b. Asad', *EIR*, vol. 1, p. 848; and H. Landolt, 'Jāmiʿal-ḥikmatayn', *EWI*, vol. 9, pp. 328–329.
139. *Dīwān*, ed. Taqavī, pp. 8, 36, 106, 144, 203, 253–254, 271, 275–276, 281–282, 285–286, 290, 305, 326, 329–330, 354, 392, 416, 429, 441, 492, 497; ed. Mīnuvī, pp. 17, 60, 96, 108, 113, 116, 135, 144–145, 151, 170–171, 195–196, 228, 326, 348, 368, 372, 417–418, 433, 435, 469–470, 487; tr. Wilson and Aavani, pp. 97, 100–101, 106, 113, 115. See also Nāṣir-i Khusraw, *Wajh-i dīn*, ed. Ghanīzāda, p. 210; ed. Aavani, pp. 242–243.

140. *Dīwān*, ed. Taqavī, p. 98; ed. Mīnuvī, p. 61.
141. See Ivanow, *Problems*, p. 43; Bertel's, *Nasir-i Khosrov*, p. 190; tr. Āriyanpūr, p. 187; Khalīl Allāh Khalīlī, 'Mazār-i Nāṣir-i Khusraw', *Yaghmā*, 20, (1346/1967), pp. 438–442, 472–476, a detailed description of the site by the late Afghan diplomat-poet; and Willey, *Eagle's Nest*, pp. 253–255.
142. See Madelung, 'Imamat', pp. 127–132, where the different variants of this doctrine are also discussed. See also Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Nīsābūrī, *Ithbāt al-imāma*, ed. M. Ghālib (Beirut, 1984), written by a renowned Ismāʿīlī *dāʿī* who flourished during the reigns of al-ʿAzīz and al-Ḥākim.
143. Al-Kirmānī developed his interpretation of the doctrine of the imamate in his *Mabāsim*, ed. Ḥusayn, pp. 56–59, 61, 63–64, 66, and in his *al-Risāla al-wāʿiẓa*, ed. Ḥusayn, pp. 11–14, 21ff.; both included also in al-Kirmānī, *Majmūʿat rasāʾil*, pp. 114–117, 119, 121–123, 124, 134–136, 142ff., and in a major portion of the second *maqāla* in his *al-Maṣābīḥ fī ithbāt al-imāma*, pp. 80–155. See also al-Kirmānī's *Rāḥat al-ʿaql*, pp. 127, 145, 159–160, 167–168, 261, 379ff., 390ff., 424–430.
144. Al-Muʾayyad, *al-Majālis*, vol. 1, p. 363.
145. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Ṣūrī, *al-Qaṣīda al-Ṣūriyya*, ed. ʿĀrif Tāmir (Damascus, 1955), especially pp. 41–71. On this *dāʿī*, see Ghālib, *Aʿlām*, pp. 282–283; Ivanow, *Ismaili Literature*, p. 171; and Poonawala, *Bio*, p. 110.
146. Al-Ṣūrī, *al-Qaṣīda*, pp. 67ff.
147. Ismāʿīlī tradition ascribes this already-cited work to Badr al-Jamālī, though in some copies of the *Fihrist* of al-Majdūʿ, such as the one underlying Munzavī's edition, pp. 136–137, it is instead attributed to al-Muʾayyad al-Shīrāzī. M. Kāmil Ḥusayn, the learned editor of the published text of *al-Majālis al-Mustanṣiriyya* has, in his introductory comments, ascribed it to an anonymous *dāʿī*. However, it was demonstrated by S. M. Stern in his 'Cairo as the Centre of the Ismāʿīlī Movement', in *Colloque du Caire*, pp. 439–440, that the author of these lectures was Abu'l-Qāsim ʿAbd al-Ḥākim b. Wahb al-Malījī, chief *qāḍī* in Cairo during 450–452 AH, in al-Mustanṣir's caliphate. See also Vatikiotis, *Fatimid Theory of State*, pp. 201–203; Ivanow, *Ismaili Literature*, pp. 46–47, 49; and Poonawala, *Bio*, pp. 319–320.
148. Al-Malījī, *al-Majālis al-Mustanṣiriyya*, p. 30.
149. Ibid., pp. 30–31, 32, 36–37, 64, 117. The author is aware of the fact that al-Mustanṣir was, in his own words, the nineteenth imam after the Prophet. Nevertheless, he also seems to have started a different enumeration of the imams, commencing with the establishment of the Fāṭimid caliphate and, consequently, ranking al-Mustanṣir as the eighth imam and the eighth amongst the *khulafāʾ*, which in his terminology apparently referred to the Fāṭimid caliph-imams.
150. Al-Malījī, *al-Majālis al-Mustanṣiriyya*, especially pp. 43–47.
151. Nāṣir-i Khusraw, *Wajh-i dīn*, ed. Ghanīzāda, pp. 9, 12, 33, 42, 110–112, 127, 128, 146, 151, 182, 203, 245; ed. Aavani, 13, 16, 43, 54, 127–129, 148, 150, 169, 175, 212, 335.
152. *Wajh-i dīn*, ed. Ghanīzāda, pp. 76, 80, 94, 109, 122, 130, 132, 138, 154, 161–163, 164, 173, 194, 196–198, 231; ed. Aavani, pp. 94, 98, 111, 126–127, 141, 152, 154, 160, 177, 186–188, 189, 202, 225, 227–228, 265.
153. *Wajh-i dīn*, ed. Ghanīzāda, p. 212; ed. Aavani, pp. 244–245.

154. *Wajh-i dīn*, ed. Ghanīzāda, pp. 86–88, 136, 138, 163, 212, 223; ed. Aavani, pp. 104–105, 158, 161, 187–188, 244–245, 256–257.
155. *Wajh-i dīn*, ed. Ghanīzāda, pp. 46–51, 147; ed. Aavani, pp. 60–65, 169–170; see also Nāṣir's *Jāmiʿ al-ḥikmatayn*, pp. 111–112; tr. de Gastines, p. 132.
156. *Wajh-i dīn*, ed. Ghanīzāda, pp. 109, 135, 293; ed. Aavani, pp. 126–127, 157, 331, and *Jāmiʿ al-ḥikmatayn*, p. 163; tr. de Gastines, p. 185.
157. *Wajh-i dīn*, ed. Ghanīzāda, p. 215; ed. Aavani, p. 248.
158. *Khalqān* is, however, taken by Madelung, 'Imamat', p. 131, to be a corruption of *khulafāʾ* or vicegerents of the Qāʾim. But elsewhere, *Wajh-i dīn*, ed. Ghanīzāda, pp. 131, 154; ed. Aavani, pp. 153, 177, Nāṣir himself explicitly speaks of the Qāʾim's *khalīfa*.
159. See *Wajh-i dīn*, ed. Ghanīzāda, pp. 51, 152–154, 166, 171, 209, 212, 241; ed. Aavani, pp. 65, 176–177, 192, 200, 242, 245, 276. See also the following works of Nāṣir-i Khusraw: *Shish faṣl*, text pp. 29, 38, 39–44, translation pp. 66, 79, 80–87; *Gushāʾish*, ed. Nafīsī, p. 92; ed. Hunzai, text p. 54, translation pp. 87–88; tr. Filippani-Ronconi, p. 74; *Khwān al-ikhwān*, ed. al-Khashshāb, pp. 245ff.; ed. Qavīm, pp. 281ff.; *Zād al-musāfirīn*, pp. 476–484; and *Jāmiʿal-ḥikmatayn*, pp. 121–122, 163–165; tr. de Gastines, pp. 141–142, 185–187.
160. Madelung, 'Imamat', p. 132.
161. Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, vol. 9, p. 205; Ibn Muyassar, *Akhbār*, p. 13; al-Maqrīzī, *Ittiʿāẓ*, vol. 2, p. 223; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Nujūm*, vol. 5, p. 53. See also H. Laoust, 'Les agitations religieuses à Baghdad aux IVe et Ve siècles de l'hégire', in Richards, ed., *Islamic Civilisation*, pp. 175ff.
162. Selections from al-Ghazālī's *al-Mustaẓhirī*, together with an analysis of the cited passages, were first published by I. Goldziher in his *Streitschrift des Ġazālī gegen die Bāṭinijja-Sekte*, text pp. 1–81, analysis pp. 36–112, but the complete edition of this text, in ten chapters, entitled *Faḍāʾiḥ al-Bāṭiniyya*, was prepared by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Badawī (1917–2002); partial English trans. in Richard J. McCarthy, *Freedom and Fulfillment* (Boston, 1980), pp. 175–286. See also al-Ghazālī, *al-Munqidh min al-ḍalāl*, ed. J. Ṣalībā and K. ʿAyād (11th ed., Beirut, 1983), pp. 89, 117–129, 154ff.; ed. and tr. F. Jabre (Beirut, 1959), text pp. 15, 28–34, 46ff., French translation pp. 67, 85–94, 108ff.; W. M. Watt, *The Faith and Practice of al-Ghazālī* (London, 1953), pp. 26, 43–54, 71ff., containing the translation of al-Ghazālī's spiritual autobiography, *al-Munqidh*, under the title *Deliverance from Error*; F. Jabre, *La notion de certitude selon Ghazali* (Paris, 1958), pp. 294–326, 335ff., 348–368; W. M. Watt, *Muslim Intellectual: A Study of al-Ghazali* (Edinburgh, 1963), pp. 73–86, 174–175; Corbin, *Histoire*, pp. 251–261; Hodgson, *Venture of Islam*, vol. 2, pp. 183–188; ʿAbd al-Ḥusayn Zarrīnkūb, *Farār az madrasa: dar bāra-yi Abū Ḥāmid Ghazālī* (2nd ed., Tehran, 1356/1977), pp. 44–45, 53–54, 65–66, 72–73, 76–80, 150–152; G. Makdisi, 'The Sunnī Revival', in Richards, ed., *Islamic Civilisation*, pp. 155–168; F. Daftary, 'Ghazālī va Ismāʿīliyya', *Maʿārif*, 1 (March, 1985), pp. 179–198; and F. Mitha, *Al-Ghazālī and the Ismailis: A Debate on Reason and Authority in Medieval Islam* (London, 2001), containing a detailed analysis of *al-Mustaẓhirī*.
163. See M. Bouyges, *Essai de chronologie des œuvres de al-Ghazali*, ed. M. Allard (Beirut, 1959), pp. 30–33, 45–46, 56–57, 85–86, 88, 113. Al-Ghazālī's short anti-Ismāʿīlī

tract *Qawāṣim al-Bāṭiniyya* was edited and translated into Turkish by Ahmed Ateş (1911–1966), in *Ilâhiyât Fakültesi Dergisi, Ankara University*, 3 (1954), pp. 23–54.

164. ʿAlī b. Muḥammad Ibn al-Walīd, *Dāmigh al-bāṭil wa-ḥatf al-munāḍil*, ed. M. Ghālib (Beirut, 1982), 2 vols.; see also H. Corbin, 'The Ismāʿīlī Response to the Polemic of Ghazālī', in Nasr, ed., *Ismāʿīlī Contributions*, pp. 69–98; Ivanow, *Ismaili Literature*, pp. 69–70; and Poonawala, *Bio*, p. 159.
165. Nāṣir-i Khusraw, *Safar-nāma*, ed. Schefer, text pp. 81ff., translation pp. 225ff.; ed. Ghanīzāda, pp. 122ff.; ed. Dabīr Siyāqī, pp. 147ff.; tr. Thackston, pp. 86ff. See also de Goeje, *Mémoire*, pp. 155ff., and Lewis, *Origins*, pp. 99–100.
166. See M. J. de Goeje, 'La fin de l'empire des Carmathes du Bahraïn', pp. 5–30, and Madelung, 'Ḳarmaṭī', p. 664.
167. Al-Mustanṣir, *al-Sijillāt*, p. 179, and al-Hamdānī, 'Letters of al-Mustanṣir', p. 332.
168. Aside from Ibn al-Ṣayrafī's *al-Ishāra*, which is the chief primary source on the subject, see al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, vol. 3, pp. 485–486, and vol. 7, pp. 78–81, 107ff., and al-Maqrīzī, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, vol. 1, pp. 438ff. See also ʿAbd al-Munʿim Mājid, *Nuẓum al-Fāṭimiyyīn wa-rusūmuhum fī Miṣr* (Cairo, 1953–1955), vol. 1, pp. 78–93; Ḥasan, *Taʾrīkh*, pp. 268–279; al-Manāwī, *al-Wizāra*, especially pp. 33–99; Dachraoui, *Califat Fatimide*, pp. 279–395, 473–491; Lev, *State and Society*, pp. 38–54, 65–78; and Sayyid, *al-Dawla al-Fāṭimiyya*, pp. 315–372.
169. For the distinction between these two categories of viziers, see Abu'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī al-Māwardī, *al-Aḥkām al-sulṭāniyya* (Beirut, 1978), pp. 22–29.
170. See M. Canard, 'Notes sur les Arméniens en Égypte à l'époque Faṭimite', *AIEO*, 13 (1955), pp. 143–157; reprinted in his *Miscellanea Orientalia*, article VIII. Canard explains how the policies of the Armenian viziers Badr al-Jamālī and Bahrām encouraged the immigration of large numbers of Armenians to Fāṭimid Egypt, where many of them secured important posts. See also Dadoyan, *Fatimid Armenians*, pp. 106–178.
171. For the organization of the state and its different institutions in Fāṭimid Egypt, see Ibn al-Ṣayrafī, *Qānūn dīwān al-rasāʾil*, first edited by ʿAlī Bahjat (Cairo, 1905); ed. A. F. Sayyid, together with Ibn al-Ṣayrafī's *al-Ishāra* (Cairo, 1410/1990), pp. 1–42, which is the main source on chancery practices; French trans., H. Massé, 'Ibn El-Çaïrafī, Code de la chancellerie d'État (période Fāṭimide)', *BIFAO*, 11 (1914), pp. 65–120; al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, vol. 1, pp. 89ff., 101ff., 130–139, and vol. 3, pp. 467–528, and al-Maqrīzī, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, vol. 1, pp. 397–403, 408ff., 490ff., and vol. 2, pp. 225ff., 280ff., 295ff. Of the secondary sources, mention may be made of Mājid, *Nuẓum*, vol. 1, pp. 94–134, 191ff., and vol. 2, pp. 9–136, containing a detailed discussion of Fāṭimid ceremonial; Mājid, *Ẓuhūr*, pp. 289ff.; ʿA. Muṣṭafā Musharrafa, *Nuẓum al-ḥukm bi-Miṣr fī ʿaṣr al-Fāṭimiyyīn* (2nd ed., Cairo, n.d.); Ḥasan, *Taʾrīkh*, pp. 264ff., 279–305, 628–673; Zāhid ʿAlī, *Taʾrīkh*, vol. 2, pp. 87ff., 99–103, 126ff.; Ḥusayn, *Fī adab*, pp. 311–323; Surūr, *Miṣr*, pp. 179–195, 205–217; and Sayyid, *al-Dawla al-Fāṭimiyya*, pp. 373–654. Elaborate studies of Fāṭimid ceremonial may also be found in K. A. Inostrantsev, 'Torzhestvennïy vïezd fatimidskikh khalifov', *Zapiski Vostochnogo otdeleniya Imperatorskogo Russkogo Arkheologicheskogo obshchestva*, 17 (1906), pp. 1–113; P. E. Kahle, 'Die Schätze der Fatimiden', *ZDMG*, NS, 14 (1935), pp. 329–362; M. Canard, 'Le cérémonial Fatimite et le cérémonial Byzantin: Essai de comparison', *Byzantion*, 21 (1951), pp. 355–420; reprinted in his *Byzance et*

les Musulmans, article XIV; also his 'La procession du Nouvel An chez les Fatimides', *AIEO*, 10 (1952), pp. 364–395; reprinted in his *Miscellanea Orientalia*, article IV; and Paula Sanders, *Ritual, Politics, and the City in Fatimid Cairo* (Albany, NY, 1994); her 'From Court Ceremony to Urban Language: Ceremonial in Fatimid Cairo and Fustat', in Bosworth et al., ed., *Islamic World*, pp. 311–321; also her 'The Fāṭimid State, 969–1171', in *The Cambridge History of Egypt*, vol. I, pp. 151–174; and Irene A. Bierman, *Writing Signs: The Fatimid Public Text* (Berkeley, 1998). On the Fāṭimid armies, see B. J. Beshir, 'Fatimid Military Organization', *Der Islam*, 55 (1978), pp. 37–56; Y. Lev, 'Army, Regime, and Society in Fatimid Egypt, 358–487/968–1094', *IJMES*, 19 (1987), pp. 337–365; his *State and Society*, pp. 81–130; and Sayyid, *al-Dawla al-Fāṭimiyya*, pp. 657–746.

172. See W. Ivanow, 'The Organization of the Fatimid Propaganda', *JBBRAS*, NS, 15 (1939), pp. 1–35, reprinted in Turner, ed., *Orientalism*, vol. 1, pp. 531–571; Ḥasan, *Taʾrīkh*, pp. 326–354, 371–384; Zāhid ʿAlī, *Taʾrīkh*, vol. 2, pp. 211–225; Mājid, *Nuẓum*, vol. 1, pp. 177–190; also his *Ẓuhūr*, pp. 319–339; S. M. Stern, 'Cairo as the Centre of the Ismāʿīlī Movement', in *Colloque du Caire*, pp. 437–450; reprinted in his *Studies*, pp. 234–253; A. Hamdani, 'Evolution of the Organisational Structure of the Fāṭimī Daʿwah', *Arabian Studies*, 3 (1976), pp. 85–114; H. Halm, 'Methods and Forms of the Earliest Ismāʿīlī *Daʿwa*', in Kohlberg, ed., *Shīʿism*, pp. 277–290; B. Lewis, 'Bāb', *EI2*, vol. 1, p. 832; M. G. S. Hodgson, 'Dāʿī', *EI2*, vol. 2, pp. 97–98; M. Canard, 'Daʿwa', *EI2*, vol. 2, pp. 168–170; F. Daftary, 'The Ismaili *Daʿwa* outside the Fatimid *Dawla*', in Barrucand, ed., *L'Égypte Fatimide*, pp. 29–43; reprinted in his *IMMS*, pp. 62–88; his 'Dāʿī', *EIR*, vol. 6, pp. 590–593, and also his 'Bāb', *GIE*, vol. 10, pp. 733–735.

173. Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, vol. 1, pp. 390–391, and vol. 2, pp. 341–342; French tr., vol. 4, pp. 118–121. See also Ibn al-Ṭuwayr, *Nuzhat al-muqlatayn fī akhbār al-dawlatayn*, ed. A. F. Sayyid (Stuttgart–Beirut, 1992), pp. 110–112, and al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, vol. 10, pp. 434–439. For the best modern studies of these teaching sessions, see H. Halm, 'The Ismaʿili Oath of Allegiance (*ʿahd*) and the "Sessions of Wisdom" (*majālis al-ḥikma*) in Fatimid Times', in *MIHT*, pp. 98–112, and his *Fatimids and their Traditions of Learning*, especially pp. 23–29, 41–55. See also Paul E. Walker, 'Fatimid Institutions of Learning', *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt*, 34 (1997), pp. 179–200.

174. Al-Nuʿmān, *Iftitāḥ*, ed. al-Qāḍī, pp. 73, 76, 130, 140; ed. Dachraoui, pp. 49, 53, 128, 146.

175. The treatise in question was al-Nuʿmān's *Kitāb al-iqtiṣār*, ed. M. Waḥīd Mīrzā (Damascus, 1957).

176. A polemical work on the principles of Islamic law according to different schools of jurisprudence, this book is al-Nuʿmān's *Ikhtilāf uṣūl al-madhāhib*, ed. Lokhandwalla, also edited by M. Ghālib (Beirut, 1973).

177. See al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, vol. 8, pp. 239–241 (reprinted in *Majmūʿat al-wathāʾiq*, ed. al-Shayyāl, pp. 199–202), and vol. 11, pp. 61–66, citing letters of appointment for Fāṭimid governors of Faramā, ʿAsqalān and elsewhere, and in which the governors are also instructed to assist the local resident *dāʿī*s, designated as the representatives of *al-daʿwa al-hādiya*.

178. Al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, vol. 3, p. 483, and al-Maqrīzī, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, vol. 1, pp. 391, 403.

179. See Idrīs, *ʿUyūn*, vol. 7, text pp. 76–84; Ḥusayn's introduction to al-Muʾayyad's *Dīwān*, pp. 48–57; and A. al-Hamdani, 'Sīra', pp. 107ff. But it may be noted that the term *dāʿī al-duʿāt* is also applied to al-Muʾayyad, as an official title, in two of al-Mustanṣir's letters, dated 461/1069, issued to the Ṣulayḥids, see al-Hamdānī, 'Letters of al-Mustanṣir', pp. 322, 324, and also al-Majdūʿ, *Fihrist*, p. 40. Tahera Qutbuddin, however, has recently argued that *bāb* and *dāʿī al-duʿāt* were not synonymous and that while the *dāʿī al-duʿāt* was, in fact, the administrative head of the *daʿwa* organization, the *bāb* was merely a rank in the Ismāʿīlī esoteric hierarchy without any official functions; see her *Al-Muʾayyad al-Shīrāzī*, pp. 81–85.
180. See, for example, Ibn Muyassar, *Akhbār*, p. 18, and al-Maqrīzī, *Ittiʿāẓ*, vol. 2, p. 251.
181. Al-Kirmānī, *Rāḥat al-ʿaql*, pp. 135, 138, 143, 152, 205–208, 212–214, 224, 260–262, 349. See also al-Muʾayyad, *al-Majālis*, vol. 3, pp. 220, 256–257, 263–264. The *bāb*'s status is also described in various post-Fāṭimid Ismāʿīlī sources produced in Yaman: see, for instance, the references in *Gnosis-Texte der Ismailiten*, ed. R. Strothmann (Göttingen, 1943), pp. 8, 82, 102, 154,175.
182. Al-Nuʿmān, *Taʾwīl al-daʿāʾim*, vol. 2, p. 74, and vol. 3, pp. 48–49. See also al-Sijistānī, *Ithbāt*, p. 172, where seven of these *jazāʾir* are named, together with al-Turk, as some of the main regions of the world.
183. The reference in question, the only one of its kind known to Ivanow, is cited in the latter's *Rise*, pp. 20–21; see also Ivanow, *Studies*, pp. 15ff. On this Ismāʿīlī author and his *Risālat al-basmala*, see Ivanow, *Ismaili Literature*, pp. 54, 56, and Poonawala, *Bio*, pp. 139–140, 146.
184. Ibn Ḥawqal, *Ṣūrat al-arḍ*, p. 310; tr. Kramers and Wiet, vol. 2, p. 304.
185. Al-Nuʿmān, *Taʾwīl al-daʿāʾim*, vol. 1, pp. 114–116, 147, 297, vol. 2, pp. 116–117, and vol. 3, pp. 86–88, and also his *Asās*, pp. 79–80, 127, 190, 224. Some sources mention twelve *ḥujja*s of the day and twelve *ḥujja*s of the night: see Jaʿfar b. Manṣūr al-Yaman, *Asrār al-nuṭaqāʾ*, ed. Ghālib, pp. 42, 216–217. See also the remarks of al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī Ibn al-Walīd (d. 667/1268) in his *Risālat al-mabdaʾwaʾl-maʿād*, in *Trilogie Ismaélienne*, ed. and tr. H. Corbin (Tehran–Paris, 1961), text pp. 114–115, translation pp. 167–168, and other post-Fāṭimid Yamanī texts in Strothmann, ed., *Gnosis-Texte*, pp. 102–175.
186. There may have been as many as thirty *dāʿī*s in some *jazīra*s, see Nāṣir-i Khusraw, *Wajh-i dīn*, ed. Ghanīzāda, p. 154; ed. Aavani, p. 178.
187. Al-Kirmānī, *Rāḥat al-ʿaql*, pp. 134–139, 224–225, quoted with commentary in Corbin, 'Épiphanie divine', pp. 178–184; reprinted in his *Temps cyclique*, pp. 103–108; English translation, 'Divine Epiphany', in *Papers from the Eranos Yearbooks*, vol. 5, pp. 100–105; reprinted in Corbin, *Cyclical Time*, pp. 90–95.
188. See Abū Hātim al-Rāzī, *al-Iṣlāḥ*, pp. 6, 9, 12, 13, 14, 15, 17, 19, 91, 97, 102, 107, 125, 140, 184, 260, 298, 302; al-Sijistānī, *Ithbāt*, pp. 91, 100, 128, and also his *Kitāb al-yanābīʿ*, in *Trilogie Ismaélienne*, text p. 8, translation p. 21. See also Jaʿfar b. Manṣūr al-Yaman, *Asrār al-nuṭaqāʾ*, ed. Ghālib, pp. 159, 160, 220.
189. Al-Nuʿmān, *Kitāb al-himma fī ādāb atbāʿ al-aʾimma*, ed. M. Kāmil Ḥusayn (Cairo, [1948]), pp. 136–140; abridged English trans., *Selections from Qazi Noaman's Kitab-ul-Himma; or, Code of Conduct for the Followers of Imam*, tr. J. Muscati and A. M. Moulvi (Karachi, 1950), pp. 134–135.
190. Al-Nīsābūrī's lost *al-Risāla al-mūjaza al-kāfiya fī ādāb al-duʿāt* is reproduced in full, except for a short introduction, by Ḥātim b. Ibrāhīm al-Ḥāmidī (d. 596/ 1199) at

the end of his *Tuḥfat al-qulūb*, a treatise on Ismāʿīlī doctrine which has not been published. It is also quoted in Ḥasan b. Nūḥ al-Bharūchī's *Kitāb al-azhār*, vol. 2, still in manuscript form. A facsimile edition of this treatise, as preserved by al-Bharūchī, is contained in Klemm, *Die Mission des fāṭimidischen Agenten*, pp. 206–277. The main points of this treatise may be found in Ivanow, 'Organization of the Fatimid Propaganda', pp. 18–35.

191. See al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-arab*, vol. 25, pp. 195ff.; translated in de Sacy, *Exposé*, vol. 1, introduction pp. 74ff.; Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz*, vol. 6, pp. 97ff.; and al-Maqrīzī, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, vol. 1, pp. 391ff.
192. Al-Baghdādī, *al-Farq*, pp. 282ff.; tr. Halkin, pp. 138ff.; al-Ghazālī, *Faḍāʾiḥ al-Bāṭiniyya*, pp. 21–32; also in Goldziher, *Streitschrift*, text pp. 4ff., analysis pp. 40ff.
193. This official Fāṭimid viewpoint is well reflected in the works of al-Kirmānī, notably in his *al-Wāʿiẓa* written in refutation of the Druze ideas. It is also reiterated in the writings of other major authors who represented the views of the Fāṭimid *daʿwa* headquarters; see, for instance, al-Nuʿmān, *Daʿāʾim*, vol. 1, p. 53; also his *Asās*, pp. 33ff., 347ff., 364ff.; and his *Taʾwīl al-daʿāʾim*, vol. 1, pp. 69–71; al-Muʾayyad, *al-Majālis*, vol. 1, pp. 114, 124, 162, 189, 192, 260, 332, 351; and Nāṣir-i Khusraw, *Wajh-i dīn*, ed. Ghanīzāda, pp. 61–67, 280–281; ed. Aavani, pp. 77–83, 318–319, where antinomianism is severely condemned.
194. Al-Nuʿmān, *Daʿāʾim*, vol. 1, pp. 25–27, 31ff.; tr. Fyzee and Poonawala, vol. 1, pp. 34–36, 41ff.; al-Muʾayyad, *al-Majālis*, vol. 1, pp. 410–411; and al-Malījī, *al-Majālis al-Mustanṣiriyya*, pp. 29–30.
195. See I. K. Poonawala, 'Hadith. iii. Hadith in Ismaʿilism', *EIR*, vol. 11, pp. 449–451.
196. This section is partially based on Daftary, *A Short History of the Ismailis*, pp. 81–89.
197. On these Neoplatonic texts and their influences on early Ismāʿīlī thinkers, see P. Kraus, 'Plotin chez les Arabes', *Bulletin de l'Institut d'Égypte*, 23 (1940–1941), pp. 263–295; reprinted in his *Alchemie, Ketzerei*, pp. 313–345; S. Pines, 'La longue récension de la Théologie d'Aristote dans ses rapports avec la doctrine Ismaélienne', *REI*, 22 (1954), pp. 7–20; S. M. Stern, 'Ibn Ḥasdāy's Neoplatonist', *Oriens*, 13–14 (1960–1961), especially pp. 58–98; reprinted in his *Medieval Arabic and Hebrew Thought* (London, 1983), article VII; R. C. Taylor, 'The *Kalām fī maḥḍ al-khair* (*Liber de causis*) in the Islamic Philosophical Milieu' and F. Zimmermann, 'The Origins of the So-called *Theology of Aristotle*', both in J. Kraye et al., ed., *Pseudo-Artistotle in the Middle Ages: The Theology and Other Texts* (London, 1986), pp. 37–52, 110–240; and Walker, *Early Philosophical Shiism*, pp. 37–44.
198. Ḥamīd al-Dīn al-Kirmānī, *Kitāb al-riyāḍ*, ed. ʿĀrif Tāmir (Beirut, 1960).
199. Nāṣir-i Khusraw, *Khwān al-ikhwān*, ed. al-Khashshāb, pp. 112ff.; ed. Qavīm, pp. 131ff., and also his *Zād al-musāfirīn*, pp. 421–422. See also Corbin's remarks in his edition of al-Sijistānī's *Kashf al-maḥjūb*, pp. 15–18.
200. See Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī, *al-Iṣlāḥ*, pp. 56–64, 77–103 and elsewhere; al-Kirmānī, *al-Riyāḍ*, pp. 176–212. See also Madelung, 'Imamat', pp. 101–106.
201. Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī, *al-Iṣlāḥ*, pp. 64–76, 83.
202. Ibid., pp. 243–258, 326–327.
203. Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī, *al-Iṣlāḥ*, pp. 148–167, and al-Sijistānī, *Ithbāt*, pp. 82–83. See also Shin Nomoto, 'An Early Ismaili View of Other Religions: A Chapter from the *Kitāb al-Iṣlāḥ* by Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī (d. ca. 322/934)', in Lawson, ed., *Reason and Inspiration*, pp. 142–156, and A. Nanji, 'Portraits of Self and

Others: Ismaʿili Perspesctives on the History of Religions', in *MIHT*, pp. 153–160.

204. Many of Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī's ideas on prophecy and on different religions, elaborated in *al-Iṣlāḥ*, find their first expressions in his *Aʿlām al-nubuwwa*, ed. Ṣ. al-Ṣāwī and G. R. Aʿvānī (Tehran, 1977), especially pp. 52ff., 59, 69ff., 160ff., 171–177, 267; sections of this important work are reproduced in P. Kraus, 'Raziana II', *Orientalia*, NS, 5 (1936), pp. 35–56, 358–378; reprinted in his *Alchemie, Ketzerei*, pp. 256–298. Al-Kirmānī also quotes with approval passages on prophecy from Abū Ḥātim's *Aʿlām* in his *al-Aqwāl al-dhahabiyya*, pp. 9–19. See also H. Corbin, 'De la gnose antique à la gnose Ismaélienne', in *XII Convegno 'Volta', Classe di Scienze Morali, Storiche e Filologiche*: *Oriente ed Occidente nel Medioevo* (Rome, 1957), pp. 138–143; reprinted in his *Temps cyclique*, pp. 203–208; English trans., 'From the Gnosis of Antiquity to Ismaili Gnosis', in Corbin, *Cyclical Time*, pp. 187–193; Stern, *Studies*, pp. 30–46; and H. Daiber, 'Abū Ḥātim ar-Rāzī (10th century A.D.) on the Unity and Diversity of Religions', in J. Gort et al., ed., *Dialogue and Syncretism: An Interdisciplinary Approach* (Grand Rapids, MI, 1989), pp. 87–104.
205. Al-Sijistānī, *al-Nuṣra*, quoted in *al-Riyāḍ*, pp. 176ff.; al-Sijistānī, *Ithbāt*, pp. 166, 181ff.; his *al-Iftikhār*, ed. Ghālib, p. 59; ed. Poonawala, p. 142, and also his *Kashf al-maḥjūb*, pp. 69ff., 81–83. See also Madelung, 'Imamat', pp. 106–109.
206. Al-Sijistānī, *al-Nuṣra*, quoted in *al-Riyāḍ*, p. 204.
207. Al-Sijistānī, *Ithbāt*, pp. 51–53.
208. Al-Sijistānī, *Ithbāt*, pp. 178, 186–187. Compare these ideas with those expressed in his *al-Iftikhār*, ed. Ghālib, pp. 72–73; ed. Poonawala, pp. 178–180.
209. Al-Sijistānī's metaphysical system may be studied particularly on the basis of his *Kitāb al-yanābīʿ*, ed. and tr. Corbin, in *Trilogie Ismaélienne*, text pp. 1–97, partial French translation pp. 5–127; complete English trans. as *The Book of Wellsprings*, in Walker, *The Wellsprings of Wisdom*, pp. 37–111; excerpt in *APP*, pp. 124–138. Al-Sijistānī's other works, such as *Kashf al-maḥjūb*, partial English trans. by H. Landolt as *Unveiling of the Hidden*, in *APP*, pp. 71–124; his *al-Iftikhār*, as well as his unpublished writings such as *al-Maqālīd*, also contain aspects of his metaphysical system. Of the secondary sources here, mention may be made of a number of studies by Paul E. Walker: 'Cosmic Hierarchies in Early Ismāʿīlī Thought: The View of Abū Yaʿqūb al-Sijistānī', *Muslim World*, 66 (1976), pp. 14–28; *Early Philosophical Shiism*, pp. 67–142, and his *Abū Yaʿqūb al-Sijistānī*, pp. 26–103. See also Azim Nanji, 'Ismāʿīlī Philosophy', in S. Hossein Nasr and O. Leaman, ed., *History of Islamic Philosophy* (London, 1996), vol. 1, pp. 144–154; W. Madelung, 'Aspects of Ismāʿīlī Theology: The Prophetic Chain and the God Beyond Being', in Nasr, ed., *Ismāʿīlī Contributions*, pp. 53–65; reprinted, in his *Religious Schools*, article XVII, and his 'Cosmogony and Cosmology. vi. In Ismaʿilism', *EIR*, vol. 6, p. 323.
210. Al-Sijistānī, *Kashf al-maḥjūb*, pp. 4–15; tr. Corbin, pp. 33–45; tr. Landolt, pp. 81–87.
211. Al-Sijistānī, *al-Yanābīʿ*, ed. and tr. Corbin, text pp. 22–29, 61ff., French translation pp. 42–48, 84ff.; tr. Walker, pp. 54–60, 85ff.; and also al-Sijistānī, *Ithbāt*, p. 145.
212. Al-Sijistānī, *Ithbāt*, p. 3.
213. Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī, *al-Iṣlāḥ*, pp. 23–26; al-Sijistānī's *al-Yanābīʿ*, text pp. 32ff., French translation pp. 49ff.; tr. Walker, pp. 62ff.; his *Ithbāt*, pp. 18, 145; and *al-Nuṣra*, quoted in *al-Riyāḍ*, pp. 59–65, 68–69.

214. Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī, *al-Iṣlāḥ*, pp. 26–28; al-Nasafī, *al-Maḥṣūl*, cited in *al-Riyāḍ*, p. 220; al-Sijistānī, *al-Yanābīʿ*, text p. 56, French translation p. 74; tr. Walker, p. 79, and his *Ithbāt*, pp. 2–3, 28.
215. Al-Sijistānī, *Kashf al-maḥjūb*, pp. 29–31; tr. Corbin, pp. 62–64; and *al-Nuṣra*, in *al-Riyāḍ*, pp. 102ff.
216. Al-Sijistānī, *Ithbāt*, p. 44.
217. Ibid., pp. 127–128.
218. See al-Sijistānī, *Tuḥfat al-mustajībīn*, in Tāmir, ed., *Khams rasāʾil*, pp. 148ff.; reprinted in Tāmir, *Thalāth rasāʾil*, pp. 13ff.; and also al-Sijistānī, *al-Iftikhār*, ed. Ghālib, pp. 38–42; ed. Poonawala, pp. 108–115.
219. Al-Sijistānī, *al-Yanābīʿ*, text pp. 17–19, French translation pp. 37–39; tr. Walker, pp. 51–52; al-Sijistānī, *al-Iftikhār*, ed. Ghālib, pp. 47–56; ed. Poonawala, pp. 123–137.
220. The original Arabic passage is quoted in Arendonk, *Les début*s, p. 333. See also al-Baghdādī, *al-Farq*, pp. 269–270, 277–278; tr. Halkin, pp. 115–117, 131; and al-Daylamī, *Bayān*, pp. 5–6, 72–73.
221. Al-Sijistānī, *al-Iftikhār*, ed. Ghālib, pp. 43ff., ed. Poonawala, pp. 116ff., and his *Ithbāt*, p. 128. See also Jaʿfar b. Manṣūr al-Yaman, *Asrār al-nuṭaqāʾ*, ed. Ghālib, pp. 24ff., 81.
222. Walker, 'Cosmic Hierarchies', pp. 14ff.
223. Al-Sijistānī, *al-Yanābīʿ*, text pp. 44–47, French translation pp. 65–68; tr. Walker, pp. 70–73.
224. See Abū Manṣūr Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Māturīdī, *Kitāb al-tawḥīd*, ed. F. Kholeif (Beirut, 1970), pp. 3–27, 63–64; Abu'l-Qāsim Ismāʿīl b. Aḥmad al-Bustī, *Min kashf asrār al-Bāṭiniyya*, ed. ʿĀdil Sālim al-ʿAbd al-Jādir, in his *al-Ismāʿīliyyūn: kashf al-asrār wa-naqd al-afkār* (Kuwait, 2002), pp. 187–369. See also S. M. Stern, 'Abu'l-Qāsim al-Bustī and his Refutation of Ismāʿīlism', pp. 14–35; reprinted in his *Studies*, pp. 299–320, and Halm, *Kosmologie*, pp. 128–138, 222–224.
225. Nāṣir-i Khusraw's metaphysical system may be traced through his *Shish faṣl, Gushāʾish va rahāʾish, Khwān al-ikhwān, Zād al-musāfirīn* and, above all, his *Jāmiʿ al-ḥikmatayn*, which analyzes agreements and disagreements between the views of Muslim philosophers and the wisdom of the Ismāʿīlī gnosis.
226. Al-Kirmānī's metaphysical system, as expounded in his *Rāḥat al-ʿaql*, is thoroughly studied in de Smet's *La Quiétude de l'intellect*, especially pp. 35–309, and in Walker's *Ḥamīd al-Dīn al-Kirmānī*, especially pp. 80–117.
227. Al-Kirmānī, *Rāḥat al-ʿaql*, pp. 37–56; de Smet, *La Quiétude*, pp. 35ff.
228. Al-Kirmānī, *Rāḥat al-ʿaql*, pp. 121–131.
229. See al-Kirmānī, *Rāḥat al-ʿaql*, pp. 134–139, and Corbin, 'Épiphanie divine', pp. 178–184; English trans. in Corbin, *Cyclical Time*, pp. 90–95.
230. See de Smet, *La Quiétude*, pp. 23–33, 379–398.
231. Three complete and independent editions of the *Epistles* have appeared so far. These are *Kitāb Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾwa-Khullān al-Wafāʾ* (Bombay, 1305–1306/1887–1889), 4 vols.; *Rasāʾil Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾwa-Khullān al-Wafāʾ*, ed. Khayr al-Dīn al-Ziriklī with introductions by Ṭāhā Ḥusayn and Aḥmad Zakī Pasha (Cairo, 1347/1928), 4 vols., and *Rasāʾil Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾwa-Khullān al-Wafāʾ*, with an introduction by B. al-Bustānī (Beirut, 1957), 4 vols. ʿĀrif Tāmir also produced an edition (Beirut,

1995), 5 vols., based mainly on the Beirut edition. See also David R. Blumenthal, 'A Comparative Table of the Bombay, Cairo, and Beirut Editions of the Rasāʾil Iḫwān al-Ṣafāʾ' *Arabica*, 21 (1974), pp. 186–203. Large portions of the Arabic text of the *Rasāʾil* were edited together with German translation, by F. Dieterici (1821–1903) in his *Die Philosophie bei den Arabern im X. Jahrhundert* (Leipzig, 1865–1886). A partial French translation, with extensive analysis, of the *Epistles* may be found in Y. Marquet, *La philosophie des Iḫwān al-Ṣafāʾ* (Algiers, 1975), and a partial Italian translation is contained in A. Bausani, *L'Enciclopedia dei Fratelli della Purità* (Naples, 1978). Susanne Diwald was preparing a comprehensive German translation, with commentary, of the *Rasāʾil*, of which only one volume (dealing with the third book of the *Epistles*) appeared before her death, under the title of *Arabische Philosophie und Wissenschaft in der Enzyklopädie Kitāb Iḫwān aṣ-ṣafāʾ (III): Die Lehre von Seele und Intellekt* (Wiesbaden, 1975), containing an extensive bibliography, pp. 557–592. For other partial translations and editions of the *Rasāʾil*, see Daftary, *Ismaili Literature*, pp. 166–173.

232. Idrīs, *ʿUyūn*, vol. 4, pp. 367–393, with a detailed description of the *Epistles*. See also al-Majdūʿ, *Fihrist*, pp. 154–158; H. F. al-Hamdānī, 'Rasāʾil Ikhwān aṣ-Ṣafā in the Literature of the Ismāʿīlī Ṭaiyibī Daʿwat', *Der Islam*, 20 (1932), pp. 281–300; Abbas Hamdani, 'An Early Fāṭimid Source on the Time and Authorship of the *Rasāʾil Iḫwān al-Ṣafāʾ*', *Arabica*, 26 (1979), pp. 62–75, and his 'A Critique of Paul Casanova's Dating of the *Rasāʾil Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ*', in *MIHT*, pp. 145–152.

233. See Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī, *al-Imtāʿ waʾl-muʾānasa*, ed. A. Amīn and A. al-Zayn (Cairo, 1939–1944), vol. 2, pp. 4ff., 157–160; reproduced in Ibn Qifṭī, *Taʾrīkh al-ḥukamāʾ*, ed. J. Lippert (Leipzig, 1903), pp. 82–88, and ʿAbd al-Jabbār al-Hamadhānī, *Tathbīt*, ed. ʿUthmān, pp. 610ff. See also several works by S. M. Stern: 'The Authorship of the Epistles of the Ikhwān-aṣ-Ṣafāʾ', *Islamic Culture*, 20 (1946), pp. 367–372; 'Additional Notes to the Article: The Authorship of the Epistles of the Ikhwān aṣ-Ṣafāʾ', *Islamic Culture*, 21 (1947), pp. 403–404; 'New Information about the Authors of the Epistles of the Sincere Brethren', *Islamic Studies*, 3 (1964), pp. 405–428; reprinted in his *Studies*, pp. 155–176. For a general discussion of the various opinions on the authorship of the *Epistles*, see A. L. Tibawi, 'Ikhwān aṣ-Ṣafāʾ and their *Rasāʾil*', *Islamic Quarterly*, 2 (1955), pp. 28–46, and also his 'Further Studies on Ikhwān aṣ-Ṣafāʾ', *Islamic Quarterly*, 20–22 (1978), pp. 57–67.

234. *Rasāʾil*, Bombay ed., vol. 3, pp. 2–24; Cairo ed., vol. 3, pp. 182–210; Beirut ed., vol. 3, pp. 178–211. See also Seyyed H. Nasr, *An Introduction to Islamic Cosmological Doctrines* (Cambridge, MA, 1964), pp. 44–74; Marquet, *Philosophie*, pp. 41–226; Diwald, *Arabische Philosophie*, pp. 31–128; and Bausani, *L'Enciclopedia*, pp. 211–215.

235. *Rasāʾil*, Bombay ed., vol. 1, p. 15, vol. 2, p. 189, vol. 4, pp. 181–182; Cairo ed., vol. 1, p. 16, vol. 2, p. 244, vol. 4, p. 179; Beirut ed., vol. 1, p. 40, vol. 2, p. 290, vol. 4, p. 125.

236. See the following studies of A. Hamdani: 'Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī and the Brethren of Purity', *IJMES*, 9 (1978), pp. 345–353; 'The Arrangement of the *Rasāʾil Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ* and the Problem of Interpolations', *JSS*, 29 (1984), pp. 97–110, and his 'Brethren of Purity, a Secret Society for the Establishment of the Fāṭimid Caliphate: New Evidence for the Early Dating of their Encyclopaedia', in Barrucand, ed., *L'Égypte Fatimide*, pp. 73–82.

237. See for instance, Ian R. Netton, *Muslim Neoplatonists: An Introduction to the Thought of the Brethren of Purity* (London, 1982), especially pp. 95–104.
238. See al-Ḥāmidī, *Kanz al-walad*, pp. 111ff.
239. See Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ, *al-Risāla al-jāmiʿa*, ed. Jamīl Ṣalībā (Damascus, 1949–1951), 2 vols., also edited by M. Ghālib (Beirut, 1974). Of the more scarce *Jāmiʿat al-jāmiʿa*, there has appeared an edition by ʿĀrif Tāmir (Beirut, 1959; 2nd ed., Beirut, 1970).
240. The *Epistles*, for instance, refer (Beirut ed., vol. 2, p. 282, and vol. 4, pp. 58, 148ff., 152ff., 162ff., 175) to the ancient Indian legend of Bilawhar and Yūdāsaf (Būdhāsf), known in medieval Europe as Barlaam and Joasaph. A form of the legendary biography of the Buddha, the full Arabic version of the *Kitāb Bilawhar wa-Būdhāsf*, preserved in the Ṭayyibī Bohra libraries of India, was first lithographed in Bombay in 1306/1889, and later edited by Daniel Gimaret (Beirut, 1972). Gimaret has also prepared a French translation of this work entitled *Le Livre de Bilawhar et Būḏāsf selon la version Arabe Ismaélienne* (Geneva, 1971). See also S. M. Stern and S. Walzer, *Three Unknown Buddhist Stories in an Arabic Version* (Oxford, 1971); al-Majdūʿ, *Fihrist*, pp. 11–15; Ivanow, *Ismaili Literature*, p. 91; Poonawala, *Bio*, p. 360; Daftary, *Ismaili Literature*, pp. 161–162; and D. M. Lang, 'Bilawhar wa-Yūdāsaf', *EI2*, vol. 1, pp. 1215–1217.
241. Various aspects of the Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ and their *Rasāʾil* are treated with in Zāhid ʿAlī, *Taʾrīkh*, vol. 2, pp. 226–249; A. Awa, *L'esprit critique des Frères de la Pureté: Encylopédistes Arabes du IVᵉ/Xᵉ siècle* (Beirut, 1948); ʿUmar Farrūkh, *Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ* (2nd ed., Beirut, 1953); also his 'Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ', in M. M. Sharif, ed., *A History of Muslim Philosophy* (Wiesbaden, 1963–1966), vol. 1, pp. 289–310; Corbin, *Histoire*, pp. 190–194; Nasr, *Islamic Cosmological Doctrines*, pp. 25–104; M. Fakhry, *A History of Islamic Philosophy* (New York, 1970), pp. 185–204; A. Bausani, 'Scientific Elements in Ismāʿīlī Thought: The Epistles of the Brethren of Purity', in Nasr, ed., *Ismāʿīlī Contributions*, pp. 123–140; and G. Widengren, 'The Pure Brethren and the Philosophical Structure of their System', in A. T. Welch and P. Cachia, ed., *Islam: Past Influence and Present Challenge* (Edinburgh, 1979), pp. 57–69. Besides his already-cited monograph, Yves Marquet has produced numerous shorter studies on the subject, listed in Daftary, *Ismaili Literature*, pp. 339–341, see also his 'Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ', *EI2*, vol. 3, pp. 1071–1076, which does not accept Stern's views on the subject. More recently Carmela Baffioni has studied various aspects of the *Rasāʾil* in her numerous publications, see Daftary, *Ismaili Literature*, pp. 212–216. See also Paul E. Walker, 'Ek̲wān al-Ṣafāʾ', *EIR*, vol. 8, pp. 294–297; I. K. Poonawala, 'Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ', *ER*, vol. 7, pp. 92–95; and Sharaf al-Dīn Khurāsānī (Sharaf), 'Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ', *GIE*, vol. 7, pp. 242–269.

Notes to Chapter 5

1. Ayman Fuʾād Sayyid, *Maṣādir taʾrīkh al-Yaman fiʾl-ʿaṣr al-Islāmī* (Cairo, 1974), especially pp. 99–219.
2. See Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, vol. 3, pp. 431–436; tr. de Slane, vol. 2, pp. 367–372; Ḥusayn, *Fī adab*, pp. 348–354; and Sayyid, *Maṣādir*, pp. 108–110, where additional sources are cited. The most detailed study of ʿUmāra's life and works may be found

in Hartwig Derenbourg, *ʿOumâra du Yémen, sa vie et son œuvre* (Paris, 1897–1904), 3 vols., also containing editions of his *Dīwān* of poetry and his *Memoirs* entitled *al-Nukat al-ʿaṣriyya fī akhbār al-wuzarāʾ al-Miṣriyya*, especially valuable on the Fāṭimid viziers of ʿUmāra's time.

3. The works of Idrīs are fully described in Ivanow, *Ismaili Literature*, pp. 77–82, Poonawala, *Bio*, pp. 169–175, and Daftary, *Ismaili Literature*, pp. 120–121. The unpublished *Tuḥfat al-qulūb* of Ḥātim b. Ibrāhīm al-Ḥāmidī (d. 596/1199) is also an important source for the history of the early Ṭayyibī and pre-Ṭayyibī *dāʿīs* in Yaman.
4. Quṭb al-Dīn Sulaymānjī Burhānpūrī, *Muntazaʿ al-akhbār fī akhbār al-duʿāt al-akhyār*, vol. 2, partial ed. Samer F. Traboulsi (Beirut, 1999).
5. Muḥammad ʿAlī b. Mullā Jīwābhāʾī Rāmpūrī, *Mawsim-i bahār fī akhbār al-ṭāhirīn al-akhyār* (Bombay, 1301–1311/1884–1893), 3 vols. The first two volumes were reprinted in Bombay in 1335/1916–1917 and subsequently, while the long-prohibited and scarce third volume was reprinted later in Bombay; but references here are to the original edition. On this important work, considered by the Dāʾūdī Bohras to represent their authentic history, see Ivanow, *Guide*, p. 76, also his *Ismaili Literature*, p. 96, and Poonawala, *Bio*, p. 229.
6. See Sotheby's *Coins, together with Historical Medals and Banknotes*, Catalogue LN 4229 'Nizar' (London, 1994), pp. 36–37.
7. On al-Mustanṣir's succession dispute and Nizār's brief rising, see al-Mustanṣir, *al-Sijillāt*, pp. 109–118, containing letters of al-Mustaʿlī and his mother, written in 489/1096 to the Ṣulayḥid queen Arwā, describing Nizār's revolt; also in Idrīs, *ʿUyūn*, vol. 7, text pp. 199–200; Ibn al-Qalānisī, *Dhayl*, p. 128; Ibn Muyassar, *Akhbār*, pp. 59–63; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, vol. 10, p. 82; Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz*, vol. 6, pp. 443ff.; al-Maqrīzī, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, vol. 1, pp. 422–423; al-Maqrīzī, *Ittiʿāẓ*, vol. 3, pp. 11–16, 27, and Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Nujūm*, vol. 5, pp. 142–145. See also Zāhid ʿAlī, *Taʾrīkh*, vol. 1, pp. 324ff.; Mājid, *Ẓuhūr*, pp. 409ff.; Hodgson, *Order*, pp. 62ff.; Sayyid, *al-Dawla al-Fāṭimiyya*, pp. 219–225; and H. A. R. Gibb, 'Nizār b. al-Mustanṣir', *EI2*, vol. 8, p. 83.
8. On al-Mustaʿlī's caliphate, see Idrīs, *ʿUyūn*, vol. 7, text pp. 187–217, translation pp. 75–79; Ibn al-Qalānisī, *Dhayl*, pp. 128–141, containing the fullest details on the events of this period in Fāṭimid Syria and on the confrontations between the Fāṭimids and the earliest Crusaders; partial English translation, *The Damascus Chronicle of the Crusades*, tr. H. A. R. Gibb (London, 1932), pp. 41–56; partial French translation, without the omissions of Gibb's translation for the overlapping years, entitled *Damas de 1075 à 1154*, tr. Roger Le Tourneau (Damascus, 1952), pp. 30–49. See also Ibn Ẓāfir, *Akhbār*, pp. 82–86; Ibn Muyassar, *Akhbār*, pp. 59–70; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, vol. 10, pp. 82, 83, 91, 93, 99, 114; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, vol. 1, pp. 178–180; tr. de Slane, vol. 1, pp. 159–162; Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz*, vol. 6, pp. 443–460; al-Maqrīzī, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, vol. 1, pp. 356–357; French tr., vol. 4, pp. 29–30; also his *Ittiʿāẓ*, vol. 3, pp. 11–28; and Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Nujūm*, vol. 5, pp. 142–169. Of the secondary sources, see Ḥasan, *Taʾrīkh*, pp. 171–173; Zāhid ʿAlī, *Taʾrīkh*, vol. 1, pp. 324–332; Surūr, *Miṣr*, pp. 87ff., 128–130, 139ff.; also his *Bilād al-Shām*, pp. 64ff., and *Siyāsat*, pp. 155ff.; Mājid, *Ẓuhūr*, pp. 409–415; and H. A. R. Gibb, 'al-Mustaʿlī Bi'llāh', *EI2*, vol. 7, p. 725.
9. See ʿUmāra, *Taʾrīkh al-Yaman*, in Kay, *Yaman*, text pp. 28ff., translation pp. 38ff.; al-Hamdānī, *al-Ṣulayḥiyyūn*, pp. 142ff., 181, 268–269; Surūr, *Jazīrat al-ʿArab*, pp. 88ff., and Surūr, *Siyāsat*, pp. 92ff.

10. On al-Āmir's reign, see Idrīs, *ʿUyūn*, vol. 7, text pp. 218–252, translation pp. 79–85; *Majmūʿat al-wathāʾiq*, ed. al-Shayyāl, text pp. 181–202, 323–325, commentaries pp. 37–46, 140–143, containing some of al-Āmir's epistles, two of which have been preserved in al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, vol. 8, pp. 237–241; Ibn al-Ṣayrafī, *al-Ishāra*, in *BIFAO*, 25 (1924), pp. 98–100 (13–15); Ibn al-Maʾmūn al-Baṭāʾiḥī, *Nuṣūṣ min akhbār Miṣr*, ed. A. F. Sayyid (Cairo, 1983), pp. 3–105; Ibn al-Qalānisī, *Dhayl*, pp. 141ff., 228–229; tr. Gibb, pp. 56ff.; tr. Le Tourneau, pp. 49ff., 190–191; Ibn Ẓāfir, *Akhbār*, pp. 87–93; Ibn Muyassar, *Akhbār*, pp. 70–112; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, vol. 10, pp. 114, 127, 137–138, 142, 145, 167–168, 169–170, 191, 219–221, 237; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, vol. 5, pp. 229–230; tr. de Slane, vol. 3, pp. 455–457; Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz*, vol. 6, pp. 461–505; al-Maqrīzī, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, vol. 1, pp. 357, 466, 468ff., 483ff., and vol. 2, pp. 181, 290; also his *Ittiʿāẓ*, vol. 3, pp. 29–133, and Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Nujūm*, vol. 5, pp. 170–236. See also Ḥasan, *Taʾrīkh*, pp. 173–176; Zāhid ʿAlī, *Taʾrīkh*, vol. 2, pp. 13–22; Surūr, *Miṣr*, pp. 93ff.; Surūr, *Jazīrat al-ʿArab*, pp. 94–100; Mājid, *Ẓuhūr*, pp. 415, 422ff.; S. M. Stern, 'al-Āmir bi-Aḥkām Allāh', *EI2*, vol. 1, p. 440; and Ṣ. Sajjādī, 'al-Āmir bi-Aḥkām Allāh', *GIE*, vol. 2, pp. 197–198.
11. On al-Afḍal, aside from the sources cited in connection with al-Mustaʿlī and al-Āmir, see Ibn al-Ṣayrafī, *al-Ishāra*, in *BIFAO*, 25 (1924), pp. 52–56 (57–61); Ibn al-Qalānisī, *Dhayl*, pp. 160–161, 172–173, 178, 182, 188–189, 203–204; tr. Gibb, pp. 84, 86, 109–110, 120, 129–130, 142, 144, 163–164; tr. Le Tourneau, pp. 81–82, 102–103, 110, 118, 128–129, 153–155; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, vol. 10, pp. 209–210; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, vol. 2, pp. 448–451; tr. de Slane, vol. 1, pp. 612–615; Ḥusayn, *Fī adab*, pp. 179ff.; al-Manāwī, *al-Wizāra*, pp. 56ff., 68, 75, 79, 81, 89–92, 106, 117–119, 137, 148–149, 159, 178, 203–204, 225ff., 271–272; Mājid, *Ẓuhūr*, pp. 408ff.; Sayyid, *al-Dawla al-Fāṭimiyya*, pp. 217ff.; Dadoyan, *Fatimid Armenians*, pp. 127–139; G. Wiet, 'al-Afḍal b. Badr al-Djamālī', *EI2*, vol. 1, pp. 215–216; and Ṣ. Sajjādī, 'Afḍal b. Badr al-Jamālī', *GIE*, vol. 9, pp. 510–513.
12. See Ibn al-Ṣayrafī, *al-Ishāra*, in *BIFAO*, 25 (1924), pp. 49–52 (61–64); Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, vol. 10, p. 224; al-Maqrīzī, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, vol. 1, pp. 125–128, 462–463; al-Manāwī, *al-Wizāra*, pp. 272–275; Sayyid, *al-Dawla al-Fāṭimiyya*, pp. 235–239; his *La capitale de l'Égypte*, pp. 509–529; and D. M. Dunlop, 'al-Baṭāʾiḥī', *EI2*, vol. 1, pp. 1091–1092.
13. Ibn Muyassar, *Akhbār*, pp. 97, 103, and Hodgson, *Order*, pp. 69–72.
14. Ibn Muyassar, *Akhbār*, pp. 99–101; see also al-Maqrīzī, *Ittiʿāẓ*, vol. 3, pp. 84–87.
15. *Al-Hidāya al-Āmiriyya*, ed. Fyzee, text pp. 3–26; reprinted in *Majmūʿat al-wathāʾiq*, ed. al-Shayyāl, text pp. 203–230, commentaries pp. 47–67. This epistle is fully analyzed in S. M. Stern, 'The Epistle of the Fatimid Caliph al-Āmir (al-Hidāya al-Āmiriyya) – its Date and its Purpose', *JRAS* (1950), pp. 20–31; reprinted in his *History and Culture in the Medieval Muslim World* (London, 1984), article X. Stern was the first modern scholar who, on the basis of Ibn Muyassar's account, identified Ibn al-Ṣayrafī as the scribe of the *Hidāya*. See also al-Majdūʿ, *Fihrist*, pp. 116, 260; Fyzee's introductory remarks in his edition of *al-Hidāya*, pp. 1–16; Ivanow, *Guide*, p. 50; Ivanow, *Ismaili Literature*, p. 49; Poonawala, *Bio*, pp. 130–131; and Daftary, *Ismaili Literature*, pp. 109–110.
16. *Al-Hidāya al-Āmiriyya*, text p. 21.
17. Ibid., text pp. 10, 13, 14, 16, 18, 22, 23, 24.

18. This additional epistle, the *Īqāʿ ṣawāʿiq al-irghām*, appears as an appendix to the published text of *al-Hidāya al-Āmiriyya*, text pp. 27–39; reprinted in *Majmūʿat al-wathāʾiq*, ed. al-Shayyāl, text pp. 231–247, commentaries pp. 68–70. See also al-Majdūʿ, *Fihrist*, pp. 280, 284; Stern, 'Epistle of the Fatimid Caliph al-Āmir', pp. 30–31; and Poonawala, *Bio*, p. 131.
19. Idrīs, *ʿUyūn*, vol. 7, text p. 50.
20. This *sijill* is preserved in the first volume of the *Majmūʿ al-tarbiya*, a chrestomathy of Ismāʿīlī literature compiled by Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir al-Ḥārithī (d. 584/1188), and also in Idrīs, *ʿUyūn*, vol. 7, text pp. 253–256; it is also quoted in ʿUmāra, *Taʾrīkh*, text pp. 100–102, translation pp. 135–136, 321–322.
21. Ibn Muyassar, *Akhbār*, pp. 109–110.
22. See S. M. Stern, 'The Succession to the Fatimid Imam al-Āmir, the Claims of the Later Fatimids to the Imamate, and the Rise of Ṭayyibī Ismailism', *Oriens*, 4 (1951), pp. 193ff.; reprinted in his *History and Culture*, article XI, and hereafter cited as 'Succession'. This is the most detailed modern investigation of the events following al-Āmir's assassination and of the origins of the Ḥāfiẓī–Ṭayyibī schism. See also G. Wiet, *Matériaux pour un corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum*: vol. 2, in *Mémoires de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale*, 52 (1930), pp. 83ff.
23. Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Nujūm*, vol. 5, pp. 240–241, quoting a report by Ibn al-Ṭuwayr according to which al-Āmir, shortly before his death, had prophesied his own assassination and had in effect revoked his *naṣṣ* for al-Ṭayyib in favour of the expected posthumous child.
24. Ibn Muyassar, *Akhbār*, p. 113, merely stating that the fact of al-Āmir's child, born in 524 AH, was concealed by ʿAbd al-Majīd.
25. See Stern, 'A Fāṭimid Decree of the Year 524/1130', *BSOAS*, 23 (1960), pp. 446–455, and also his *Fāṭimid Decrees: Original Documents from the Fāṭimid Chancery* (London, 1964), pp. 35ff.
26. See H. Sauvaire and S. Lane-Poole, 'The Name of the Twelfth Imam on the Coinage of Egypt', *JRAS*, NS, 7 (1875), pp. 140–151; P. Balog, 'Quatre dinars du Khalife Fatimide al-Mountazar li-Amr-Illah (525–526 A.H.)', *Bulletin de l'Institut d'Égypte*, 33 (1950–1951), pp. 375–378; and George C. Miles, *Fāṭimid Coins in the Collections of the University Museum, Philadelphia, and the American Numismatic Society* (New York, 1951), pp. 44–45. See also M. Jungfleisch, 'Jetons (ou poids?) en verre de l'Imam El Montazer', *Bulletin de l'Institut d'Égypte*, 33 (1950–1951), pp. 359–374, describing Fāṭimid glass weights bearing inscriptions in the name of the expected imam.
27. Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, vol. 1, pp. 357, 490.
28. On al-Ḥāfiẓ and his turbulent reign, see Ibn al-Qalānisī, *Dhayl*, pp. 203, 229, 242ff., 262, 270, 272–273, 282, 295–296, 302, 308; tr. Le Tourneau, pp. 154, 191, 213ff., 241, 253–254, 258, 271, 291–292, 301, 311; Ibn Ẓāfir, *Akhbār*, pp. 94–101; Ibn Muyassar, *Akhbār*, pp. 113–141; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, vol. 10, pp. 237, 240, and vol. 11, pp. 8–9, 18–19, 34, 53; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, vol. 3, pp. 235–237; tr. de Slane, vol. 2, pp. 179–181; Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz*, vol. 6, pp. 506–556; al-Maqrīzī, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, vol. 1, pp. 357, 490–491, and vol. 2, pp. 17–18; French tr., vol. 4, pp. 30–32; also his *Ittiʿāẓ*, vol. 3, pp. 135–192; and Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Nujūm*, vol. 5, pp. 237–287. See also Ḥasan, *Taʾrīkh*, pp. 176–181, 213–215, 247–248; Zāhid ʿAlī, *Taʾrīkh*, vol. 2, pp. 23–35; Surūr, *Miṣr*, pp. 95–101; Mājid, *Ẓuhūr*, pp. 425–434; al-Manāwī, *al-Wizāra*, pp. 276–281;

M. Canard, 'Fāṭimides et Būrides à l'époque du calife al-Ḥāfiẓ li-Dīn-Illāh', *REI*, 35 (1967), pp. 103–117; Sayyid, *al-Dawla al-Fāṭimiyya*, pp. 242–248; Dadoyan, *Fatimid Armenians*, pp. 139–143; S. M. Stern, 'al-Afḍal Kutayfāt', *EI2*, vol. 1, p. 216; Ṣ. Sajjādī, 'Afḍal Kutayfāt', GIE, vol. 9, pp. 521–522; and A. M. Magued, 'al-Ḥāfiẓ', *EI2*, vol. 3, pp. 54–55.

29. Al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, vol. 9, pp. 291–297; reproduced in *Majmūʿat al-wathāʾiq*, ed. al-Shayyāl, text pp. 249–260, commentaries pp. 71–102; see also Stern, 'Succession', pp. 207ff.
30. See al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, vol. 6, p. 450, vol. 7, p. 108, and vol. 8, p. 344, and a decree of al-Ḥāfiẓ cited in Stern, *Fāṭimid Decrees*, p. 59.
31. Al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, vol. 9, pp. 377–379; reproduced in *Majmūʿat al-wathāʾiq*, ed. al-Shayyāl, text pp. 261–265, commentaries pp. 103–107.
32. On Bahrām and his career, see al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, vol. 6, pp. 458–463, vol. 8, pp. 260–262, and vol. 13, pp. 325–326, and the studies of M. Canard, including his 'Un vizir chrétien à l'époque Fâṭimite: l'Arménien Bahrâm', *AIEO*, 12 (1954), pp. 84–113; 'Une lettre du calife Fâṭimite al-Ḥâfiẓ', especially pp. 136ff.; 'Notes sur les Arméniens en Égypte', pp. 151ff., all three articles reprinted in his *Miscellanea Orientalia*, and 'Bahrām', *EI2*, vol. 1, pp. 939–940. See also Dadoyan, *Fatimid Armenians*, pp. 90–102, 183–186.
33. See M. Canard, 'Ibn Maṣāl', *EI2*, vol. 3, p. 868.
34. On the last three Fāṭimids and the downfall of their dynasty, see Idrīs, *ʿUyūn*, vol. 7, text pp. 310–319; Ibn al-Qalānisī, *Dhayl*, pp. 308, 311, 312, 316, 319–320, 321, 329–330, 331, 351, 353, 360–361; tr. Le Tourneau, pp. 311, 316, 318, 325, 330, 332; Ibn Ẓāfir, *Akhbār*, pp. 102–117; Ibn Muyassar, pp. 141–157, covering the events until 553/1158; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, vol. 11, pp. 53–54, 70, 72–73, 96, 99, 103, 108–109, 111–112, 121–122, 125–129, 131–132, 137–139; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, vol. 1, pp. 237–238, vol. 3, pp. 491–494, vol. 3, pp. 109–112; tr. de Slane, vol. 1, pp. 222–223, and vol. 2, pp. 72–74 and 425–427; Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz*, vol. 6, pp. 557–572, ending his narrative with the year 554/1159; al-Maqrīzī, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, vol. 1, pp. 338–339, 357–359, 496–498, and vol. 2, pp. 2–3, 12–13, 30, 233; French tr., vol. 3, pp. 283–288, and vol. 4, pp. 32–36; al-Maqrīzī, *Ittiʿāẓ*, vol. 3, pp. 193–334; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Nujūm*, vol. 5, pp. 288–389, and vol. 6, pp. 3ff. The famous memoirs of Usāma b. Munqidh (d. 584/1188), a Syrian author and warrior who was in Egypt during 539–549/1144–1154 and personally knew al-Ḥāfiẓ and the viziers Ibn al-Salār and ʿAbbās, also contain important details on the closing period of the Fāṭimid dynasty. See Ibn Munqidh, *Kitāb al-iʿtibār*, ed. Philip K. Hitti (Princeton, 1930), pp. 6–33; English trans., *An Arab-Syrian Gentleman and Warrior in the Period of the Crusades: Memoirs of Usāmah Ibn-Munqidh*, tr. P. K. Hitti (New York, 1929), pp. 30–59; English trans., *The Autobiography of Ousâma*, tr. George R. Potter (New York, 1929), pp. 5–42. See also Ḥasan, *Taʾrīkh*, pp. 179–201; Zāhid ʿAlī, *Taʾrīkh*, vol. 2, pp. 36–66; Surūr, *Miṣr*, pp. 101–116; Mājid, *Ẓuhūr*, pp. 434–496; al-Manāwī, *al-Wizāra*, pp. 56ff., 70, 108ff., 140–141, 164ff., 181–182, 225–234, 282–291; Th. Bianquis, 'al-Ẓāfir bi-Aʿdāʾ Allāh', *EI2*, vol. 11, pp. 382–383; and G. Wiet, 'al-ʿĀḍid li-Dīn Allāh', *EI2*, vol. 1, pp. 196–197.
35. Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, vol. 3, pp. 416–419; tr. de Slane, vol. 2, pp. 350–353; Nikita Elisséeff, *Nūr ad-Dīn, un grand prince Musulman de Syrie au temps des Croisades*

(Damascus, 1967), vol. 2, pp. 474ff.; and G. Wiet, 'al-ʿĀdil b. al-Salār', *EI2*, vol. 1, p. 198.

36. See C. H. Becker and S. M. Stern, 'ʿAbbās b. Abi'l-Futūḥ', *EI2*, vol. 1, p. 9.
37. On Ṭalāʾiʿ and his son and successor Ruzzīk, see *Majmūʿat al-wathāʾiq*, ed. al-Shayyāl, text pp. 335–353, commentaries pp. 151–154; Stern, *Fāṭimid Decrees*, pp. 70–79; Derenbourg, *ʿOumâra*, vol. 1, pp. 32–37, 40–60, 62–64, 174–176, 229–235, 243–248, 294–298, 312–315, 388–391, and vol. 2 (partie française), pp. 119–253; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, vol. 2, pp. 526–530; tr. de Slane, vol. 1, pp. 657–661; Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz al-durar*, ed. Saʿīd ʿAbd al-Fattāḥ ʿĀshūr (Cairo, 1972), vol. 7, pp. 16–18; Ḥusayn, *Fī adab*, pp. 193ff.; Sayyid, *al-Dawla al-Fāṭimiyya*, pp. 280–286; Dadoyan, *Fatimid Armenians*, pp. 154–178; Th. Bianquis, 'Ṭalāʾiʿ b. Ruzzīk', *EI2*, vol. 10, pp. 149–151, and 'Ruzzīk b. Ṭalāʾiʿ', *EI2*, vol. 8, pp. 653–654.
38. On Shāwar and Ḍirghām, see al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, vol. 10, pp. 310–325; reproduced in *Majmūʿat al-wathāʾiq*, ed. al-Shayyāl, text pp. 355–379, commentaries pp. 155–170; Derenbourg, *ʿOumâra*, vol. 1, pp. 66–92, 146–148, 167–169, 274–278, 367–369, and vol. 2, pp. 255–347; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, vol. 2, pp. 443–448; tr. de Slane, vol. 1, pp. 608–612; Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz*, vol. 7, pp. 18–19, 25–39; M. Canard, 'Ḍirghām', *EI2*, vol. 2, pp. 317–319; G. Wiet, 'Shāwar', *EI*, vol. 4, pp. 339–340; and D. S. Richards, 'Shāwar', *EI2*, vol. 9, pp. 372–373.
39. For Amalric's Egyptian expeditions and his relations with the Fāṭimids and Zangids, see G. Schlumberger, *Campagnes du roi Amaury Ier en Égypte* (Paris, 1906); René Grousset, *Histoire des Croisades* (Paris, 1934–1936), vol. 2, pp. 436–458, 478–551; and Marshall W. Baldwin, 'The Latin States under Baldwin III and Amalric I, 1143–1174', in *A History of the Crusades*, ed. Kenneth M. Setton: Volume I, *The First Hundred Years*, ed. M. W. Baldwin (2nd ed., Madison, WI, 1969), pp. 548–561. For relations between the Crusaders and the Fāṭimids, and the relevant occidental sources on the subject, see Steven Runciman, *A History of the Crusades* (Cambridge, 1951–1954), vol. 2, pp. 362–400; see also E. Sivan, *L'Islam et la Croisade* (Paris, 1968), pp. 59–91, 93ff.
40. The account of this embassy, not recorded by Muslim chroniclers, is related in William of Tyre, *Historia*, book 19, chaps. 18–19, pp. 887–889; ed. Huygens, pp. 888–889; tr. Babcock and Krey, vol. 2, pp. 319–321.
41. On Shīrkūh and Saladin, see al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, vol. 9, pp. 406–407, and vol. 10, pp. 80–98; reproduced in *Majmūʿat al-wathāʾiq*, ed. al-Shayyāl, text pp. 381–419, commentaries pp. 171–178; Stern, *Fāṭimid Decrees*, pp. 80–84; Derenbourg, *ʿOumâra*, vol. 1, pp. 78–80, 260–262, and vol. 2, pp. 349–388; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, vol. 2, pp. 479–481, and vol. 7, pp. 139–218; tr. de Slane, vol. 1, pp. 626–629, and vol. 4, pp. 479–563; and Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz*, vol. 7, pp. 39ff., 47ff. Hamilton A. R. Gibb has produced a number of studies on Saladin, with analysis of the relevant sources, in his 'The Rise of Saladin, 1169–1189', in *A History of the Crusades*: Volume I, pp. 563–589; 'The Arabic Sources for the Life of Saladin', *Speculum*, 25 (1950), pp. 58–72, and *The Life of Saladin, from the Works of ʿImād ad-Dīn and Bahāʾ ad-Dīn* (Oxford, 1973). From amongst other studies on Saladin, mention may be made of Stanley Lane-Poole, *Saladin and the Fall of the Kingdom of Jerusalem* (London, 1898); Andrew S. Ehrenkreutz, *Saladin* (Albany, NY, 1972); also his 'Saladin's Coup d'État in Egypt', in Sami A. Hanna, ed., *Medieval and Middle Eastern Studies in Honor of Aziz*

Suryal Atiya (Leiden, 1972), pp. 144–157; Malcolm C. Lyons and D. E. P. Jackson, *Saladin: The Politics of Holy War* (Cambridge, 1980), especially pp. 31–57; and Y. Lev, *Saladin in Egypt* (Leiden, 1999), pp. 53–94. Much relevant information on these two personalities and the final years of the Fāṭimid dynasty is also contained in Elisséeff, *Nūr ad-Dīn*, vol. 2, pp. 563–674. See also G. Wiet, 'Shīrkūh', *EI*, vol. 4, pp. 381–382; D. S. Richards, 'Shīrkūh', *EI2*, vol. 9, pp. 486–487; and D. S. Richards, 'Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn', *EI2*, vol. 8, pp. 910–914.

42. Ibn Muyassar, *Akhbār*, pp. 118, 120, 132, 139, 148, and al-Maqrīzī, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, vol. 1, p. 391.
43. See Paula Sanders, 'Claiming the Past: Ghadīr Khumm and the Rise of Ḥāfiẓī Historiography in late Fāṭimid Egypt', *Studia Islamica*, 75 (1992), pp. 81–104. The extant anonymous *al-Qaṣīda al-Shāfiya*, ed. and tr. S. N. Makarem (Beirut, 1966), also edited by ʿĀ. Tāmir (Beirut, 1967), was, however, originally composed by a Ḥāfiẓī poet and then revised by a Nizārī author. See W. Madelung's review of these editions in *ZDMG*, 118 (1968), pp. 423–427, and *Oriens*, 23–24 (1974), pp. 517–518.
44. For the fullest account of these pro-Fāṭimid revolts, and the situation of the Fāṭimids after the fall of their dynasty, see P. Casanova, 'Les derniers Fāṭimides', *Mémoires de la Mission Archéologique Française du Caire*, 6 (1897), pp. 415–445.
45. Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, vol. 11, pp. 149–150; Ibn Wāṣil, *Mufarrij al-kurūb*, ed. J. al-Shayyāl (Cairo, 1953–1960), vol. 1, pp. 236, 244, 246–247; Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz*, vol. 7, p. 55; al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk li-maʿrifat duwal al-mulūk*, ed. M. ʿA. ʿAṭā (Beirut, 1418/1997), vol. 1, pp. 162–163; partial French trans., *Histoire d'Égypte*, tr. E. Blochet, in *Revue de l'Orient Latin*, 6–11 (1898–1908), pp. 58–60 (continuous pagination), also printed separately (Paris, 1908), being the part dealing with the Ayyūbids; partial English trans., *A History of the Ayyūbid Sultans of Egypt*, tr. Ronald J. C. Broadhurst (Boston, 1980), pp. 46–47; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Nujūm*, vol. 6, pp. 70–71, 73; and Elisséeff, *Nūr ad-Dīn*, vol. 2, pp. 688–691.
46. Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, vol. 11, p. 156; Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz*, vol. 7, p. 58; al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, vol. 1, p. 167; tr. Blochet, pp. 55–56, 63–64; tr. Broadhurst, pp. 44, 50–51.
47. Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, vol. 1, p. 233, and Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Nujūm*, vol. 6, p. 78.
48. See Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, vol. 12, pp. 9–10; al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, vol. 1, pp. 199, 214, 224–225; tr. Blochet, pp. 136, 158–159; tr. Broadhurst, pp. 89, 97–98.
49. Al-Maqrīzī, *Ittiʿāẓ*, vol. 3, pp. 347–348, and also his *al-Sulūk*, vol. 1, pp. 284–285; tr. Broadhurst, p. 151.
50. Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz*, vol. 7, p. 363.
51. Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, vol. 1, p. 285; tr. Blochet, p. 237; tr. Broadhurst, p. 151.
52. Stern, 'Succession', pp. 211–212.
53. ʿUmāra, *Taʾrīkh*, text pp. 48–59, translation pp. 64–80, based on the only known extant manuscript copy of this work, which is very faulty. ʿUmāra's chapter on the Zurayʿids is cited in more correct form by Ibn al-Mujāwir (d. 690/1291) in his *Taʾrīkh al-Mustabṣir*; the relevant extract is contained in *Arabische Texte zur Kenntnis der Stadt Aden im Mittelalter*, ed. O. Löfgren (Uppsala, 1936–1950), vol. 1, pp. 40–47. The complete text of Ibn al-Mujāwir's *al-Mustabṣir* has been edited by O. Löfgren (Leiden, 1951–1954), vol. 1, pp. 121–127. See also Idrīs, *ʿUyūn*, vol. 7, text pp. 271–278.
54. For some relevant extracts on the Zurayʿids from Abu'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. al-Ḥasan al-Khazrajī's still unpublished dynastic history of Yaman, entitled *al-Kifāya wa'l-iʿlām*

fī man waliya al-Yaman, together with valuable notes, see Kay, *Yaman*, pp. 266–278. See also Redhouse's introduction to his translation to al-Khazrajī's *al-ʿUqūd al-luʾluʾiyya*, the history of the Rasūlids from *al-Kifāya*, published under the title of *The Pearl-Strings; a History of the Resūliyy Dynasty of Yemen*, tr. J. W. Redhouse, ed. E. G. Browne et al. (Leiden–London, 1906–1908), vol. 1, pp. 18–19, 21, 23, and G. R. Smith, *The Ayyūbids and Early Rasūlids in the Yemen (567–694/1173–1295)* (London, 1974–1978), vol. 2, pp. 63–67.

55. See C. L. Geddes, 'Bilāl b. Djarīr al-Muḥammadī', *EI2*, vol. 1, pp. 1214–1215.
56. On this investiture and the appointments of the Zurayʿids as *dāʿīs*, see ʿUmāra, *Taʾrīkh*, text pp. 50, 55, translation pp. 67, 74; Abū Makhrama ʿAbd Allāh al-Ṭayyib b. ʿAbd Allāh, *Taʾrīkh thaghr ʿAdan*, ed. Löfgren, in *Arabische Texte*, vol. 2, pp. 32, 216ff., and Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn b. al-Qāsim, *Ghāyat al-amānī fī akhbār al-quṭr al-Yamānī*, ed. Saʿīd ʿA. ʿĀshūr (Cairo, 1968), pp. 297–298, written by a Zaydī author who died around 1100/1688. See also Ibn al-Mujāwir, *Taʾrīkh al-Mustabṣir*, ed. Löfgren, vol. 1, pp. 126–127; Stern, 'Succession', pp. 214ff., 226–227, 229–230; Hamdani, 'Dāʿī Ḥātim', pp. 270, 273–274; and M. L. Bates, 'The Chapter on the Fāṭimid *Dāʿīs* in Yemen and the *Taʾrīkh* of ʿUmāra al-Ḥakamī (d. 569/1174): An Interpolation', in A. M. Abdallah, ed., *Studies in the History of Arabia*, I: *Sources for the History of Arabia* (Riyadh, 1979), part 2, pp. 51–61.
57. See ʿUmāra, *Taʾrīkh*, text p. 27, translation p. 37, the author having been on friendly terms with ʿImrān and his father; S. Lane-Poole, *Catalogue of the Oriental Coins in the British Museum* (London, 1875–1890), vol. 5, p. 121; N. M. Lowick, 'Some Unpublished Dinars of the Ṣulayḥids and Zurayʿids', *Numismatic Chronicle*, 7th series, 4 (1964), pp. 261–270; reprinted in his *Coinage and History of the Islamic World*, ed. J. Cribb (Aldershot, 1990), article III, suggesting a different view; and M. L. Bates, 'Notes on Some Ismāʿīlī Coins from Yemen', *American Numismatic Society Museum Notes*, 18 (1972), pp. 149–162.
58. See Kay's notes in his *Yaman*, pp. 274ff., and Abū Makhrama, *Taʾrīkh*, in Löfgren, ed., *Arabische Texte*, vol. 2, pp. 41–43.
59. On the Hamdānids of Ṣanʿāʾ, see Kay's notes, based on al-Khazrajī, in his *Yaman*, pp. 230, 294–297, 299; Redhouse's introduction to al-Khazrajī, *Pearl-Strings*, vol. 1, pp. 13–18, 20, 22ff.; Stern, 'Succession', pp. 231–232, 249–253, also containing relevant extracts from the *ʿUyūn al-akhbār* of Idrīs; Hamdani, 'Dāʿī Ḥātim', pp. 259, 263–265, 266, 268–270, 280; Smith, *Ayyūbids*, vol. 2, pp. 68–75; and C. L. Geddes, 'Hamdānids', *EI2*, vol. 3, pp. 125–126.
60. Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn, *Ghāyat al-amānī*, pp. 279, 280, 282, 285.
61. Ibid., pp. 301–303.
62. This episode is related in Idrīs, *ʿUyūn al-akhbār*, vol. 7, text pp. 304–305, the relevant passage is also quoted in Stern, 'Succession', pp. 252–253.
63. The hostilities between the *dāʿī* Ḥātim and the Hamdānid ruler are described in Idrīs's still unpublished *Nuzhat al-afkār*, vol. 1, extract in Hamdani, 'Dāʿī Ḥātim', pp. 288–289, also in a passage in al-Khazrajī's *al-Kifāya*, cited in Stern, 'Succession', p. 253, and in Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn, *Ghāyat al-amānī*, p. 317.
64. The Zurayʿid Muḥammad b. Sabaʾ had refused, in 549/1154, to help ʿAlī b. Mahdī in his conquest of Zabīd; see ʿUmāra, *Taʾrīkh*, text p. 95, translation pp. 127–128. ʿUmāra was present at the Zurayʿid court in Dhū Jibla when the Mahdid arrived seeking assistance.

65. ʿUmāra, *Taʾrīkh*, text pp. 96ff., translation pp. 129ff., and Kay's notes therein pp. 294–295; Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn, *Ghāyat al-amānī*, pp. 319–320; and Smith, *Ayyūbids*, vol. 2, pp. 60–62.
66. Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Ḥātim al-Yāmī, *Kitāb al-simṭ al-ghālī al-thaman*, ed. Smith, in his *Ayyūbid*s, vol. 1, especially pp. 15–42, 48, 64–65, 69–70, 91, 100, 119, 139, 203, 449–450, 460. See also Redhouse's introduction to al-Khazrajī, *Pearl-Strings*, vol. 1, pp. 20, 22–25.
67. This treatise, *Tuḥfat al-murtād*, may be found in Strothmann, ed., *Gnosis-Texte der Ismailiten*, pp. 159–170. See also *IOAM*, pp. 79–80, and *AIM*, pp. 187–188.
68. For a vague reference to the existence of an isolated Ṭayyibī community in Egypt mentioned in an anonymous Syrian chronicle written towards the end of the 6th/12th century, see Cl. Cahen, 'Une chronique Syrienne du VIe–XIIe siècle: *Le Bustān al-Jāmiʿ*', *Bulletin d'Études Orientales*, 7–8 (1937–1938), pp. 121–122, hereafter cited as *Bustān*, and Stern, 'Succession', p. 198.
69. Cited in Stern, 'Succession', p. 198.
70. *Bustān*, pp. 121–122.
71. Idrīs, *ʿUyūn*, vol. 7, text pp. 247–249, 253–257, 265–271. The relevant extract from Idrīs, quoting Ibrāhīm al-Ḥāmidī, is reproduced in Stern, 'Succession', pp. 232–233. See also al-Hamdānī, 'Doctrines and History', pp. 41ff.; Zāhid ʿAlī, *Taʾrīkh*, vol. 2, pp. 25–28, and Stern, 'Succession', pp. 199–201.
72. According to a legend, known to the Ṭayyibīs, al-Ṭayyib lived in a remote district of the Maghrib; see Stern, 'Succession', pp. 201–202.
73. Idrīs, *ʿUyūn*, vol. 7, text pp. 248, 261.
74. The relevant passage from al-Khaṭṭāb's still unpublished *Ghāyat al-mawālīd* is contained in Ivanow, *Rise*, text pp. 37–38; English trans. in Stern, 'Succession', pp. 223–224.
75. Idrīs, *ʿUyūn*, vol. 7, text pp. 258–261; English trans. in Stern, 'Succession', pp. 224–225.
76. Idrīs, *ʿUyūn*, vol. 7, text pp. 270–271.
77. ʿUmāra, *Taʾrīkh*, text p. 100, translation p. 134.
78. See Hamdani, 'Dāʿī Ḥātim', pp. 262–263.
79. The testimonies of al-Khaṭṭāb and Idrīs for this designation are also cited in Stern, 'Succession', pp. 221, 227–228, and Hamdānī, 'Dāʿī Ḥātim', p. 271. See also Daniel de Smet, 'Une femme Musulmane ministre de Dieu sur terre? La réponse du *dāʿī* Ismaélien al-Ḫaṭṭāb (ob. 1138)', *Acta Orientalia Belgica*, 15 (2001), pp. 155–164.
80. See ʿUmāra, *Taʾrīkh*, text pp. 42–48, 99, translation pp. 57–64, 134, and Kay's notes therein pp. 297–299. Stern, utilizing ʿUmāra and al-Janadī, made the same error in his 'Succession', pp. 214–223. On ʿAlī b. Ibrāhīm b. Najīb al-Dawla, see al-Hamdānī, *al-Ṣulayḥiyyūn*, pp. 168–174.
81. Some relevant extracts from the *Tuḥfat al-qulūb* of Ḥātim b. Ibrāhīm and the *Nuzhat al-afkār* of Idrīs are contained in Stern, 'Succession', pp. 233–243, and in Hamdani, 'Dāʿī Ḥātim', pp. 286–298.
82. The text of this testament, containing a detailed list of her jewellery, has been preserved in Idrīs, *ʿUyūn*, vol. 7, text pp. 279–294, also quoted in al-Hamdānī, *al-Ṣulayḥiyyūn*, pp. 323–330. The mausoleum of this celebrated queen, who ruled for more than sixty years, still exists in Dhū Jibla and is visited by members of different Muslim communities.

83. The earliest history of the Ṭayyibī *daʿwa* in Yaman is related by Ḥātim b. Ibrāhīm in his unpublished *Tuḥfat al-qulūb*. Idrīs, too, has many details on al-Dhuʾayb and his successors in the *Nuzhat al-afkār*, still in manuscript form. On al-Dhuʾayb, see also al-Majdūʿ, *Fihrist*, pp. 130, 201; Burhānpūrī, *Muntazaʿ*, pp. 69–74; Muḥammad ʿAlī, *Mawsim-i bahār*, vol. 3, pp. 46–50; Zāhid ʿAlī, *Taʾrīkh*, vol. 2, pp. 74–77; al-Hamdānī, *al-Ṣulayḥiyyūn*, pp. 181ff., 193, 268–269; Hamdani, 'Dāʿī Ḥātim', pp. 259, 271–272; Ivanow, *Ismaili Literature*, p. 52; and Poonawala, *Bio*, pp. 137–139.
84. On al-Khaṭṭāb, see Ibrāhīm al-Ḥāmidī, *Kanz al-walad*, pp. 100–101, 106–108; Stern, 'Succession', pp. 244–249, containing extracts from Idrīs, *ʿUyūn al-akhbār*, vol. 7; Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn, *Ghāyat al-amānī*, p. 281; al-Majdūʿ, *Fihrist*, pp. 41, 132, 198–199, 204, 240; Muḥammad ʿAlī, *Mawsim-i bahār*, vol. 3, pp. 48–49; al-Hamdānī, 'Doctrines and History', pp. 46–47; also his *al-Ṣulayḥiyyūn*, pp. 193–204, 269–270; Ivanow, *Ismaili Literature*, pp. 51–52; Poonawala, *Bio*, pp. 133–137, and also his *al-Sulṭān al-Khaṭṭāb* (2nd ed., Beirut, 1999), containing an edition of al-Khaṭṭāb's *Dīwān* of poetry, pp. 183–348, and a detailed study of his life and work, pp. 47–181. See also *IOAM*, pp. 70–71, and *AIM*, pp. 35–36, 122.
85. See Stern, 'Succession', pp. 227–228, and Poonawala, *al-Sulṭān al-Khaṭṭāb*, pp. 162–164.
86. On Ibrāhīm al-Ḥāmidī, see al-Majdūʿ, *Fihrist*, pp. 237–239, 269, 270, 279; Burhānpūrī, *Muntazaʿ*, pp. 74–75; Muḥammad ʿAlī, *Mawsim-i bahār*, vol. 3, pp. 50–51; al-Hamdānī, 'Doctrines and History', p. 48; and his *al-Ṣulayḥiyyūn*, pp. 270–273; H. Feki, 'Trois traités Ismaéliens Yéménites' (Thèse de doctorat de 3e cycle, Sorbonne, Paris IV, 1970), pp. 22–28; Ivanow, *Ismaili Literature*, pp. 52–54; Poonawala, *Bio*, pp. 141–143; *IOAM*, pp. 17–18; *AIM*, pp. 41, 58–59, 186–187; and W. Madelung, 'al-Ḥāmidī', *EI2*, vol. 3, p. 134, also containing notices on Ḥātim b. Ibrāhīm and ʿAlī b. Ḥātim al-Ḥāmidī.
87. On Ḥātim b. Ibrāhīm, the most detailed account is contained in Idrīs, *Nuzhat al-afkār*, quoted in Hamdani, 'Dāʿī Ḥātim', pp. 287–298; see also ʿUmāra, *Taʾrīkh*, text p. 102, translation p. 137; Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn, *Ghāyat al-amānī*, p. 320, al-Bharūchī, *Kitāb al-azhār*, vol. 1, in al-ʿAwwā, ed., *Muntakhabāt Ismāʿīliyya*, pp. 184, 193ff. and 247; al-Majdūʿ, *Fihrist*, pp. 47–48, 53–54, 68–69, 84, 173–175, 180, 191–193, 199–200, 253–254, 261–263, 271–273, 279; Burhānpūrī, *Muntazaʿ*, pp. 75–82; Muḥammad ʿAlī, *Mawsim-i bahār*, vol. 3, pp. 52–56; al-Hamdānī, 'Doctrines and History', pp. 48–52, 104–105; also his *al-Ṣulayḥiyyūn*, pp. 273–279; Stern, 'Succession', pp. 215, 218, 220, 228; A. Hamdani, 'The Ṭayyibī-Fāṭimid Community of the Yaman at the Time of the Ayyūbid Conquest of Southern Arabia', *Arabian Studies*, 7 (1985), pp. 151–160; Ivanow, *Ismaili Literature*, pp. 61–68; Poonawala, *Bio*, pp. 151–155; *IOAM*, pp. 15–16; *AIM*, pp. 55–56, 60–61, 92, 156, 177–178, 188–190, 195; and Madelung, 'al-Ḥāmidī', *EI2*, vol. 3, p. 134.
88. Idrīs, *Nuzhat al-afkār*, cited in Hamdani, 'Dāʿī Ḥātim', p. 290. On this region, see A. K. Irvine, 'Ḥarāz', *EI2*, vol. 3, pp. 178–179.
89. Some of these poems are cited in Stern, 'Succession', pp. 231–232, 254. On Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir, see al-Majdūʿ, *Fihrist*, pp. 41–42, 129–134, 204, 246–253, 270, 278; Muḥammad ʿAlī, *Mawsim-i bahār*, vol. 3, pp. 54–55; Ivanow, *Ismaili Literature*, pp. 54–61; Poonawala, *Bio*, pp. 143–150; *IOAM*, pp. 18–22, and *AIM*, pp. 18–19, 89, 107–108, 110–111, 126, 133–134.

90. On ʿAlī b. Muḥammad Ibn al-Walīd, see al-Bharūchī, *Kitāb al-azhār*, vol. 1, pp. 191, 193–194, 198, 247; al-Majdūʿ, *Fihrist*, pp. 41–42, 80, 93–95, 123–127, 131, 140, 153, 200–201, 229–237, 244–246, 257, 278; Burhānpūrī, *Muntazaʿ*, pp. 83–92; Muḥammad ʿAlī, *Mawsim-i bahār*, vol. 3, pp. 55, 57–63; al-Hamdānī, 'Doctrines and History', pp. 53–55, 105–106; also his *al-Ṣulayḥiyyūn*, pp. 284–291; Strothmann, 'Kleinere ismailitische Schriften', in *Islamic Research Association Miscellany*, pp. 139–146; Feki, 'Trois traités', pp. 38–52; Ivanow, *Ismaili Literature*, pp. 69–74; Poonawala, *Bio*, pp. 156–161; also his "ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. Djaʿfar', *EI2*, vol. 12, Supplement, p. 62; *IOAM*, pp. 74–80, and *AIM*, pp. 22, 27–28, 29–30, 38, 54–55, 67–68, 88–89, 97–98, 111–112, 141, 176–177, 187–188.
91. See especially ʿAlī b. Muḥammad's *Tāj al-ʿaqāʾid*, ed. ʿĀrif Tāmir (Beirut, 1967); summary English trans., W. Ivanow, *A Creed of the Fatimids* (Bombay, 1936), pp. 25–73; *Lubb al-maʿārif*, and *Mulḥiqāt al-adhhān*, in Feki, 'Trois traités', text pp. 1–45, French translation pp. 151–259; *Kitāb al-dhakhīra fi'l-ḥaqīqa*, ed. Muḥammad Ḥasan al-Aʿẓamī (Beirut, 1971); *Jalāʾ al-ʿuqūl*, in al-ʿAwwā, ed., *Muntakhabāt Ismāʿīliyya*, pp. 89–153; and *al-Īḍāḥ wa'l-tabyīn*, ed. Strothmann, in *Gnosis-Texte*, pp. 137–158. On this *dāʿī*'s published works, see Daftary, *Ismaili Literature*, pp. 118–119. As noted, this *dāʿī* also produced a detailed refutation of al-Ghazālī's *al-Mustaẓhirī* in his *Dāmigh al-bāṭil*. ʿAlī b. Muḥammad was also a poet and excerpts of his poetry are cited in Strothmann, 'Kleinere ismailitische Schriften', pp. 153–163.
92. On ʿAlī b. Ḥanẓala, see al-Bharūchī, *Kitāb al-azhār*, vol. 1, pp. 195, 247; al-Majdūʿ, *Fihrist*, pp. 196–197, 269–270; Burhānpūrī, *Muntazaʿ*, pp. 92–94; Muḥammad ʿAlī, *Mawsim-i bahār*, vol. 3, pp. 61–65; al-Hamdānī, 'Doctrines and History', pp. 55–56; also his *al-Ṣulayḥiyyūn*, pp. 291–297; Ivanow, *Ismaili Literature*, pp. 74–75; Poonawala, *Bio*, pp. 162–163; also his "ʿAlī b. Ḥanẓala b. Abī Sālim', *EI2*, vol. 12, Supplement, p. 61; *IOAM*, pp. 4–7, and *AIM*, pp. 39–40, 172–173. ʿAlī b. Ḥanẓala's important work in verse, on the *ḥaqāʾiq*, the *Simṭ al-ḥaqāʾiq* has been edited by ʿAbbās al-ʿAzzāwī (Damascus, 1953).
93. This treatise is contained in Corbin, ed. and trans., *Trilogie Ismaélienne*, text pp. 99–130, French translation pp. 129–200. On al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī Ibn al-Walīd, see al-Bharūchī, *Kitāb al-azhār*, vol. 1, pp. 195, 248; al-Majdūʿ, *Fihrist*, pp. 98, 149–150, 152–153, 207–223, 279; Burhānpūrī, *Muntazaʿ*, pp. 95–106; Muḥammad ʿAlī, *Mawsim-i bahār*, vol. 3, pp. 66–74; al-Hamdānī, 'Doctrines and History', pp. 57–61; Ivanow, *Ismaili Literature*, pp. 75–76; Poonawala, *Bio*, pp. 163–165; *IOAM*, pp. 80–84, and *AIM*, pp. 19–20, 46–49, 144–145, 152–153.
94. On the careers of these *dāʿī*s, ninth to eighteenth in the series, see Burhānpūrī, *Muntazaʿ*, pp. 106–166.
95. On Idrīs and his works, see al-Bharūchī, *Kitāb al-azhār*, vol. 1, pp. 188, 196, 202, 250; al-Majdūʿ, *Fihrist*, pp. 34, 44, 73–77, 85, 97, 103–104, 150–151, 239–242, 270, 275–277; Burhānpūrī, *Muntazaʿ*, pp. 116–175; Muḥammad ʿAlī, *Mawsim-i bahār*, vol. 3, pp. 107–108, 138–146; al-Hamdānī, 'Doctrines and History', pp. 1–26, 127ff., 137–253, drawing extensively on the writings of Idrīs; Zāhid ʿAlī, *Taʾrīkh*, vol. 2, pp. 77–78; Sayyid, *Maṣādir*, pp. 180–183; Ivanow, *Guide*, pp. 62–65; also his *Ismaili Literature*, pp. 77–82; *IOAM*, pp. 23–28; *AIM*, pp. 23–24, 37–38, 45–46, 126–127, 149–150, 191–194, 196; Poonawala, *Bio*, pp. 169–175, and also his 'Idrīs b. al-Ḥasan', *EI2*, vol. 12, Supplement, p. 407.

96. For elaborations of the Ṭayyibī *ḥaqāʾiq* system, with its cosmological doctrine, eschatology, anthropology, as well as its conceptions of mythohistory, prophetology and imamology, see Ibrāhīm b. al-Ḥusayn al-Ḥāmidī, *Kanz al-walad*, also his *al-Ibtidāʾ waʾl-intihāʾ*, in Feki, 'Trois traités', text pp. 46ff., French translation pp. 260ff.; ʿAlī b. Muḥammad Ibn al-Walīd, *Lubb al-maʿārif*, in Feki, 'Trois traités', text pp. 1ff., translation pp. 151ff.; also his *al-Īḍāḥ*, in *Gnosis-Texte*, pp. 137ff., and his *Kitāb al-dhakhīra*, especially pp. 22–112; al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī Ibn al-Walīd, *al-Mabdaʾ waʾl-maʿād*, ed. and tr. Corbin, in *Trilogie Ismaélienne*, text pp. 99–130, translation pp. 129–200, containing an excellent summary of the subject by the eighth *dāʿī muṭlaq*; excerpts from this *dāʿī*'s *al-Īḍāḥ waʾl-bayān* are contained in B. Lewis, 'An Ismaili Interpretation of the Fall of Adam', *BSOS*, 9 (1938), pp. 691–704; see also the anonymous work entitled *Masāʾil majmūʿa min al-ḥaqāʾiq*, a collection of several small treatises, in Strothmann, ed., *Gnosis-Texte*, pp. 4–136. The works of Ibrāhīm al-Ḥāmidī and his successors are synthesized and reproduced in Idrīs ʿImād al-Dīn's *Zahr al-maʿānī*, ed. Ghālib, especially chapters 4–11, pp. 33–96, which deal with cosmogony. A summarized English description of the contents of the *Zahr al-maʿānī* may be found in al-Hamdānī, 'Doctrines and History', pp. 137–253. More than any other modern scholar, Henry Corbin has studied the various aspects of Ṭayyibī thought, especially the Ṭayyibī cosmology with its so-called '*le drame dans le ciel*', and eschatology, also discussing the parallels between the Ṭayyibī doctrines and those found in Manichaeism and other pre-Islamic Iranian religions; see especially his introductory remarks in his *Trilogie Ismaélienne*, pp. 131–147; *Histoire*, pp. 124–136; 'Le temps cyclique', pp. 192–217; 'Épiphanie divine', pp. 148ff., 162ff., 171ff., 193ff., and 'De la gnose antique', pp. 114ff., 126–133, all three articles are reprinted in his *Temps cyclique et gnose Ismaélienne*, pp. 47–69, 76ff., 88ff., 97ff., 116ff., 176ff., 189–197, and translated into English in his *Cyclical Time and Ismaili Gnosis*, pp. 37–58, 65ff., 76ff., 84ff., 103ff., 161ff., 173–181. See also Zāhid ʿAlī, *Hamāre*, pp. 576ff.; also his *Taʾrīkh*, vol. 2, pp. 195–210; Madelung, 'Imamat', pp. 132–135; David R. Blumenthal, 'An Example of Ismaili Influence in Post-Maimonidean Yemen', in Shelomo Morag et al., ed., *Studies in Judaism and Islam presented to S. D. Goitein* (Jerusalem, 1981), pp. 155–174; and H. Feki, *Les idées religieuses et philosophiques de l'Ismaélisme Fatimide* (Tunis, 1978), especially pp. 109–138. More recently, Daniel de Smet has analyzed aspects of the Ṭayyibī *ḥaqāʾiq* system in various studies listed in Daftary, *Ismaili Literature*, pp. 388–390.
97. Al-Ḥāmidī, *Kanz al-walad*, pp. 66, 68, 78ff., 132.
98. Corbin, 'Cyclical Time in Mazdaism and Ismailism', in *Papers from the Eranos Yearbooks*, vol. 3, pp. 134ff., 143, 149, 153ff.; reprinted in his *Cyclical Time*, pp. 20ff., 29, 35, 39ff. See also al-Shahrastānī, *al-Milal*, ed. al-Wakīl, vol. 2, pp. 39–41; tr. Gimaret and Monnot, vol. 1, pp. 638–641; English translation in R. C. Zaehner, *Zurvan: A Zoroastrian Dilemma* (New York, 1972), pp. 433–434.
99. Corbin, 'Cyclical Time in Mazdaism and Ismailism', pp. 161–162; reprinted in his *Cyclical Time*, pp. 47–48.
100. Al-Kirmānī, *Rāḥat al-ʿaql*, pp. 224–225.
101. Al-Hamdānī, 'Doctrines and History', pp. 236–243; Abbas Hamdani, 'Dāʿī Ḥātim', pp. 275ff., also his 'Evolution of the Organisational Structure of the Fāṭimī Daʿwah', pp. 94–95, 102–103, 111, citing excerpts from the *Tuḥfat al-qulūb*. See also

R. Strothmann's introductory remarks in his partial edition of Ismāʿīl b. Hibat Allāh's *Mizāj al-tasnīm* (Göttingen, 1944–1955), pp. 16ff., a commentary on the Qurʾān by the thirty-third Sulaymānī *dāʿī*, who was a learned religious scholar and made some original contributions to Ṭayyibī Ismāʿīlī thought.

102. For the traditional accounts of the opening phase of Ismāʿīlism in Gujarāt, mixing reality with legend, see Muḥammad ʿAlī, *Mawsim-i bahār*, vol. 3, pp. 328–345; Ḥasan ʿAlī Badripresswala Ismāʿīljī, *Akhbār al-duʿāt al-akramīn* (Rajkot, 1937), pp. 53–60, a work in Gujarātī drawing on earlier *daʿwa* works as well as on the *Mawsim-i bahār*; Jhaveri, 'Legendary History of the Bohoras', pp. 39ff.; Abdul Husain, *Gulzare Daudi for the Bohras of India* (Ahmedabad, 1920), pp. 30ff.; and Najm al-Ghanī Khān, *Madhāhib al-Islām* (Lucknow, 1924), pp. 270ff. See also Zāhid ʿAlī, *Taʾrīkh*, vol. 2, pp. 80ff.; John N. Hollister, *The Shiʿa of India* (London, 1953), pp. 267ff.; Misra, *Muslim Communities*, pp. 8ff., 19ff.; and Asghar Ali Engineer, *The Bohras* (New Delhi, 1980), pp. 100ff.
103. For the succession of the Indian *wālī*s, see Muḥammad ʿAlī, *Mawsim-i bahār*, vol. 3, p. 327; Ismāʿīljī, *Akhbār*, p. 221, Najm al-Ghanī Khān, *Madhāhib*, p. 277; and Hollister, *Shiʿa*, p. 270.
104. On this schism in the Bohra community, see Muḥammad ʿAlī, *Mawsim-i bahār*, vol. 3, pp. 117–127; Ismāʿīljī, *Akhbār*, pp. 61–66; Najm al-Ghanī Khān, *Madhāhib*, pp. 316–317; Abdul Husain, *Gulzare Daudi*, pp. 45–46; Zāhid ʿAlī, *Hamāre*, pp. 292–293; Misra, *Muslim Communities*, pp. 22–23; and Engineer, *Bohras*, pp. 108ff.
105. ʿAlī Muḥammad Khān, *Mirat-i Ahmadi*, Persian text, Supplement, pp. 130–131; English translation, Supplement, p. 109.
106. On al-Bharūchī, see his own *Kitāb al-azhār*, vol. 1, pp. 186ff.; al-Majdūʿ, *Fihrist*, pp. 77–88; Muḥammad ʿAlī, *Mawsim-i bahār*, vol. 3, pp. 155–156; Asaf A. A. Fyzee, 'The Study of the Literature of the Fatimid *Daʿwa*', in G. Makdisi, ed., *Arabic and Islamic Studies in Honor of Hamilton A. R. Gibb* (Leiden, 1965), pp. 238–242; Ivanow, *Ismaili Literature*, pp. 83–88; *IOAM*, pp. 9–14; *AIM*, pp. 63–66; Poonawala, *Bio*, pp. 178–183; his 'Ḥasan Bharuči Hendi', *EIR*, vol. 12, p. 129, also his 'Ḥasan b. Nūḥ', *EI2*, vol. 12, Supplement, p. 358.
107. Burhānpūrī, *Muntazaʿ*, pp. 181–186; Muḥammad ʿAlī, *Mawsim-i bahār*, vol. 3, pp. 153–161; Ismāʿīljī, *Akhbār*, pp. 85–86; Misra, *Muslim Communities*, pp. 25–26; Ivanow, *Ismaili Literature*, p. 88, and Poonawala, *Bio*, p. 184.
108. See al-Majdūʿ, *Fihrist*, pp. 37–38; Muḥammad ʿAlī, *Mawsim-i bahār*, vol. 3, pp. 206, 237–238, 252, 257; Ivanow, *Ismaili Literature*, pp. 88–89; *IOAM*, pp. 7–8; *AIM*, pp. 70–72, 117–118; Poonawala, *Bio*, pp. 185–186; also his 'Amīndjī b. Djalāl b. Ḥasan', *EI2*, vol. 12, Supplement, p. 70, and his 'Amīnjī b. Jalāl', *EIR*, vol. 1, p. 956.
109. On the Dāʾūdī–Sulaymānī schism, see Burhānpūrī, *Muntazaʿ*, pp. 193–265; Muḥammad ʿAlī, *Mawsim-i bahār*, vol. 3, pp. 169–259; Ismāʿīljī, *Akhbār*, pp. 110–112, 144–168; Najm al-Ghanī Khān, *Madhāhib*, pp. 312–314; Misra, *Muslim Communities*, pp. 27–31; and Engineer, *Bohras*, pp. 117–122.
110. Biographical details on the Dāʾūdī *dāʿī*s are contained in Quṭb al-Dīn Burhānpūrī's *Muntazaʿal-akhbār*, vol. 2, part 2, still unpublished, and in Muḥammad ʿAlī, *Mawsim-i bahār*, vol. 3. The Sulaymānīs have produced very few works, and information on their *dāʿī*s is rather scarce. Lists of the Ṭayyibī *dāʿī*s and the separate *dāʿī*s of the Dāʾūdīs and Sulaymānīs may be found in the prayer books, *Ṣaḥīfat al-ṣalāt*,

of the Dāʾūdīs (Bombay, 1344/1925), pp. 277–342 and the Sulaymānīs (Bombay, 1340/1921), pp. 547–552, with more recent editions available of both documents. The lists may also be found in Abdul Husain, *Gulzare Daudi*, pp. 39–43, and in A. A. A. Fyzee, 'A Chronological List of the Imams and Daʿis of the Mustaʿlian Ismailis', *JBBRAS*, NS, 10 (1934), pp. 8–16; also his 'Three Sulaymani Daʿis: 1936–1939', *JBBRAS*, NS, 16 (1940), pp. 101–104; Hollister, *Shiʿa*, pp. 266–267, 274–275; Ghālib, *Aʿlām*, table no. 3 in appendix; Poonawala, *Bio*, pp. 364–369; and Daftary, *Ismaili Literature*, pp. 447–449.

111. Najm al-Ghanī Khān, *Madhāhib*, p. 314, and Zāhid ʿAlī, *Hamāre*, pp. 293–294. For the ʿAlawī and some other lesser schisms in the Dāʾūdī Bohra community, see Abdul Husain, *Gulzare Daudi*, pp. 46–47; Reginald E. Enthoven, *The Tribes and Castes of Bombay* (Bombay, 1920–1922), vol. 1, pp. 200ff.; and Ivanow, *Ismaili Literature*, pp. 109–111.
112. For the complete list, supplied to the present author by the ʿAlawī *daʿwa* headquarters in Baroda (Vadodara), Gujarāt, see Daftary, *Ismaili Literature*, pp. 449–450.
113. Quṭbkhān is highly revered by the Dāʾūdī Ṭayyibīs as a *shahīd* or martyr, and his tomb is a well-known Bohra shrine at Aḥmadābād; see Muḥammad ʿAlī, *Mawsim-i bahār*, vol. 3, pp. 280–296, and Misra, *Muslim Communities*, pp. 32–34.
114. Muḥammad ʿAlī, *Mawsim-i bahār*, vol. 3, pp. 316–317; Ismāʿīljī, *Akhbār*, pp. 230ff.; and Misra, *Muslim Communities*, pp. 35–36.
115. ʿAlī Muḥammad Khān, *Mirat-i Ahmadi*, Persian text, vol. 1, pp. 356, 358–359; English trans., *Mirat-i-Ahmadi: A Persian History of Gujarat*, tr. Lokhandwala, pp. 315, 317.
116. On the Hiptias and their leaders, see al-Majdūʿ, *Fihrist*, pp. 108–109, 119; Muḥammad ʿAlī, *Mawsim-i bahār*, vol. 3, pp. 440–526; Zāhid ʿAlī, *Hamāre*, pp. 294–295; Misra, *Muslim Communities*, pp. 41–42; Ivanow, *Ismaili Literature*, pp. 93–94; Poonawala, *Bio*, pp. 13, 204–206, and also his 'Luḳmāndjī', *EI2*, vol. 5, pp. 814–815.
117. For the controversy surrounding the succession to the forty-sixth Dāʾūdī *dāʿī*, and the ensuing events, see Muḥammad ʿAlī, *Mawsim-i bahār*, vol. 3, pp. 693–767; Ismāʿīljī, *Akhbār*, pp. 362–364; Zāhid ʿAlī, *Hamāre*, pp. 295–297; Misra, *Muslim Communities*, pp. 47–49; Engineer, *Bohras*, pp. 135ff.; and Poonawala, *Bio*, pp. 14, 219–221, 224–228.
118. Abdul Husain, *Gulzare Daudi*, pp. 49–53; Ismāʿīljī, *Akhbār*, p. 378; Zāhid ʿAlī, *Hamāre*, p. 295; Hollister, *Shiʿa*, pp. 295–296; Misra, *Muslim Communities*, pp. 51–52, and Engineer, *Bohras*, pp. 138–139.
119. For a detailed account of the history of the reformist movement in the Dāʾūdī Bohra community, written by an active reformer, see Engineer, *Bohras*, pp. 165–281, 303–323.
120. See Shawkat M. Toorawa, 'Ṭāhir Sayf al-Dīn', *EI2*, vol. 10, pp. 103–104; M. Abdulhussein, et al., *Al-Dai al-Fatimi, Syedna Mohammed Burhanuddin: An Illustrated Biography* (London, 2001), and his 'Burhānuddīn, Sayyidnā Muḥammad', in *The Oxford Encyclopedia of the Modern Islamic World*, ed. J. L. Esposito (Oxford, 1995), vol. 1, pp. 237–238.
121. For the relevant issues, see Paula Sanders, 'Bohra Architecture and the Restoration of Fatimid Culture', in Barrucand, ed., *L'Égypte Fatimide*, pp. 159–165, and her 'The

Contest for Context: Fatimid Cairo in the Twentieth Century', in Irene A. Bierman, ed., *Text and Context in Islamic Societies* (Reading, 2004), pp. 131–154.

122. On the settlement of the Bohras in East Africa, and their religious organization, see Chanan Singh, 'The Historical Background', in Dharam P. Ghai, ed., *Portrait of a Minority: Asians in East Africa* (Nairobi, 1965), pp. 1–12; and the late Professor Hatim M. Amiji's valuable studies, 'The Asian Communities', in J. Kritzeck and William H. Lewis, ed., *Islam in Africa* (New York, 1969), pp. 141–144, 155–164, 168ff.; 'The Bohras of East Africa', *Journal of Religion in Africa*, 7 (1975), pp. 27–61; and N. King, 'Toward a History of the Ismāʿīlīs in East Africa', in I. R. al-Fārūqī, ed., *Essays in Islamic and Comparative Studies* (Washington, DC, 1982), pp. 67–83. More general investigations of the Ismāʿīlīs and other Muslims in East Africa may be found in L. W. Hollingsworth, *Asians of East Africa* (London, 1960); G. Delf, *Asians in East Africa* (New York, 1963); and J. Mangat, *A History of the Asians of East Africa* (Oxford, 1969); see also J. Schacht, 'Notes on Islam in East Africa', *Studia Islamica*, 23 (1965), pp. 91–136; J. Spencer Trimingham, *Islam in East Africa* (Oxford, 1964), especially pp. 1–111; James N. D. Anderson, *Islamic Law in Africa* (London, 1970), especially pp. 58–161, 322–331; and R. G. Gregory, *India and East Africa* (Oxford, 1971), especially pp. 17–45.

123. On the *daʿwa* organization as well as the religious beliefs, customs and social practices of the Dāʾūdīs and their conditions in modern times, see D. Menant, 'Les Bohoras du Guzarate', *Revue du Monde Musulman*, 10 (1910), pp. 465–493; Enthoven, *Tribes and Castes of Bombay*, vol. 1, pp. 200ff.; Hollister, *Shiʿa*, pp. 285ff., 293–305; S. T. Lokhandwalla, 'The Bohras, a Muslim Community of Gujarat', *Studia Islamica*, 3 (1955), pp. 117–135; also his 'Islamic Law and Ismaili Communities (Khojas and Bohras)', in *India and Contemporary Islam*, especially pp. 379–380, 388–396; Engineer, *Bohras*, pp. 145–164; Ivanow, 'Bohoras', *SEI*, pp. 64–65; and the studies of Asaf Fyzee, especially his *Compendium of Fatimid Law*, especially its introduction pp. 35–50 and the chapters dealing with marriage, divorce, gifts, wills, inheritance, food and dress, and his 'Bohorās', *EI2*, vol. 1, pp. 1254–1255. See also T. P. Wright, Jr., 'Competitive Modernization within the Daudi Bohra Sect of Muslims and its Significance for Indian Political Development', in H. E. Ullrich, ed., *Competition and Modernization in South Asia* (New Delhi, 1975), pp. 151–178; Rehana Ghadially, 'Daudi Bohra Muslim Women and Modern Education: A Beginning', *Indian Journal of Gender Studies*, 1 (1994), pp. 195–213 and her other studies on Bohra women listed in Daftary, *Ismaili Literature*, pp. 272–273. For more recent studies of the Bohra community, reflecting largely internal perspectives, see Jonah Blank, *Mullas on the Mainframe: Islam and Modernity among the Daudi Bohras* (Chicago, 2001), especially pp. 53–156; Tahera Qutbuddin, 'The Dāʾūdī Bohra Ṭayyibīs', in F. Daftary, ed., *A Modern History of the Ismailis* (London, forthcoming), and M. Abdulhussein, 'Bohrās', in *Oxford Encyclopedia of the Modern Islamic World*, vol. 1, pp. 224–226. See also F. Daftary, 'Bohra', *GIE*, vol. 13, pp. 161–165.

124. See D. de Smet, 'Comment déterminer le début et la fin du jeûne de Ramadan? Un point de discorde entre Sunnites et Ismaéliens en Égypte Fatimide', in Vermeulen and de Smet, ed., *Egypt and Syria in the Fatimid, Ayyubid and Mamluk Eras*, pp. 71–84.

125. See al-Majdūʿ, *Fihrist*, p. 98; Ivanow, *Guide*, pp. 86–87; Ivanow, *Ismaili Literature*, pp. 106–107; Goriawala, *Catalogue of the Fyzee Collection*, p. 127; Poonawala, *Bio*, pp. 244–246; also his ‘al-Makramī’, *EI2*, vol. 6, pp. 190–191; and W. Madelung, ‘Makramids’, *EI2*, vol. 6, pp. 191–192.
126. Fyzee, ‘Three Sulaymani Daʿis’, pp. 102–103; Hollister, *Shiʿa*, p. 302; and Poonawala, *Bio*, p. 250.
127. This estimate is based on the adjustment of some older figures, allowing for natural population increases at an average annual rate of 3 per cent during the intervening years; see Fyzee, ‘A Chronological List’, p. 16; also his *Outlines of Muhammadan Law*, p. 3; and William H. Ingrams, ‘Yemen’, *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (1968 edition), vol. 23, p. 887. On the present situation of the Ṭayyibīs of Yaman, see T. Gerholm, *Market, Mosque and Mafrag* (Stockholm, 1977). The author has obtained valuable information on the modern structure of the Sulaymānī community from their senior *daʿwa* officials.
128. Poonawala, *Bio*, pp. 184–250.
129. See p. J. E. Damishky, ‘Moslem Population of India’, *Muslim World*, 1 (1911), p. 123; Menant, ‘Bohoras du Guzarate’, pp. 482–483; Enthoven, *Tribes and Castes of Bombay*, vol. 1, pp. 204–205; F. B. Tyabji, ‘Social Life in 1804 and 1929 amongst Muslims in Bombay’, *JBBRAS*, NS, 6 (1930), pp. 286–300; Hollister, *Shiʿa*, p. 300; Lokhandwalla, ‘Islamic Law and Ismaili Communities’, pp. 391–392; Ivanow, *Ismaili Literature*, p. 102; Fyzee, ‘Study of the Literature of the Fatimid *Daʿwa*’, pp. 236ff.; and T. P. Wright, Jr., ‘Muslim Kinship and Modernization: The Tyabji Clan of Bombay’, in I. Ahmad, ed., *Family, Kinship and Marriage among Muslims in India* (New Delhi, 1976), pp. 217–238.

Notes to Chapter 6

1. See Ivanow, *Ismaili Literature*, pp. 127–136, and Poonawala, *Bio*, pp. 251–263.
2. F. Daftary, ‘Persian Historiography of the Early Nizārī Ismāʿīlīs’, *Iran, Journal of the British Institute of Persian Studies*, 30 (1992), pp. 91–97; reprinted in *IMMS*, pp. 107–123.
3. For the available numismatic evidence on the Nizārī coins of Persia, see Casanova, ‘Monnaie des Assassins de Perse’, pp. 343–352; George C. Miles, ‘Coins of the Assassins of Alamūt’, *Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica*, 3 (1972), pp. 155–162; and H. Hamdan and A. Vardanyan, ‘Ismaili Coins from the Alamūt Period’, in Willey, *Eagle’s Nest*, pp. 288–307.
4. For modern descriptions of the medieval Nizārī strongholds in Persia, see W. Ivanow, ‘Alamut’, *Geographical Journal*, 77 (1931), pp. 38–45; also his ‘Some Ismaili Strongholds in Persia’, *Islamic Culture*, 12 (1938), pp. 383–396; and his *Alamut and Lamasar* (Tehran, 1960); Peter Willey, *The Castles of the Assassins* (London, 1963); also his *Eagle’s Nest: Ismaili Castles in Iran and Syria*; M. Sutūda, ‘Qalʿa-yi Girdkūh’, *Mihr*, 8 (1331/1952), pp. 339–343, 484–490; also his *Qilāʿ-i Ismāʿīliyya* (Tehran, 1345/1967); S. M. Stern, E. Beazley and A. Dobson, ‘The Fortress of Khān Lanjān’, *Iran, Journal of the British Institute of Persian Studies*, 9 (1971), pp. 45–57; Caro O. Minasian, *Shah Diz of Ismaʿili Fame, its Siege and Destruction* (London, 1971),

W. Kleiss, 'Bericht über Erkundungsfahrten in Iran im Jahre 1970', in *Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran*, 4 (1971), pp. 88–96; his 'Assassin Castles in Iran', in R. Hillenbrand, ed., *The Art of the Saljūqs in Iran and Anatolia* (Costa Mesa, CA, 1994), pp. 315–319; and M. F. Furqānī, *Taʾrīkh-i Ismāʿīliyān-i Quhistān* (Tehran, 1381/2002), pp. 347–365, covering the castles of Quhistān. Between 1983 and 1986, the author visited several of these fortresses, including Alamūt, Lamasar, Shamīrān (Samīrān) and Girdkūh. The Mongol débâcle, the passage of time and the continuous damage inflicted by fortune hunters have taken their toll on these historic Nizārī sites, which are now rapidly disappearing.

5. See Daftary, *Ismaili Literature*, p. 186.
6. Rashīd al-Dīn's entire section on the Ismāʿīlīs, covering the early history of the Ismāʿīlīs, the Fāṭimid caliphs and the Nizārī state in Persia, entitled *Jāmiʿal-tawārīkh: qismat-i Ismāʿīliyān va Fāṭimiyān va Nizāriyān va dāʿīyān va rafīqān*, was edited by Dānishpazhūh and Mudarrisī Zanjānī and published in 1338/1959. Earlier, an edition of the section covering only the history of the Persian Nizārī state, based on a text prepared by W. Ivanow, was produced by M. Dabīr Siyāqī under the title of *Faṣlī az jāmiʿ al-tawārīkh: taʾrīkh-i firqa-yi rafīqān va Ismāʿīliyān-i Alamūt* (Tehran, 1337/1958). Unless otherwise specified, our references to Rashīd al-Dīn are to the edition prepared by Dānishpazhūh and Mudarrisī. See also Lyudmila V. Stroeva, 'Rashid-ad-din kak istochnik po istorii ismailitov Alamuta', in *Voprosï istorii stran Azii* (Leningrad, 1965), pp. 123–142.
7. Abu'l-Qāsim Kāshānī (al-Qāshānī), *Taʾrīkh-i Uljāytū*, ed. M. Hambly (Tehran, 1348/1969), pp. 4–5, 54–55, 240–241, and also his *Zubdat al-tawārīkh: bakhsh-i Fāṭimiyān va Nizāriyān*, ed., M. T. Dānishpazhūh (2nd ed., Tehran, 1366/1987), pp. 3–4. See also M. Murtaḍavī, 'Jāmiʿ al-tawārīkh va muʾallif-i vaqiʿī-yi ān', *Revue de la Faculté des Lettres, Université de Tabriz*, 13 (1340/1961), pp. 31ff., 323ff., 517ff.
8. M. T. Dānishpazhūh (1911–1996) prepared an edition of Abu'l-Qāsim Kāshānī's history of the Ismāʿīlīs, on the basis of a single manuscript copy, under the title of *Zubdat al-tawārīkh: taʾrīkh-i Ismāʿīliyya va Nizāriyya va malāḥida*, which appeared in *Revue de la Faculté des Lettres, Université de Tabriz*, Supplément no. 9 (1343/1964), pp. 1–215. Subsequently, in 1987 Dānishpazhūh produced a better edition of this history, under the title *Zubdat al-tawārīkh: bakhsh-i Fāṭimiyān va Nizāriyān*, on the basis of the same manuscript dated 989/1581. Our references are to the second edition of Kāshānī's history of the Ismāʿīlīs. Juwaynī's *Taʾrīkh-i jahān-gushā* was introduced to the orientalists of the nineteenth century by Constantin M. d'Ohsson (1779–1851), who made extensive use of it in his *Histoire des Mongols* (Paris, 1824; 2nd ed., The Hague–Amsterdam, 1834–1835), while Rashīd al-Dīn's section on the Ismāʿīlīs was known in manuscript form long before it was published. But Kāshānī's version does not seem to have been utilized by scholars until its original publication in 1964.
9. Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī's section on the Persian Nizārīs first appeared in French translation in Defrémery, 'Histoire des Seldjoukides', pp. 26–49. A partial edition with French translation of the *Taʾrīkh-i guzīda*, including the sections on the Fāṭimid caliphs and the lords of Alamūt, was published by Jules Gantin (Paris, 1903), but it was E. G. Browne who provided a complete facsimile edition of this history for the E. J. W. Gibb Memorial Series as *The Taʾrīkh-i Guzīda; or, 'Select History'* (Leiden–London, 1910), and he later produced an abridged English translation of the work in the same series (Leiden–London, 1913). The late ʿAbd

al-Ḥusayn Navāʾī prepared a complete edition of the *Taʾrīkh-i guzīda* (Tehran, 1339/1960).

10. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Shabānkāraʾī, *Majmaʿal-ansāb*, ed. Mīr Hāshim Muḥaddith (Tehran, 1363/1984), pp. 125–133.
11. Ḥāfiẓ Abrū, *Majmaʿal-tawārīkh al-sulṭāniyya: qismat-i khulafāʾ-i ʿAlawiyya-yi Maghrib va Miṣr va Nizāriyān va rafīqān*, ed. Muḥammad Mudarrisī Zanjānī (Tehran, 1364/1985), hereafter cited as Ḥāfiẓ Abrū; see F. Daftary's review of this work in *Nashr-i Dānish*, 6 (June–July, 1986), pp. 34–37.
12. Mīrkhwānd, *Rawḍat al-ṣafāʾ* (Tehran, 1338–1339/1960), vol. 4, pp. 181–235. Am. Jourdain had published the Persian text with French translation of Mīrkhwānd's history of the Persian Nizārīs in *Notices et Extraits des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Impériale*, 9 (1813), text pp. 192–248, translation pp. 143–182.
13. Khwānd Amīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar*, ed. J. Humāʾī (Tehran, 1333/1954), vol. 2, pp. 450–479.
14. See, for instance, Yaḥyā b. ʿAbd al-Laṭīf Qazwīnī, *Lubb al-tawārīkh*, ed. S. Jalāl al-Dīn Ṭihrānī (1314/1936), pp. 125–133, and the later edition of the same history (Tehran, 1363/1984), pp. 206–219, a work written in 948/1541; Qāḍī Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Ghaffārī, *Taʾrīkh-i nigāristān* (Bombay, 1275/1859), pp. 233–234; ed. M. Mudarris Gīlānī (Tehran, 1340/1961), pp. 199–200; and also his *Jahān-ārā* (Tehran, 1343/1964), pp. 66–69, 70–71, containing brief chronological listings by this historian who died in 975/1567–1568.
15. Ṣadr al-Dīn Abu'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Nāṣir al-Ḥusaynī, *Akhbār al-dawla al-Saljūqiyya*, ed. M. Iqbāl (Lahore, 1933). For more details on these works and other early Saljūq chronicles, see Cl. Cahen, 'The Historiography of the Seljuqid Period', in B. Lewis and P. M. Holt, ed., *Historians of the Middle East* (London, 1964), especially pp. 68–76, and Julie Scott Meisami, *Persian Historiography to the End of the Twelfth Century* (Edinburgh, 1999), pp. 141–280.
16. B. Lewis, 'The Sources for the History of the Syrian Assassins', *Speculum*, 27 (1952), pp. 475–489; reprinted in his *Studies in Classical and Ottoman Islam (7th-16th Centuries)* (London, 1976), article VIII.
17. See Ivanow, *Ismaili Literature*, pp. 168–173, and Poonawala, *Bio*, pp. 287–297, 348–350.
18. Most of these inscriptions were studied by Max van Berchem who presented the results in his 'Épigraphie des Assassins de Syrie', pp. 453–501; reprinted in his *Opera Minora*, vol. 1, pp. 453–501; also in Turner, ed., *Orientalism*, vol. 1, pp. 279–309. See also J. Phillips, 'Assassin Castles in Syria', *The Connoisseur*, 191, no. 770 (1976), pp. 286–289.
19. Claude Cahen (1909–1991) has listed and analyzed most of these Arabic sources in his *La Syrie du nord à l'époque des Croisades* (Paris, 1940), pp. 33–93. See also J. Sauvaget, *Introduction to the History of the Muslim East: A Bibliographical Guide*, translation based on the second ed. as recast by Cl. Cahen (Berkeley, 1965), pp. 162ff.; F. Gabrieli, 'The Arabic Historiography of the Crusades', in Lewis and Holt, ed., *Historians of the Middle East*, pp. 98–107; and Elisséeff, *Nūr ad-Dīn*, vol. 1, pp. 9–81.
20. Ibn al-ʿAdīm's history of Aleppo from early times to 641/1243 entitled the *Zubdat al-ḥalab min taʾrīkh Ḥalab* has been critically edited by S. Dahan (Damascus, 1951–1968), 3 vols.; extracts of this history with French translation appeared earlier in *RHC: Historiens Orientaux* (Paris, 1872–1906), vol. 3, pp. 571–690, hereafter cited

as *RHCHO*. Other passages of this work were translated into French by E. Blochet under the title of *L'histoire d'Alep*, in *Revue de l'Orient Latin*, 3 (1895), pp. 509–565, 4 (1896), pp. 145–225, 5 (1897), pp. 37–107, and 6 (1898), pp. 1–49.

21. Sibṭ Ibn al-Jawzī, *Mirʾāt al-zamān*, ed. J. R. Jewett (Chicago, 1907), a partial facsimile edition covering the period 495–658/1101–1260; another edition (Hyderabad, 1370–1371/1951–1952), 2 vols.; extracts of the *Mirʾāt* with a French translation are contained in *RHCHO*, vol. 3, pp. 511–570.
22. An extract of al-ʿAẓīmī's history, dealing mainly with Syrian events during 455–538/1063–1143, was published by Claude Cahen under the title of 'La chronique abrégée d'al-ʿAẓīmī', *JA*, 230 (1938), pp. 353–448, hereafter cited as al-ʿAẓīmī.
23. Passages from this chronicle, as noted, appeared in C1. Cahen's 'Une chronique Syrienne du VIe/XIIe siècle: Le *Bustān al-Jāmiʿ*', pp. 113–158, hereafter referred to as *Bustān*.
24. The title of this book, published in 1955 and reprinted twice with the same pagination (New York, 1980; Philadelphia, 2005), is *The Order of Assassins: The Struggle of the Early Nizārī Ismāʿīlīs against the Islamic World*; Persian translation, *Firqa-yi Ismāʿīliyya*, tr. F. Badraʾī (Tabrīz, 1343/1964; 2nd ed., Tehran, 1369/1990). Hodgson summarized the contents of this book, with many revisions and improved interpretations, in his 'The Ismāʿīlī State', in *The Cambridge History of Iran*: Volume 5, *The Saljuq and Mongol Periods*, ed. J. A. Boyle (Cambridge, 1968), pp. 422–482.
25. B. Lewis's *The Assassins: A Radical Sect in Islam* has been translated into Arabic, French, German, Italian, Persian and Turkish; see Daftary, *Ismaili Literature*, p. 328. P. Filippani-Ronconi devoted the greater part of his book, *Ismaeliti ed 'Assassini'*, pp. 107–265, to the history of the Nizārī state.
26. L. V. Stroeva, *Gosudarstvo ismailitov v Irane v XI-XIII vv*. (Moscow, 1978); Persian trans., *Taʾrīkh-i Ismāʿīliyān dar Īrān*, tr. P. Munzavī (Tehran, 1371/1992). For her other publications on the Nizārīs, see Daftary, *Ismaili Literature*, pp. 398–401.
27. In this category, other than the already-mentioned J. C. Frère, *L'Ordre des Assassins*, mention may be made of E. Franzius, *History of the Order of Assassins* (New York, 1969); E. Burman, *The Assassins* (London, 1987), with Italian and Spanish translations; F. A. Ridley, *The Assassins* (2nd ed., London, 1988); and W. B. Bartlett, *The Assassins: The Story of Medieval Islam's Secret Sect* (Stroud, Gloucestershire, 2001), amongst others.
28. For the meagre biographical information on this *dāʿī*, see Ẓahīr al-Dīn Nīshāpūrī, *Saljūq-nāma*, ed. Afshār, p. 40; ed. Morton, pp. 45–46; al-Rāwandī, *Rāḥat al-ṣudūr*, pp. 155–156; al-Mufaḍḍal b. Saʿd al-Māfarrukhī al-Iṣfahānī, *Maḥāsin Iṣfahān*, ed. S. Jalāl al-Dīn Ṭihrānī (Tehran, 1312/1933), p. 30; and B. Lewis, 'Ibn ʿAṭṭāsh', *EI2*, vol. 3, p. 725.
29. Juwaynī, vol. 3, pp. 187ff.; tr. Boyle, vol. 2, pp. 666ff.; Rashīd al-Dīn, pp. 97ff.; Kāshānī, pp. 133ff. and Ḥāfiẓ Abrū, pp. 191ff. Rashīd al-Dīn and Kāshānī have fuller quotations from this biography than Juwaynī. See also Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Taʾrīkh*, ed. and tr. Browne, vol. 1, pp. 517ff., and vol. 2, pp. 127–128; ed. Navāʾī, pp. 518ff.; Mīrkhwānd, *Rawḍat al-ṣafāʾ*, vol. 4, pp. 205ff.; and Khwānd Amīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar*, vol. 2, pp. 464ff. Briefer details, from a different source, on Ḥasan's career are related in Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, vol. 9, pp. 154–155, and vol. 10, pp. 82, 109–110. In modern times, no scholarly work has been written on Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ; for some popular accounts,

see Jawad al-Muscati (al-Masqaṭī) (1912–1984), *Hasan bin Sabbah*, translated into English by A. H. Hamdani (Karachi, 1953); ʿĀrif Tāmir, *ʿAlā abwāb Alamūt* (Ḥarīṣa, 1959); Muṣṭafā Ghālib, *al-Thāʾir al-Ḥimyarī al-Ḥasan b. al-Ṣabbāḥ* (Beirut, 1966); and Karīm Kishāvarz (1900–1986), *Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ* (Tehran, 1344/1965), a semi-popular but documented biography. A briefer account, with some relevant documents, is contained in Naṣr Allāh Falsafī, *Hasht maqāla-yi taʾrīkh-i va adabī* (Tehran, 1330/1951), pp. 197–223; reproduced in his *Chand maqāla* (Tehran, 1342/1963), pp. 403–434; see also M. Mīnuvī, *Taʾrīkh va farhang* (Tehran, 1352/1973), pp. 170–225. The best succinct modern accounts of Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ may be found in three works by Hodgson: *Order*, pp. 43ff., 'State', pp. 429ff., and 'Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ', *EI2*, vol. 3, pp. 253–254. See also Lewis, *Assassins*, pp. 38ff.; Poonawala, *Bio*, pp. 251–254; F. Daftary, 'Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ and the Origins of the Nizārī Ismaʿili Movement', in *MIHT*, pp. 181–204; reprinted in *IMMS*, pp. 124–148; and his 'Ḥasan Ṣabbāḥ', *EIR*, vol. 12, pp. 34–37.

30. Rashīd al-Dīn, pp. 110–112, and Kāshānī, pp. 146–148, quote the tale from the *Sargudhasht-i Sayyidnā*, while Juwaynī omits it. See also Dozy, *Essai sur l'histoire de l'Islamisme*, pp. 296ff.; E. G. Browne, 'Yet More Light on ʿUmar-i-Khayyām', *JRAS* (1899), pp. 409–420; also his *A Literary History of Persia from Firdawsi to Saʿdi*, pp. 190–193; H. Bowen, 'The *sar-gudhasht-i sayyidnā*, the Tale of Three Schoolfellows and the *wasaya* of the Niẓām al-Mulk', *JRAS* (1931), pp. 771–782; Hodgson, *Order*, pp. 137–138; Kishāvarz, *Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ*, pp. 54–57; Lewis, *Assassins*, pp. 39–40; and Filippani-Ronconi, *Ismaeliti*, pp. 133–134. The late Persian scholar Naṣr Allāh Falsafī (1901–1981) was one of the few authorities defending the authenticity of this tale, see his *Hasht maqāla*, pp. 200–203, and *Chand maqāla*, pp. 406–410. The tale is reproduced in von Hammer–Purgstall, *History of the Assassins*, pp. 42ff.; Bouthoul, *Le grand maître des Assassins*, pp. 14ff., and Frère, *L'Ordre des Assassins*, pp. 79ff. It also finds expression in numerous popular works, written in the Persian language, on Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ and the Nizārīs.
31. See, for instance, *Rubāiyāt of Omar Khayyām*, rendered into English verse by Edward FitzGerald (5th ed., London, 1898), pp. 1–6.
32. Mīrkhwānd, *Rawḍat al-ṣafāʾ*, vol. 4, pp. 199–204. Mīrkhwānd's recension of the tale, based on Niẓām al-Mulk's *Waṣāyā*, is reproduced in Khwānd Amīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar*, vol. 2, pp. 460–464, and also in his *Dastūr al-wuzarāʾ*, ed. S. Nafīsī (Tehran, 1317/1938), pp. 168–178, amongst other later Persian sources. See also Niẓām al-Mulk, *Siasset Namèh*, ed. and tr. Charles Schefer, Supplément (Paris, 1897), pp. 48–56, and *Dabistān-i madhāhib*, attributed to Kaykhusraw Isfandiyār, ed. R. Riḍāzāda Malik (Tehran, 1362/1983), vol. 1, pp. 258–260.
33. Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, vol. 10, p. 82. See also Rashīd al-Dīn, p. 77; Kāshānī, p. 114; Ḥāfiẓ Abrū, p. 162, and al-Maqrīzī, *Ittiʿāẓ*, vol. 2, p. 323, and vol. 3, p. 15.
34. Juwaynī, vol. 3, pp. 189–191; tr. Boyle, vol. 2, pp. 668–669; Rashīd al-Dīn, pp. 99–103; Kāshānī, pp. 135–138; and Ḥāfiẓ Abrū, pp. 192–193.
35. H. L. Rabino, 'Les dynasties Alaouides du Mazandéran', *JA*, 210 (1927), p. 261; also his *Māzandarān and Astarābād* (London, 1928), pp. 139, 166; and Abu'l-Fatḥ Ḥakīmiyān, *ʿAlawiyān-i Ṭabaristān* (Tehran, 1348/1969), p. 116. On ʿAlid rule in Ṭabaristān and the history of the Caspian Zaydī community, which came under increasing pressure with the rise of Nizārī Ismāʿīlism in northern Persia, see several

works by Madelung: *Der Imam al-Qāsim*, pp. 153–220; 'The Alid Rulers of Ṭabaristān, Daylamān and Gīlān', pp, 483–492; 'Abū Isḥāq al-Ṣābī on the Alids of Ṭabaristān and Gīlān', pp. 17–57; 'Minor Dynasties', pp. 206–212, 219–222; and "Alids of Ṭabaristān, Daylamān, and Gīlān', *EIR*, vol. 1, pp. 881–886.

36. Juwaynī, vol. 3, pp. 193–195; tr. Boyle, vol. 2, pp. 669–671; Rashīd al-Dīn, pp. 104–105; Kāshānī, pp. 138–142; and Ḥāfiẓ Abrū, p. 194.
37. Professor C. Edmund Bosworth has studied the revival of Persian culture under Arab and Turkish rule in numerous works; see, for instance, his 'The Development of Persian Culture under the Early Ghaznavids', *Iran, Journal of the British Institute of Persian Studies*, 6 (1968), pp. 33–44; reprinted in his *The Medieval History of Iran, Afghanistan and Central Asia* (London, 1977), article XVIII, and his *The History of the Saffarids of Sistan and the Maliks of Nimruz (247/861 to 949/1542–3)* (Costa Mesa, CA, and New York, 1994), pp. 168–180. See also W. Madelung, 'The Assumption of the Title Shāhānshāh by the Būyids and the Reign of the Daylam (*Dawlat al-Daylam*)', *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, 28 (1969), pp. 84–108, 168–183; reprinted in his *Religious and Ethnic Movements*, article VIII.
38. Rashīd al-Dīn, p. 112, and Kāshānī, p. 148.
39. *Haft bāb-i Bābā Sayyidnā*, ed. W. Ivanow, in his *Two Early Ismaili Treatises* (Bombay, 1933), p. 30; English trans. Hodgson, in his *Order*, p. 314.
40. Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, vol. 10, p. 110.
41. Juwaynī, vol. 3, pp. 269–273; tr. Boyle, vol. 2, pp. 719–721; Rashīd al-Dīn, p. 105; Kāshānī, pp. 141–142; Ḥāfiẓ Abrū, p. 195; and Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī Qazwīnī, *Nuzhat al-qulūb*, ed. and tr. G. Le Strange as *The Geographical Part of the Nuzhat al-Qulūb*, (Leiden–London, 1915–1919), vol. 1, pp. 60–61, and vol. 2, p. 66. See also G. Le Strange, *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, pp. 220–221; Qazvīnī, *Yāddāshthā*, vol. 1, pp. 102–107; Ivanow, *Alamut and Lamasar*, pp. 1ff., 35–59; Willey, *Castles of the Assassins*, pp. 204–226; his *Eagle's Nest*, pp. 106–114; Sutūda, *Qilāʿ*, pp. 72–108; P. Varjāvand, *Sarzamīn-i Qazvīn* (Tehran, 1349/1970), pp. 173ff., 181–205; B. Hourcade, 'Alamūt', *EIR*, vol. 1, pp. 797–801; and Ṣ. Sajjādī and ʿI. Majīdī, 'Alamūt', *GIE*, vol. 10, pp. 91–98.
42. Rashīd al-Dīn, pp. 149–153; Kāshānī, pp. 186–190; and Madelung, *Religious Trends*, pp. 9–12.
43. For the activities of Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ during the years immediately following the seizure of Alamūt, the Nizārī sources are quoted in Juwaynī, vol. 3, pp. 195, 199–207; tr. Boyle, vol. 2, pp. 671, 673–678; Rashīd al-Dīn, pp. 105, 107–110; Kāshānī, pp. 142, 143–144; and Ḥāfiẓ Abrū, pp. 200–202. For the Ismāʿīlī strongholds in Quhistān, see Willey, *Eagle's Nest*, pp. 167–203.
44. For a survey of the Muslim chroniclers' treatment of the Ismāʿīlī–Saljūq encounters, and the general anti-Ismāʿīlī biases of the sources, see Carole Hillenbrand, 'The Power Struggle between the Saljuqs and the Ismaʿilis of Alamūt, 487–518/1094–1124: The Saljuq Perspective', in *MIHT*, pp. 205–220.
45. *Taʾrīkh-i Sīstān*, p. 386; tr. Gold, p. 315; and Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Nuzhat al-qulūb*, vol. 1, p. 146, and vol. 2, p. 144.
46. On Niẓām al-Mulk's assassination, see Juwaynī, vol. 3, pp. 203–204; tr. Boyle, vol. 2, pp. 676–677; Rashīd al-Dīn, pp. 109–110; Kāshānī, p. 146; Ḥāfiẓ Abrū, p. 202; and Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, vol. 10, pp. 70–71, 108–109. See also M. Th. Houtsma, 'The

Death of Nizam al-Mulk and its Consequences', *Journal of Indian History*, 3 (1924), pp. 147–160; Hodgson, *Order*, pp. 47–48, 75; C. E. Bosworth, 'The Political and Dynastic History of the Iranian World (A.D. 1000–1217)', in *Cambridge History of Iran*, vol. 5, pp. 99–102; Carole Hillenbrand, '1092: A Murderous Year', *The Arabist, Budapest Studies in Arabic*, 15–16 (1995), pp. 281–296; and H. Bowen and C. E. Bosworth, 'Niẓām al-Mulk', *EI2*, vol. 8, especially p. 72. The issues are also analyzed in N. Yavari, 'Niẓām al-Mulk Remembered: A Study in Historical Representation' (Ph.D. thesis, Columbia University, 1992).

47. On these castles, see Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, vol. 1, p. 244; tr. Barbier de Meynard, p. 33; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, vol. 10, p. 110; Ibn Isfandiyār, *Taʾrīkh*, vol. 1, p. 111, and vol. 2 (continuation), pp. 11, 27–29, 35; tr. Browne, pp. 4, 231, 240, 243; Ẓahīr al-Dīn Marʿashī, *Taʾrīkh-i Ṭabaristān va Rūyān va Māzandarān*, ed. B. Dorn (St Petersburg, 1850), pp. 61–62, 196, 242, 261, 263; ed. M. Ḥ. Tasbīḥī (Tehran, 1345/1966), pp. 19, 86, 116; Sutūda, *Qilāʿ*, pp. 138–142, 160–162; and Willey, *Eagle's Nest*, pp. 155–166.
48. On the seizure of Girdkūh, earlier also called Diz-i Gunbadān, see Juwaynī, vol. 3, pp. 207–208; tr. Boyle, vol. 2, pp. 678–679; Rashīd al-Dīn, pp. 116–120; Kāshānī, pp. 151–155, Ḥāfiẓ Abrū, pp. 208–210; Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Nuzhat al-qulūb*, vol. 1, p. 161, and vol. 2, p. 158; *Mujmal al-tawārīkh wa'l-qiṣaṣ*, ed. Muḥammad Taqī Bahār (Tehran, 1318/1939), p. 52; al-Ḥusaynī, *Akhbār*, p. 87; Hodgson, *Order*, pp. 86–87; Willey, *Eagle's Nest*, pp. 147–154; and F. Daftary, 'Gerdkūh', *EIR*, vol. 10, p. 499.
49. Ibn al-Balkhī, *Fārs-nāma*, pp. 84, 121, 148, 162; Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Nuzhat al-qulūb*, vol. 1, pp. 129–130, and vol. 2, p. 129; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, vol. 10, p. 111; Hodgson, *Order*, p. 76; Willey, *Eagle's Nest*, pp. 204–215; and H. Gaube, 'Arrajān', *EIR*, vol. 2, pp. 519–520.
50. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm, *Taʾrīkh-i Saljūqiyān-i Kirmān*, ed. M. Th. Houtsma (Leiden, 1886), pp. 21–25; the same work has been edited by M. I. Bāstānī Pārīzī under the title of *Saljūqiyān va Ghuzz dar Kirmān* (Tehran, 1343/1964), pp. 29–32; Nāṣir al-Dīn Munshī Kirmānī, *Simṭ al-ʿulā*, ed. ʿAbbās Iqbāl (Tehran, 1328/1949), p. 17; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, vol. 10, p. 111; al-Ghaffārī, *Jahān-ārā*, p. 117; and Hodgson, *Order*, p. 87.
51. Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, vol. 10, pp. 97, 100–101, 146–147.
52. Rashīd al-Dīn, pp. 114–115; Kāshānī, pp. 149–150; Ḥāfiẓ Abrū, p. 203; and ʿAbd al-Jalīl al-Qazwīnī al-Rāzī, *Kitāb al-naqḍ*, ed. Mīr Jalāl al-Dīn Muḥaddith (2nd ed., Tehran, 1358/1980), pp. 313–314, 478–479, a polemical work written around 565/1170 by an Imāmī scholar from Rayy.
53. Juwaynī, vol. 3, pp. 208–209; tr. Boyle, vol. 2, p. 679; Rashīd al-Dīn, pp. 115–116; Kāshānī, pp. 150–151; Ḥāfiẓ Abrū, p. 206; Ivanow, *Alamut and Lamasar*, pp. 60–74; Willey, *Castles of the Assassins*, pp. 269–279; his *Eagle's Nest*, pp. 128–133; Sutūda, *Qilāʿ*, pp. 54–71; Varjāvand, *Sarzamīn-i Qazvīn*, pp. 212ff., 216–233; and C. E. Bosworth, 'Lanbasar', *EI2*, vol. 5, p. 656.
54. On the revolts of these Nizārids, who were mostly based in the Maghrib, see Ibn Ẓāfir, *Akhbār*, pp. 97, 111; al-Maqrīzī, *Ittiʿāẓ*, vol. 3, pp. 147, 186, 246; Ibn al-Qalānisī, *Dhayl*, p. 302; Ibn Muyassar, *Akhbār*, p. 139; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Nujūm*, vol. 5, pp. 282, 339; and *Bustān al-jāmiʿ*, p. 127.
55. Various non-Ismāʿīlī sources allude, in different forms, to the existence of an unnamed imam at that time in Alamūt: see, for instance, Juwaynī, vol. 3, pp. 180–

181, 231–237; tr. Boyle, vol. 2, pp. 663, 691–695; Rashīd al-Dīn, pp. 79, 166–168; Kāshānī, pp. 115, 202–204; Ibn al-Qalānisī, *Dhayl*, pp. 127–129, with a quotation on the subject from al-Fāriqī, a historian writing shortly after the capture of Alamūt, and Ibn Muyassar, *Akhbār*, p. 102. Al-Ghazālī, in his *al-Munqidh*, ed. and tr. Jabre, text p. 33, translation pp. 93–94, ed. Ṣalībā, p. 127, tr. Watt, pp. 52–53, speaks of the imam as being hidden and yet accessible to his followers. See also al-Āmir, *al-Hidāya*, p. 23.

56. *Haft bāb-i Bābā Sayyidnā*, pp. 21–22; English trans. Hodgson, *Order*, pp. 301–302. In later Nizārī sources, too, Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ is given the title of *ḥujja* or chief *ḥujja*; see, for instance, Sayyid Suhrāb Valī Badakhshānī, *Sī va shish ṣaḥīfa*, ed. H. Ujāqī (Tehran, 1961), p. 55, and Abū Isḥāq Quhistānī, *Haft bāb*, ed. and tr. W. Ivanow (Bombay, 1959), text pp. 23, 43, translation pp. 23, 43.
57. Our discussion here draws on the exposition of Hodgson, *Order*, pp. 77–84, 87–89, 110–115, and his 'State', pp. 439–443. See also Lewis, *Assassins*, pp. 125–140, 158–160, where the social bases of the movement are also discussed.
58. See W. Ivanow, 'An Ismaili Poem in Praise of Fidawis', *JBBRAS*, NS, 14 (1938), pp. 63–72, containing excerpts of poems composed by the *raʾīs* Ḥasan b. Ṣalāḥ Munshī Bīrjandī, a secretary (*munshī*) to Shihāb al-Dīn Manṣūr, the Nizārī chief of Quhistān during the first half of the 7th/13th century. This Nizārī author-poet had evidently also written a history of the Nizārī state in Persia, which has not survived but was used by Rashīd al-Dīn, as stated in his Ismāʿīlī history, pp. 153, 161. See Ivanow, *Ismaili Literature*, p. 134; Poonawala, *Bio*, pp. 259–260; and F. Daftary, 'Bīrjandī, Raʾīs Ḥasan', *EWI*, vol. 5, p. 150.
59. Rashīd al-Dīn, pp. 134–137, 144–145, 160–161; Kāshānī, pp. 169–172, 182–183, 198–199, 235–237; and Ḥāfiẓ Abrū, pp. 223–225, 230–231, 243–244.
60. Juwaynī, vol. 3, pp. 129, 135; tr. Boyle, vol. 2, pp. 631, 635, where the term *fidāʾī* is seemingly used to designate a special group. See also Cl. Huart and M. G. S. Hodgson, 'Fidāʾī', *EI2*, vol. 2, p. 882; F. Daftary, 'Fedāʾī', *EIR*, vol. 9, pp. 468–470, and his 'Assassins: Ismaili', in *Medieval Islamic Civilization: An Encyclopedia*, vol. 1, pp. 72–73.
61. See, for instance, Ẓahīr al-Dīn Nīshāpūrī, *Saljūq-nāma*, ed. Afshār, pp. 40–41; ed. Morton, pp. 46–48; al-Rāwandī, *Rāḥat al-ṣudūr*, pp. 157–158; and Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Taʾrīkh*, ed. and tr. Browne, vol. 1, pp. 454–456, and vol. 2, p. 100; ed. Navāʾī, pp. 445–446.
62. Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, vol. 10, pp. 109, 112–113, 132, 137.
63. The renewed Nizārī activities in the Iṣfahān region, and the capture of Shāhdiz, received very limited treatment by our chief Persian historians. Juwaynī has nothing on the subject, while Rashīd al-Dīn, p. 120, and Kāshānī, p. 156, have brief references. Rashīd al-Dīn has more details in his *Jāmiʿal-tawārīkh: taʾrīkh-i āl-i Saljūq*, pp. 69–74; tr. Luther, pp. 74–77. There are also summary accounts in Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, vol. 10, pp. 109–110 and other general chronicles. Fuller details are found in Ẓahīr al-Dīn Nīshāpūrī, *Saljūq-nāma*, ed. Afshār, pp. 40–41; ed. Morton, p. 46; al-Rāwandī, *Rāḥat al-ṣudūr*, pp. 155ff.; Mīrkhwānd, *Rawḍat al-ṣafāʾ*, vol. 4, pp. 306ff.; also his *Mirchondi Historia Seldschukidarum Persice*, ed. Johann A. Vullers (Giessen, 1838), pp. 163ff.; and Khwānd Amīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar*, vol. 2, pp. 504ff. See also Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, vol. 3, p. 246; tr. Barbier de Meynard, p. 344; J. van Ess, "Aṭṭāš', *EIR*, vol. 3, p. 26, and M.

ʿA. Kāẓim Begī, ‘Ibn ʿAṭṭāsh’, *GIE*, vol. 4, pp. 312–314. In modern times, the sites of the castles of Shāhdiz and Khānlanjān were first identified by Dr Caro O. Minasian (1897–1972), a resident of Iṣfahān who had a thorough knowledge of that city and its surroundings; see his *Shah Diz*; M. Mihryār, ‘Shāhdiz kujāst?’, *Revue de la Faculté des Lettres d'Isfahan*, 1 (1343/1964–1965), pp. 87–157; Stern et al., ‘Fortress of Khān Lanjān’, pp. 45–57; Willey, *Eagle's Nest*, pp. 206–212; and F. Daftary, ‘Dezkūh’, *EIR*, vol. 7, p. 354.

64. Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, vol. 10, p. 112.
65. For overviews on the opening phase of the Nizārī *daʿwa* in Syria, see B. Lewis, ‘The Ismāʿīlites and the Assassins’, in *A History of the Crusades*, ed. Setton, vol. 1, pp. 99–114, and Lewis, *Assassins*, pp. 97–104. Ch. F. Defrémery's ‘Nouvelles recherches sur les Ismaéliens ou Bathiniens de Syrie’, *JA* (1854), pp. 373–397, is still valuable; see also Hodgson, *Order*, pp. 89–95, and Nasseh A. Mirza, *Syrian Ismailism: The Ever Living Line of the Imamate, AD 1100–1260* (Richmond, Surrey, 1997), pp. 7–14.
66. Ibn al-Qalānisī, *Dhayl*, p. 133; tr. Le Tourneau, p. 37; al-ʿAẓīmī, p. 372; Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *Zubdat al-ḥalab*, ed. Dahan, vol. 2, pp. 127–128; Abu'l-Fidā, *al-Mukhtaṣar fī akhbār al-bashar* (Cairo, 1325/1907), vol. 2, p. 210; Ibn Muyassar, *Akhbār*, p. 64; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, vol. 10, p. 93; and Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Nujūm*, vol. 5, p. 158, placing the event in the year 489 AH.
67. Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *Zubdat al-ḥalab*, ed. Dahan, vol. 2, pp. 145–146; Sibṭ, *Mirʾāt*, in *RHCHO*, vol. 3, pp. 548–549; and Ibn Taghrībirdiī, *al-Nujūm*, vol. 5, p. 205.
68. Ibn al-Qalānisī, *Dhayl*, p. 142, tr. Gibb, pp. 57–58; tr. Le Tourneau, pp. 51–52; al-ʿAẓīmī, p. 375, simply mentions the event without naming the Nizārīs; *Bustān*, p. 115; Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *Zubdat al-ḥalab*, ed. Dahan, vol. 2, pp. 146–147, in *RHCHO*, vol. 3, pp. 589–591; also his *Bughyat* in Lewis, ‘Three Biographies from Kamāl ad-Dīn’, in *Fuad Köprülü Armağani* (Istanbul, 1953), pp. 330–332; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, vol. 10, p. 120, in *RHCHO*, vol. 1, p. 213, placing the murder in 495 AH; Sibṭ, *Mirʾāt*, ed. Jewett, pp. 3–4, in *RHCHO*, vol. 3, pp. 525–526; and Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Nujūm*, vol. 5, pp. 168–169, also recording the event a year earlier. See also Lewis, ‘Sources’, pp. 485–486, relating the accounts of different authorities; Grousset, *Croisades*, vol. 1, pp. 338–340, 387; and Runciman, *Crusades*, vol. 2, pp. 119–120.
69. Ibn al-Qalānisī, *Dhayl*, pp. 149–150; tr. Gibb, pp. 72–73; tr. Le Tourneau, pp. 63–64; al-ʿAẓīmī, p. 378; Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *Zubdat al-ḥalab*, ed. Dahan, vol. 2, pp. 151–153, in *RHCHO*, vol. 3, pp. 594–595; also his *Bughyat* in Lewis, ‘Three Biographies’, pp. 333–336; Ibn Muyassar, *Akhbār*, pp. 63, 76; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, vol. 10, pp. 142–143, in *RHCHO*, vol. 1, pp. 232–235; Sibṭ, *Mirʾāt*, in *RHCHO*, vol. 3, p. 530; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Nujūm*, vol. 5, p. 192; William B. Stevenson, *The Crusaders in the East* (Cambridge, 1907), p. 82; Grousset, *Croisades*, vol. 1, pp. 423–426; and Runciman, *Crusades*, vol. 2, pp. 52–53.
70. Ibn al-Qalānisī, *Dhayl*, pp. 174–175; tr. Gibb, pp. 114–115; tr. Le Tourneau, pp. 106–107; and Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *Zubdat al-ḥalab*, ed. Dahan, vol. 2, p. 159, in *RHCHO*, vol. 3, pp. 599–600.
71. Ibn al-Qalānisī, *Dhayl*, pp. 187–188; tr. Gibb, pp. 139–141; tr. Le Tourneau, pp. 126–127; al-ʿAẓīmī, p. 382; *Bustān*, p. 117; Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *Zubdat al-ḥalab*, ed. Dahan, vol. 2, pp. 161–162; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, vol. 10, p. 174, in *RHCHO*, vol. 1, pp. 289–290; Ibn al-Athīr, *Taʾrīkh al-dawla al-Atābakiyya mulūk al-Mawṣil*, in *RHCHO*, vol. 2,

part 2, pp. 35–36; and Sibṭ, *Mirʾāt*, ed. Jewett, p. 31, in *RHCHO*, vol. 3, p. 550. See also Grousset, *Croisades*, vol. 1, pp. 483ff., and Runciman, *Crusades*, vol. 2, pp. 126–127.

72. On the persecution of the Nizārīs of Aleppo in the year 507 AH, see Ibn al-Qalānisī, *Dhayl*, pp. 189–190; tr. Gibb, pp. 145–146; tr. Le Tourneau, pp. 130–131; al-ʿAẓīmī, p. 382; Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *Zubdat al-ḥalab*, ed. Dahan, vol. 2, pp. 168–169, in *RHCHO*, vol. 3, pp. 603–604; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, vol. 10, p. 175, in *RHCHO*, vol. 1, p. 291; and Sibṭ, *Mirʾāt*, in *RHCHO*, vol. 3, pp. 549–550.
73. Ibn al-Qalānisī, *Dhayl*, pp. 190–191; tr. Gibb, pp. 147–148; tr. Le Tourneau, pp. 132–133; al-ʿAẓīmī, p. 382; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, vol. 10, p. 166, in *RHCHO*, vol. 1, p. 272; Abu'l-Fidā, *al-Mukhtaṣar*, vol. 2, p. 224, in *RHCHO*, vol. 1, p. 10, who like his source Ibn al-Athīr places this event in the year 502/1108–1109; Sibṭ, *Mirʾāt*, in *RHCHO*, vol. 3, p. 548; and Ibn Munqidh, *Kitāb al-iʿtibār*, ed. Hitti, pp. 77, 116, 123–124; tr. Hitti, pp. 107, 146, 153–154.
74. Our Persian historians have only brief accounts of the fall of Shāhdiz; see Rashīd al-Dīn, pp. 121–122; Kāshānī, pp. 156–157; and Ḥāfiẓ Abrū, p. 211. Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, vol. 10, pp. 151–152, has the fullest details. See also Ibn al-Qalānisī, *Dhayl*, pp. 151–156, containing also the text of the victory statement issued on the occasion; tr. Le Tourneau, pp. 66–73; Ẓahīr al-Dīn Nīshāpūrī, *Saljūq-nāma*, ed. Afshār, pp. 41–42; ed. Morton, pp. 48–50; al-Rāwandī, *Rāḥat al-ṣudūr*, pp. 158–161; al-Bundārī, *Zubdat al-nuṣra*, pp. 90–91; Hodgson, *Order*, pp. 95–96; and Lewis, *Assassins*, pp. 53–55.
75. Ibn al-Balkhī, *Fārs-nāma*, pp. 148, 158.
76. On Muḥammad Tapar's campaigns against the Nizārīs of Rūdbār, see Juwaynī, vol. 3, pp. 211–212; tr. Boyle, vol. 2, pp. 680–681; Rashīd al-Dīn, pp. 124–132; Kāshānī, pp. 160–166; Ḥāfiẓ Abrū, pp. 213–217; Ibn al-Qalānisī, *Dhayl*, p. 162; tr. Le Tourneau, pp. 83–84; al-Bundārī, *Zubdat al-nuṣra*, p. 117; al-Ḥusaynī, *Akhbār*, pp. 81–82; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, vol. 10, pp. 168, 185–186; Hodgson, *Order*, pp. 97–98; and Lewis, *Assassins*, pp. 55–57.
77. Ibn Isfandiyār, *Taʾrīkh*, vol. 2, p. 33; tr. Browne, p. 241; Marʿashī, *Taʾrīkh-i Ṭabaristān*, ed. Dorn, pp. 210–211; ed. Tasbīḥī, p. 96; and H. L. Rabino, 'Les dynasties du Māzandarān', *JA*, 228 (1936), p. 422.
78. Al-Bundārī, *Zubdat al-nuṣra*, pp. 123, 144–147.
79. Hodgson, *Order*, pp. 99ff., 145, and his 'State', pp. 428, 447ff.
80. See Juwaynī, vol. 3, pp. 195–199; tr. Boyle, vol. 2, pp. 671–673; Rashīd al-Dīn, pp. 105–107, reproduced with English translation in R. Levy, 'The Account of the Ismaʿili Doctrines in the *Jamiʿ al-Tawarikh* of Rashid al-Din Fadlallah', *JRAS* (1930), pp. 532–536; and Kāshānī, pp. 142–143. Ḥāfiẓ Abrū, p. 200, as in many other instances, summarizes Rashīd al-Dīn's account.
81. Al-Shahrastānī, *Kitāb al-milal wa'l-niḥal*, ed. W. Cureton (London, 1842–1846), pp. 150–152; on the margin of Ibn Ḥazm, *al-Fiṣal*, vol. 2, pp. 32–36; ed. A. Fahmī Muḥammad (Cairo, 1948), vol. 1, pp. 339–345; ed. Muḥammad b. Fatḥ Allāh Badrān (2nd ed., Cairo, 1375/1955), vol. 1, pp. 176–178; ed. al-Wakīl, vol. 1, pp. 195–198. The Arabic text of al-Shahrastānī's *al-Milal* was translated into Persian in 843/1439 by Afḍal al-Dīn Ṣadr Turka-yi Iṣfahānī (d. 850/1446), who probably produced a version of the *Four Chapters* closer to the original text of Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ; this translation has been edited by Sayyid Muḥammad Jalālī Nāʾīnī (3rd ed., Tehran, 1350/1972),

pp. 155–157. Afḍal al-Dīn's Persian version of the work was revised in 1021/1612 in India, for the Mughal emperor Jahāngīr, by Muṣṭafā b. Khāliqdād al-Hāshimī; this revised Persian translation, entitled *Tawḍīḥ al-milal*, has been edited by M. R. Jalālī Nāʾīnī (2nd ed., Tehran, 1358/1979), vol. 1, pp. 264–269. Amongst other translations of this work, mention may be made of the German trans., *Religionspartheien und Philosophen-Schulen*, tr. T. Haarbrücker (Halle, 1850–1851), vol. 1, pp. 225–230; English trans., *Muslim Sects*, tr. Kazi and Flynn, pp. 167–170; the relevant section on Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ's doctrine was earlier translated into English in Edward E. Salisbury, 'Translation of Two Unpublished Arabic Documents, Relating to the Doctrines of the Ismâʿilis and the Bâtinian Sects', *JAOS*, 2 (1851), pp. 267–272, and in Hodgson, *Order*, pp. 325–328; French trans., *Livre des religions et des sectes*, tr. Gimaret et al., vol. 1, pp. 560–565; for a complete listing see Daftary, *Ismaili Literature*, pp. 114–115. For a summary exposition of the doctrine of *taʿlīm*, see Hodgson, *Order*, pp. 51–61, and his 'State', pp. 433–437.

82. See M. R. Jalālī Nāʾīnī, *Sharḥ-i ḥāl va āthār-i ḥujjat al-ḥaqq Abu'l-Fatḥ Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Karīm b. Muḥammad Shahrastānī* (Tehran, 1343/1964), pp. 9–10, 33, 45, 47, 51, 75, and M. T. Dānishpazhūh, 'Dāʿī al-duʿāt Tāj al-Dīn Shahrastāna', *Nāma-yi Āstān-i Quds*, 7 (1346/1967), pp. 71–80, and 8 (1347/1968), pp. 61–71, where the author examines the available evidence and concludes that al-Shahrastānī adhered to Ismāʿīlism. See also G. Monnot, 'Les controverses théologiques dans l'oeuvre de Shahrastani', in A. Le Boulluec, ed., *La controverse religieuse et ses formes* (Paris, 1995), pp. 281–296, and his 'al-Shahrastānī', *EI2*, vol. 9, pp. 214–216.
83. Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī, *Sayr va sulūk*, in his *Majmūʿa-yi rasāʾil*, ed. M. T. Mudarris Raḍavī (Tehran, 1335/1956), pp. 38, 120–121; ed. and tr. S. J. Badakhchani as *Contemplation and Action: The Spiritual Autobiography of a Muslim Scholar* (London, 1998), text p. 3, translation p. 26.
84. Jalālī Nāʾīnī, *Sharḥ-i ḥāl*, pp. 47–52, 75–76; Poonawala, *Bio*, pp. 254–257; and Daftary, *Ismaili Literature*, pp. 114–115, 150–151.
85. See two articles by W. Madelung, 'Aš-Šahrastānīs Streitschrift gegen Avicenna und ihre Widerlegung durch Naṣīr ad-Dīn aṭ-Ṭūsī', in A. Dietrich, ed., *Akten des VII. Kongresses für Arabistik und Islamwissenschaft* (Göttingen, 1976), pp. 250–259, and 'Aspects of Ismāʿīlī Theology', pp. 59ff., both reprinted in his *Religious Schools and Sects*, articles XVI–XVII. See also al-Shahrastānī, *Kitāb al-muṣāraʿa*, ed. and tr. W. Madelung and T. Mayer as *Struggling with the Philosopher: A Refutation of Avicenna's Metaphysics* (London, 2001), and the introduction therein. On al-Shahrastānī's Ismāʿīlī thought, see also A. Hartmann, 'Ismâʿîlitische Theologie bei sunnitischen ʿUlamâʾ des Mittelalters?', in L. Hagemann and E. Pulsfort, ed., '*Ihr alle aber seid Brüder'. Festschrift für A. Th. Khoury zum 60. Geburtstag* (Würzburg, 1990), pp. 190–206; Diane Steigerwald, *La pensée philosophique et théologique de Shahrastânî (m. 548/1153)* (Saint-Nicolas, Québec, 1997), and her 'Al-Shahrastānī's Contribution to Medieval Islamic Thought', in Lawson, ed., *Reason and Inspiration*, pp. 262–273.
86. Juwaynī, vol. 3, pp. 214–215; tr. Boyle, vol. 2, p. 682.
87. Juwaynī, vol. 3, pp. 213–214; tr. Boyle, vol. 2, pp. 681–682; Rashīd al-Dīn, p. 123; Kāshānī, pp. 155, 159; and Ḥāfiẓ Abrū, p. 212.
88. Rashīd al-Dīn, pp. 133, 137; Kāshānī, pp. 167–168, 171; and Ḥāfiẓ Abrū, pp. 217, 225.

89. Ibn Muyassar, *Akhbār*, pp. 97–103. See also Ibn al-Ṣayrafī, *al-Ishāra*, p. 49 (64); Stern, 'Epistle of the Fatimid Caliph al-Āmir', pp. 20ff.; Hodgson, *Order*, pp. 107–109; and Lewis, *Assassins*, pp. 59–61.
90. Juwaynī, vol. 3, p. 215; tr. Boyle, vol. 2, p. 682; Rashīd al-Dīn, p. 133; Kāshānī, p. 168; and Ḥāfiẓ Abrū, pp. 217–218.
91. Juwaynī, vol. 3, pp. 209–211; tr. Boyle, vol. 2, pp. 679–680; Rashīd al-Dīn, pp. 123–124; Kāshānī, pp. 159–160; and Ḥāfiẓ Abrū, p. 212.
92. On Buzurg-Ummīd's reign, see Juwaynī, vol. 3, pp. 216ff.; tr. Boyle, vol. 2, pp. 683ff.; Rashīd al-Dīn, pp. 137ff.; Kāshānī, pp. 172ff., the latter two sources drawing primarily on an anonymous Nizārī chronicle entitled *Kitāb-i Buzurg-Ummīd*; Ḥāfiẓ Abrū, pp. 227ff.; Mīrkhwānd, *Rawḍat al-ṣafāʾ*, vol. 4, pp. 215–217; and Khwānd Amīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar*, vol. 2, pp. 469–470. See also three works by Hodgson: *Order*, pp. 99–104, 117–119; 'State', pp. 449–450, and 'Buzurg-Ummīd', *EI2*, vol. 1, p. 1359; Lewis, *Assassins*, pp. 64–67; Filippani-Ronconi, *Ismaeliti*, pp. 167–174; W. Madelung, 'Bozorg-Omīd, Kīā', *EIR*, vol. 3, p. 429; F. Daftary, 'Buzurg-Umīd, Kiyā', *EWI*, vol. 3, pp. 364–366, and his 'Buzurg-Umīd', *GIE*, vol. 12, pp. 81–84.
93. On relations between these rulers and the Nizārīs, see Ibn Isfandiyār, *Taʾrīkh*, vol. 1, p. 111, and vol. 2, pp. 68, 85–87; tr. Browne, p. 64; Āmulī, *Taʾrīkh*, pp. 127–129, 131; Marʿashī, *Taʾrīkh-i Ṭabaristān*, ed. Dorn, pp. 57–58, 61–62, 74–77; ed. Tasbīḥī, pp. 17, 19, 27–28; Ferdinand Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch* (Marburg, 1895), pp. 433, 457; Rabino, 'Dynasties du Māzandarān', pp. 427–428, 450–452; and W. Madelung, 'Baduspanids', *EIR*, vol. 3, p. 386.
94. Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, vol. 10, p. 222, and Sibṭ, *Mirʾāt*, ed. Jewett, p. 69.
95. Al-Bayhaqī, *Taʾrīkh-i Bayhaq*, ed. Bahmanyār, pp. 271, 276; ed. Husaini, pp. 472, 480; and Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, vol. 10, pp. 224–225.
96. Rashīd al-Dīn p. 138, and Kāshānī, p. 173; while Ḥāfiẓ Abrū does not mention this detail. Both Rashīd al-Dīn, p. 122, and Kāshānī, p. 158, also give earlier dates, 490 and 497 AH, respectively, for the construction of Maymūndiz. According to Juwaynī, vol. 3, pp. 122–123, tr. Boyle, vol. 2, p. 627, Maymūndiz was built much later, during the reign of ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Muḥammad III (618–653/1221–1255). The site of Maymūndiz, located to the north of the present-day village of Shams Kilāya and westward from Alamūt, was identified in 1960 by an Oxford group led by Peter Willey exploring the Nizārī castles of northern Persia; see Willey, *Castles of the Assassins*, pp. 158–192, and his *Eagle's Nest*, pp. 114–120. For other views on the site of Maymūndiz, see Ivanow, *Alamut and Lamasar*, pp. 75–81; Varjāvand, *Sarzamīn-i Qazvīn*, pp. 207, 234–240; C. E. Bosworth, 'Maymūn-Diz', *EI2*, vol. 6, pp. 917–918; and Sutūda, *Qilāʿ*, pp. 108–122. Dr Sutūda, who is well acquainted with the area, rejects the validity of the identification made by Peter Willey's expeditions.
97. Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, vol. 10, p. 231, Khwānd Amīr, *Dastūr al-wuzarāʾ*, pp. 194–198, and ʿAbbās Iqbāl, *Vizārat dar ʿahd-i salāṭīn-i buzurg-i Saljūqī* (Tehran, 1338/1959), pp. 254–260.
98. *Taʾrīkh-i Sīstān*, p. 391; tr. Gold, p. 319.
99. Rashīd al-Dīn, p. 140; Kāshānī, p. 174; Ḥāfiẓ Abrū, p. 228; and Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, vol. 10, p. 238.
100. Kāshānī, pp. 175–179, containing the fullest account; see also Rashīd al-Dīn, p. 141, and Ḥāfiẓ Abrū, p. 229.

101. Juwaynī, vol. 3, pp. 217–221; Boyle, vol. 2, pp. 683–685; Rashīd al-Dīn, pp. 141–142, 144–145; also his *Āl-i Saljūq*, pp. 114–115; tr. Luther, p. 106; Kāshānī, pp. 179–180, 182–183; Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Taʾrīkh*, ed. and tr. Browne, vol. 1, pp. 361–362, 465, and vol. 2, pp. 69–70, 103; ed. Navāʾī, pp. 358–360, 455; Ḥāfiẓ Abrū, p. 229; Ẓahīr al-Dīn Nīshāpūrī, *Saljūq-nāma*, ed. Afshār, p. 56; ed. Morton, p. 75; al-Bundārī, *Zubdat al-nuṣra*, pp. 176–178, accusing Sanjar himself of this murder; al-Rāwandī, *Rāḥat al-ṣudūr*, pp. 227–228; al-Ḥusaynī, *Akhbār*, p. 107; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, vol. 11, pp. 9–11, in *RHCHO*, vol. 1, pp. 408–409; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Atābakiyya*, in *RHCHO*, vol. 2, part 2, pp. 87–91; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, tr. de Slane, vol. 1, p. 506, and vol. 3, pp. 355–356; and Hindūshāh b. Sanjar Nakhjavānī, *Tajārib al-salaf*, ed. ʿAbbās Iqbāl (2nd ed., Tehran, 1344/1965), pp. 294–296.
102. See Defrémery, 'Ismaéliens de Syrie' (1854), pp. 397–416; Lewis, 'Ismāʿīlites and the Assassins', pp. 114–119; also his *Assassins*, pp. 104–108; Hodgson, *Order*, pp. 104ff., and Mirza, *Syrian Ismailism*, pp. 10–14.
103. Al-ʿAẓīmī, p. 386, and Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *Zubdat al-ḥalab*, ed. Dahan, vol. 2, pp. 186–187, in *RHCHO*, vol. 3, p. 616.
104. Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *Zubdat al-ḥalab*, ed. Dahan, vol. 2, pp. 199, 216, in *RHCHO*, vol. 3, p. 640.
105. Ibn al-Qalānisī, *Dhayl*, p. 215; tr. Gibb, p. 179; tr. Le Tourneau, p. 169.
106. Ibn al-Qalānisī, *Dhayl*, p. 214; tr. Gibb, p. 177; tr. Le Tourneau, p. 167; al-ʿAẓīmī, p. 397; *Bustān*, p. 120; Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *Zubdat al-ḥalab*, ed. Dahan, vol. 2, pp. 234–235, in *RHCHO*, vol. 3, pp. 654–655; also his *Bughyat*, in *RHCHO*, vol. 3, pp. 726–727; al-Bundārī, *Zubdat al-nuṣra*, pp. 144–145, attributing the murder to the Saljūq vizier al-Dargazīnī who had evidently converted to Ismāʿīlism in secret; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, vol. 10, pp. 224–225, in *RHCHO*, vol. 1, pp. 364–366; also his *al-Atābakiyya*, in *RHCHO*, vol. 2, part 2, p. 58; Sibṭ, *Mirʾāt*, ed. Jewett, p. 71; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, vol. 1, pp. 242–243; tr. de Slane, vol. 1, pp. 227–228; and Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Nujūm*, vol. 5, p. 230. Rashīd al-Dīn, p. 137, and Kāshānī, p. 172, include al-Bursuqī's name in the list of the missions of Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ's time.
107. Ibn al-Qalānisī, *Dhayl*, p. 213; tr. Gibb, pp. 175–176; tr. Le Tourneau, pp. 165–166.
108. On Bahrām's activities in Damascus and Bāniyās, see Ibn al-Qalānisī, *Dhayl*, p. 215; tr. Gibb, pp. 179–180; tr. Le Tourneau, pp. 167–168; al-ʿAẓīmī, p. 397; *Bustān*, p. 120; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, vol. 10, p. 225, in *RHCHO*, vol. 3, pp. 366–368; and al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, vol. 1, pp. 121–122. On the site of Bāniyās, see Burckhardt, *Travels in Syria*, pp. 37–38, describing the castle as he found it in 1810; M. van Berchem, 'Le Château de Bâniâs et ses inscriptions', *JA*, 8 série, 12 (1888), pp. 440ff.; reprinted in his *Opera Minora*, vol. 1, pp. 265ff.; G. Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems* (London, 1890), pp. 418–419; and R. Dussaud, *Topographie historique de la Syrie antique et médiévale* (Paris, 1927), pp. 390–391.
109. Ibn al-Qalānisī, *Dhayl*, pp. 220–222; tr. Gibb, pp. 186–191; tr. Le Tourneau, pp. 177–180; al-ʿAẓīmī, p. 400; *Bustān*, p. 121; Ibn Muyassar, *Akhbār*, p. 106; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, vol. 10, p. 234, in *RHCHO*, vol. 1, p. 383; Sibṭ, *Mirʾāt*, ed. Jewett, p. 72; and an anonymous Syriac chronicle translated in A. S. Tritton and H. A. R. Gibb, 'The First and Second Crusades from an Anonymous Syriac Chronicle', *JRAS* (1933), pp. 98–99.

110. On the débâcle of the Nizārīs in Damascus, see Ibn al-Qalānisī, *Dhayl*, pp. 222–224; tr. Gibb, pp. 191–195; tr. Le Tourneau, pp. 181–184; al-ʿAẓīmī, pp. 400–401; *Bustān*, p. 121; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, vol. 10, p. 234, in *RHCHO*, vol. 1, pp. 384–385; Sibṭ, *Mirʾāt*, ed. Jewett, p. 80, in *RHCHO*, vol. 3, p. 567; Abu'l-Fidā, *al-Mukhtaṣar*, vol. 3, pp. 2–3, in *RHCHO*, vol. 1, pp. 17–18; and Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Nujūm*, vol. 5, p. 235.
111. Ibn al-Qalānisī, *Dhayl*, pp. 230, 233; tr. Gibb, pp. 202–204, 208; tr. Le Tourneau, pp. 192–193, 197–198; al-ʿAẓīmī, p. 404; *Bustān*, p. 122; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, vol. 10, pp. 239, 243, in *RHCHO*, vol. 1, pp. 393, 395–396; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, tr. de Slane, vol. 1, p. 274; and Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Nujūm*, vol. 5, p. 249, in *RHCHO*, vol. 3, pp. 501–502. These *fidāʾī*s are named in the rolls kept at Alamūt; see Rashīd al-Dīn, p. 145, and Kāshānī, p. 183.
112. Al-ʿAẓīmī, p. 407; Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *Zubdat al-ḥalab*, ed. Dahan, vol. 2, pp. 251–252, in *RHCHO*, vol. 3, p. 665; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, vol. 11, p. 3, in *RHCHO*, vol. 1, p. 400; Abu'l-Fidā, *al-Mukhtaṣar*, vol. 3, p. 8, in *RHCHO*, vol. 1, p. 21; Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʿUmarī, *Masālik al-abṣār fī mamālik al-amṣār*, ed. Ayman F. Sayyid (Cairo, 1985), pp. 132–133; and Willey, *Eagle's Nest*, pp. 228–230.
113. Qadmūs has remained a major Nizārī centre in Syria, and the circumstances surrounding the acquisition of that stronghold are still reflected in the traditions of the Nizārīs living there. In 1850, the Nizārīs of Qadmūs related to the British traveller Frederick Walpole (1822–1876) that their ancestors had migrated to that place in large numbers from Damascus in medieval times; see F. Walpole, *The Ansayrii (or Assassins), with Travels in the Further East, in 1850–51* (London, 1851), vol. 3, pp. 299–303.
114. Ibn al-Qalānisī, *Dhayl*, pp. 273–274; tr. Gibb, p. 263; tr. Le Tourneau, p. 260; Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, vol. 4, p. 556; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, vol. 11, p. 30, in *RHCHO*, vol. 1, p. 438; Abu'l-Fidā, *al-Mukhtaṣar*, vol. 3, p. 15, in *RHCHO*, vol. 1, p. 25; Ibn Munqidh, *Kitāb al-iʿtibār*, pp. 148–149; tr. Hitti, pp. 177–178. See also M. Braune, 'Untersuchungen zur mittelalterlichen Befestigung in Nordwest-Syrien: Die Assassinenburg Masyâf', *Damaszener Mitteilungen*, 7 (1993), pp. 298–326; Willey, *Eagle's Nest*, pp. 220–227; and E. Honigman and N. Elisséeff, 'Maṣyād', *EI2*, vol. 6, pp. 789–792.
115. On the Nizārī castles in the Jabal Bahrāʾ and their acquisition, see also Defrémery, 'Ismaéliens de Syrie', pp. 417–421; Le Strange, *Palestine*, pp. 36, 39, 80–81, 352, 468, 485, 507; van Berchem, 'Épigraphie des Assassins', pp. 453ff., 480–501; reprinted in his *Opera Minora*, vol. 1, pp. 453ff., 480–501; also his 'Notes sur les Croisades', *JA*, 9 série, 19 (1902), pp. 442ff.; R. Dussaud, 'Voyage en Syrie (2e), Oct.–Nov. 1896: Notes archéologiques', *Revue Archéologique*, 1 (1897), pp. 341, 343ff., 349; Dussaud, *Topographie historique*, pp. 138–148; Cahen, *Syrie du nord*, pp. 170ff., 347ff., 352ff.; Hodgson, *Order*, pp. 106–107; Lewis, 'Ismāʿīlites and the Assassins', pp. 119–120; also his *Assassins*, pp. 108–109; and P. Thorau, 'Die Burgen der Assassinen in Syrien und ihre Einnahme durch Sultan Baibars', *Die Welt des Orients*, 18 (1987), pp. 132–158. See also John G. Phillips, 'Qalʿat Maṣyāf: A Study in Islamic Military Architecture' (Ph.D. thesis, University of London, School of Oriental and African Studies, 1982), and Willey, *Eagle's Nest*, pp. 227–241.
116. Ibn al-Qalānisī, *Dhayl*, p. 301; tr. Le Tourneau, pp. 299–300; Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *Zubdat al-ḥalab*, ed. Dahan, vol. 2, pp. 293–294; and Elisséeff, *Nūr ad-Dīn*, vol. 2, pp. 428–430.

117. Ibn al-Qalānisī, *Dhayl*, pp. 304–305; tr. Gibb, pp. 291–292; tr. Le Tourneau, pp. 305–306; Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *Zubdat al-ḥalab*, ed. Dahan, vol. 2, pp. 298–299; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, vol. 11, p. 54, in *RHCHO*, vol. 1, p. 476; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Atābakiyya*, in *RHCHO*, vol. 2, part 2, pp. 177–178; Abu'l-Fidā, *al-Mukhtaṣar*, vol. 3, p. 22, in *RHCHO*, vol. 1, p. 28; William of Tyre, *Historia*, in *RHC: Historiens Occidentaux*, vol. 1, pp. 771–773; ed. Huygens, pp. 770–772; tr. Babcock and Krey, vol. 2, pp. 196–198; Grousset, *Croisades*, vol. 2, pp. 275–278; Runciman, *Crusades*, vol. 2, pp. 325–326; and Elisséeff, *Nūr ad-Dīn*, vol. 2, pp. 430–432.
118. Ibn al-Qalānisī, *Dhayl*, p. 303; tr. Le Tourneau, pp. 302–303.
119. Ibn al-Furāt, *Taʾrīkh al-duwal wa'l-mulūk*, ed. C. Zurayk (Beirut, 1936–1942), vol. 8, p. 79; William of Tyre, *Historia*, in *RHC*: *Historiens Occidentaux*, vol. 1, pp. 789–792; ed. Huygens, pp. 785–787; tr. Babcock and Krey, vol. 2, pp. 212–215; Sanudo, *Liber secretorum fidelium Crusis*, in *Gesta Dei per Francos*, vol. 2, p. 168; Grousset, *Croisades*, vol. 2, pp. 323–324; and Runciman, *Crusades*, vol. 2, pp. 332–333.
120. See Hodgson, *Order*, pp. 115–120, 244ff., and also his 'State', pp. 447–449, 455–457.
121. On the reign of Muḥammad b. Buzurg-Ummīd, see Juwaynī, vol. 3, pp. 221–222; tr. Boyle, vol. 2, pp. 183–198; Rashīd al-Dīn, pp. 146–159; Kāshānī, pp. 183–198; Ḥāfiẓ Abrū, pp. 237–243; Mīrkhwānd; *Rawḍat al-ṣafāʾ*, vol. 4, pp. 217–218; Khwānd Amīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar*, vol. 2, pp. 470–471; Hodgson, *Order*, pp. 143–146; also his 'State', pp. 450ff.; and Lewis, *Assassins*, pp. 68ff.
122. Minhāj al-Dīn ʿUthmān Jūzjānī, *Ṭabaqāt-i Nāṣirī*, ed. ʿAbd al-Ḥayy Ḥabībī (2nd ed., Kabul, 1342–1343/1963–1964), vol. 1, pp. 349, 350–351; English trans., *The Ṭabaḳāt-i-Nāṣirī*: *A General History of the Muhammadan Dynasties of Asia*, tr. Henry G. Raverty (London, 1881–1899), vol. 1, pp. 363, 365; and C. E. Bosworth, 'The Early Islamic History of Ghūr', *Central Asiatic Journal*, 6 (1961), pp. 132–133; reprinted in his *The Medieval History of Iran, Afghanistan and Central Asia* (London, 1977), article IX.
123. Rashīd al-Dīn, pp. 160–161; Kāshānī, pp. 198–199, 236–237; and Ḥāfiẓ Abrū, pp. 243–244.
124. Rashīd al-Dīn, pp. 146–147; also his *Āl-i Saljūq*, p. 115; tr. Luther, pp. 106–107; Kāshānī, p. 184; Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Taʾrīkh*, ed. and tr. Browne, vol. 1, pp. 363, 465, and vol. 2, pp. 70, 103; ed. Navāʾī, pp. 360–361, 455; Ḥāfiẓ Abrū, p. 237; Ẓahīr al-Dīn Nīshāpūrī, *Saljūq-nāma*, ed. Afshār, p. 56; ed. Morton, pp. 75–76; al-Bundārī, *Zubdat al-nuṣra*, p. 180; al-Rāwandī, *Rāḥat al-ṣudūr*, pp. 228–229; al-Ḥusaynī, *Akhbār*, p. 109; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, vol. 11, p. 24, also his *al-Atābakiyya*, in *RHCHO*, vol. 2, part 2, p. 98; and Nakhjavānī, *Tajārib al-salaf*, pp. 302–303.
125. Rashīd al-Dīn, p. 155; Kāshānī, p. 192; Ḥāfiẓ Abrū, p. 240; and Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, vol. 11, p. 44.
126. Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, vol. 3, pp. 534–535; tr. Barbier de Meynard, pp. 390–391; and Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, vol. 11, pp. 57, 59.
127. See Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, vol. 11, pp. 75, 81, 84–85, 89–90, 95.
128. On Ḥasan II and his short reign, see Juwaynī, vol. 3, pp. 222–239; tr. Boyle, vol. 2, pp. 686–697; Rashīd al-Dīn, pp. 162–170; Kāshānī, pp. 199–208; Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Taʾrīkh*, ed. and tr. Browne, vol. 1, pp. 522–523, and vol. 2, p. 129; ed. Navāʾī, pp. 522–524; Ḥāfiẓ Abrū, pp. 251–255; Mīrkhwānd, *Rawḍat al-ṣafāʾ*, vol. 4, pp. 218–222; Khwānd Amīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar*, vol. 2, pp. 471–473; Hodgson, *Order*,

pp. 148–159; also his 'State', pp. 458–460; Lewis, *Assassins*, pp. 71–75; Filippani-Ronconi, *Ismaeliti*, pp. 185–197; Ivanow, *Ismaili Literature*, p. 132; Poonawala, *Bio*, 257–258; and F. Daftary, 'Ḥasan II', *EIR*, vol. 12, pp. 24–25.

129. On the declaration of the *qiyāma* in the Nizārī community, see Juwaynī, vol. 3, pp. 225–230, 237–239; tr. Boyle, vol. 2, pp. 688–691, 695–697; Rashīd al-Dīn, pp. 164–166, 168–169, and Kāshānī, pp. 201–202, 204, all three chroniclers closely follow the same Nizārī sources, and Ḥāfiẓ Abrū, pp. 252–253. The Nizārī teachings related to the *qiyāma*, as further developed under Ḥasan's son and successor, are discussed in a few later Nizārī texts, notably the *Haft bāb-i Bābā Sayyidnā*, ed. Ivanow, in *Two Early Ismaili Treatises*, pp. 19–24, 27, 30, 33, 36, 38, 40, 41; English translation with commentary in Hodgson, *Order*, pp. 299–304, 312, 314, 316, 318, 319, 321, 322; written by an anonymous author who was evidently an eyewitness to the event at Alamūt; and Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī, *Rawḍat al-taslīm*, ed. and tr. W. Ivanow (Leiden, 1950), especially text pp. 62–63, 83–84, 101–102, 128–149, translation pp. 68–70, 94–96, 115–116, 149–175; ed. and tr. S. J. Badakhchani as *Paradise of Submission: A Medieval Treatise on Ismaili Thought* (London, 2005), text pp. 81–83, 109–110, 134–136, 169–198, translation pp. 70–72, 92, 109–111, 136–159. A complete French translation of al-Ṭūsī's *Rawḍa* has been produced under the title of *La convocation d'Alamût. Somme de philosophie Ismaélienne*, tr. Christian Jambet (Lagrasse, 1996). References to the doctrine of the *qiyāma*, with an important passage on the proclamation of the resurrection at Alamūt, are contained in Abū Isḥāq Quhistānī, *Haft bāb*, text pp. 19, 24, 38–39, 40–42 (describing the event), 43–44, 46–47, 53, 58, 65, translation pp. 19, 23, 38, 40–42, 43–44, 46–47, 53–54, 58, 65, a Nizārī treatise written at the beginning of the 10th/16th century, and in Khayrkhwāh-i Harātī, *Kalām-i pīr*, ed. and tr. W. Ivanow (Bombay, 1935), text pp. 46, 51, 62–64, 65–66, 68, 90–92, 95–96, 100, 112–113, translation pp. 38–39, 44, 57–59, 60–61, 64, 84–87, 91, 96, 109, and appendix pp. 115–116, containing Abū Isḥāq's original passage on the declaration of the *qiyāma*. The *Kalām-i pīr*, as shown by Ivanow, is evidently a plagiarized and extended version of Abū Isḥāq's treatise, written a few decades later and attributed by Khayrkhwāh to Nāṣir-i Khusraw; see Ivanow, *Ismaili Literature*, pp. 141–143, 162–163. Of the secondary sources, see Hodgson, *Order*, pp. 160–180; also his 'State', pp. 458–460; several of Henry Corbin's studies are relevant here including his *Étude*, pp. 20–25; 'Divine Epiphany', pp. 127ff.; reprinted in his *Cyclical Time*, pp. 117ff.; 'Nāṣir-i Khusrau and Iranian Ismāʿīlism', pp. 529–531; *Histoire*, pp. 137–151 and 'Huitième centenaire d'Alamût', *Mercure de France* (February, 1965), pp. 285–304; see also L. V. Stroeva, 'Den' voskreseniya iz myortvïkh i ego sotsial'naya sushchnost. Iz istorii Ismailitskogo gosudarstva v Irane XII v', *Kratkie soobshcheniya Instituta Vostokovedeniya* AN SSSR (Moscow), 38 (1960), pp. 19–25; also her *Gosudarstvo ismailitov*, pp. 171–201; tr. Munzavī, pp. 215–250, giving a Marxist interpretation of the event; Lewis, *Assassins*, pp. 71ff.; and Filippani-Ronconi, *Ismaeliti*, pp. 185ff.

130. For some earlier spiritual interpretations of resurrection, Paradise, and Hell, by the Ismāʿīlīs see, for instance, al-Sijistānī, *Kashf al-maḥjūb*, pp. 83–96; tr. Landolt, in *APP*, pp. 116–124; also his *al-Yanābīʿ*, in Corbin, *Trilogie*, text pp. 67–69, translation pp. 88–89; tr. Walker, pp. 89–90; and Nāṣir-i Khusraw, *Wajh-i dīn*, ed. Ghanīzāda, pp. 27–45; ed. Aavani, pp. 35–59.

131. *Haft bāb-i Bābā Sayyidnā*, p. 21; tr. Hodgson in *Order*, pp. 301–302, and al-Ṭūsī, *Rawḍa*, ed. Ivanow, text pp. 148–149, translation pp. 173–175; ed. Badakhchani, text pp. 195–198, translation pp. 157–159.
132. Rashīd al-Dīn, p. 165, and Kāshānī, pp. 202.
133. Juwaynī, vol. 3, p. 228; tr. Boyle, vol. 2, p. 690; Rashīd al-Dīn, p. 165; Kāshānī, p. 202; and Ḥāfiẓ Abrū, p. 253.
134. Juwaynī, vol. 3, p. 229; tr. Boyle, vol. 2, p. 690; Rashīd al-Dīn, p. 165; Kāshānī, p. 202; and Ḥāfiẓ Abrū, p. 253.
135. See Azim A. Nanji, 'Assassins', in *ER*, vol. 1, p. 470, and his 'Ismāʿīlism', in S. H. Nasr, ed., *Islamic Spirituality: Foundations* (London, 1987), pp. 179–198.
136. Muḥammad II's long reign is briefly treated in Juwaynī, vol. 3, pp. 240–242; tr. Boyle, vol. 2, pp. 697–699; Rashīd al-Dīn, pp. 170–173; Kāshānī, pp. 208–214; Ḥāfiẓ Abrū, pp. 259–261; Mīrkhwānd, *Rawḍat al-ṣafāʾ*, vol. 4, pp. 222–224; and Khwānd Amīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar*, vol. 2, pp. 473–474. See also Hollister, *Shiʿa*, pp. 315–316; Hodgson, *Order*, pp. 159ff., 180–184, 210–217; also his 'State', pp. 466–468; Lewis, *Assassins*, pp. 75–78; Filippani-Ronconi, *Ismaeliti*, pp. 197–199, 227ff.; Ivanow, *Guide*, pp. 102–103; also his *Ismaili Literature*, pp. 132–133; Poonawala, *Bio*, pp. 258–259; and F. Daftary, 'Nūr al-Dīn Muḥammad II', *EI2*, vol. 8, pp. 133–134.
137. See Juwaynī, vol. 3, pp. 180–181, 231–237; tr. Boyle, vol. 2, pp. 663, 691–695; Rashīd al-Dīn, pp. 79, 166–168; Kāshānī, pp. 115, 202–204; Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Taʾrīkh*, ed. and tr. Browne, vol. 1, p. 522, and vol. 2, p. 129; ed. Navāʾī, p. 522; Ḥāfiẓ Abrū, pp. 169–170, 253–254; Mīrkhwānd, *Rawḍat al-ṣafāʾ*, vol. 4, p. 221; Khwānd Amīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar*, vol. 2, p. 472, and *Dabistān-i madhāhib*, vol. 1, pp. 263–264. Ibn ʿInaba gives a confused Nizārid ancestry for Jalāl al-Dīn Ḥasan III, the sixth lord of Alamūt, in his *ʿUmdat al-ṭālib*, p. 237, and his *al-Fuṣūl al-fakhriyya*, ed. Jalāl al-Dīn Muḥaddith Urmavī (Tehran, 1984), p. 145. See also Hodgson, *Order*, pp. 160–162; Hollister, *Shiʿa*, pp. 313–315; and Ivanow, *Alamut and Lamasar*, pp. 26–28.
138. See, for example, Abū Isḥāq Quhistānī, *Haft bāb*, text pp. 23–24, translation p. 23; Khayrkhwāh, *Kalām-i pīr*, text p. 51, translation p. 44, and Shihāb al-Dīn Shāh al-Ḥusaynī, *Khiṭābāt-i ʿāliya*, ed. H. Ujāqī (Bombay, 1963), pp. 37–39. A more elaborate, but highly confused and anachronistic, account of the Nizārid Fāṭimid genealogy of Ḥasan II and the reign of his ancestors in Persia, is related by Muḥammad b. Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn Khurāsānī, better known as Fidāʾī Khurāsānī (d. 1923), in his *Kitāb-i hidāyat al-muʾminīn al-ṭālibīn*, ed. A. A. Semenov (Moscow, 1959), pp. 104–111. Both Shihāb al-Dīn Shāh (d. 1884), the eldest son of the second Āghā Khān, and Fidāʾī relate that it was Nizār's son al-Hādī who was secretly brought to Alamūt. See also Tāmir, *al-Imāma*, pp. 192, 217–219; Ghālib, *Taʾrīkh*, pp. 259–274; also his *Aʿlām*, pp. 244–245, 417–419, 484–486; Ivanow, 'Ismailitica', in *Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 8 (1922), pp. 68–69, and also his *Brief History of the Evolution of Ismailism* (Leiden, 1952), p. 80. It suffices to mention here that the later Muḥammad-Shāhī and Qāsim-Shāhī Nizārīs accepted different ancestries for Ḥasan II *ʿalā dhikrihiʾl-salām*.
139. The doctrine of the *qiyāma*, as elaborated under Muḥammad II, is propounded in the *Haft bāb-i Bābā Sayyidnā*, in *Two Early Ismaili Treatises*, pp. 4–42. Composed around 597/1200, towards the end of Muḥammad II's reign, it is the only extant

Nizārī source from the period of the *qiyāma;* its complete English translation with detailed commentary is to be found in Hodgson, *Order*, pp. 279–324. The doctrine, modified to various extents, is also represented in later Nizārī works, notably in al-Ṭūsī, *Rawḍat al-taslīm;* Abū Isḥāq, *Haft bāb*, text pp. 17ff., 30ff., 34ff., 45ff., 52ff., 65–67, translation pp. 17ff., 30ff., 35ff., 45ff., 52ff., 65–68; and Khayrkhwāh, *Kalām-i pīr*, text pp. 23ff., 46ff., 55ff., 58ff., 89ff., 94ff., 112–116, translation pp. 19ff., 38ff., 49ff., 53ff., 84ff., 88ff., 109–112. The best modern exposition of the fully developed doctrine of the *qiyāma* is contained in Hodgson, *Order*, pp. 162–180, and also his 'State', pp. 460–466. Professor Christian Jambet has produced a comprehensive phenomenological treatment of the Nizārī *qiyāma* in his *La grand résurrection d'Alamût. Les formes de la liberté dans le Shîʿisme Ismaélien* (Lagrasse, 1990), especially pp. 35–73, 95–135, 295ff.

140. Al-Ṭūsī, *Rawḍa*, ed. Ivanow, text pp. 104–105, 112, translation pp. 119, 128–129; ed. Badakhchani, text pp. 138–139, 148, translation pp. 112–113, 120; also his *Sayr va sulūk*, ed. Mudarris Raḍavī, p. 51; ed. Badakhchani, text p. 17, translation p. 47, and Badakhshānī, *Sī va shish ṣaḥīfa*, p. 51.
141. The spiritual resurrection of the Nizārīs is expounded in al-Ṭūsī, *Rawḍa*, ed. Ivanow, text pp. 47–56, translation pp. 52–63; ed. Badakhchani, text pp. 64–75, translation pp. 56–65.
142. *Haft bāb-i Bābā Sayyidnā*, pp. 8–14; tr. Hodgson in *Order*, pp. 284–293. See also al-Ṭūsī, *Rawḍa*, ed. Ivanow, text pp. 115, 128ff., translation pp. 133, 149ff.; ed. Badakhchani, text pp. 153, 170, translation pp. 124, 136–137; Abū Isḥāq, *Haft bāb*, text pp. 22, 38–40, translation pp. 21–22, 38–41; and Khayrkhwāh, *Kalām-i pīr*, text pp. 49, 63–65, translation pp. 41, 57–60.
143. See G. Vajda, 'Melchizédec dans la mythologie Ismaélienne', *JA*, 234 (1943–1945), pp. 173–183; reprinted in his *Études de théologie et de philosophie Arabo-Islamiques à l'époque classique*, ed. D. Gimaret et al. (London, 1986), article I; and Ivanow, 'Noms bibliques dans la mythologie Ismaélienne', *JA*, 237 (1949), pp. 249–255.
144. The three categories, with their particular attributes, are explained in the *Haft bāb-i Bābā Sayyidnā*, pp. 24, 26–36, 40; tr. Hodgson in *Order*, pp. 303, 308–318, 321; al-Ṭūsī, *Rawḍa*, ed. Ivanow, text pp. 42, 44–45, 73, 77, 82, 84, 98–99, 101–102, 136, translation pp. 46–47, 49–50, 82, 87, 92–93, 95, 111–112, 115–116, 159; ed. Badakhchani, text pp. 58, 61, 95, 101, 107, 109–110, 131–132, 134–135, 179–181, translation pp. 52, 54, 80, 85, 90, 92, 106–107, 109–110, 144–145; Abū Isḥāq, *Haft bāb*, text pp. 21, 46–48, translation pp. 20–21, 44–48; Khayrkhwāh, *Kalām-i pīr*, text pp. 48–49, 90–92, 106ff., translation pp. 40–41, 84–87, 102ff.; and Badakhshānī, *Sī va shish ṣaḥīfa*, pp. 35, 62–63, 64. See also Hodgson, *Order*, pp. 172–174.
145. Ibn Isfandiyār, *Taʾrīkh*, vol. 2, pp. 142–147; tr. Browne, pp. 251–253; Āmulī, *Taʾrīkh*, pp. 143–149; Marʿashī, *Taʾrīkh-i Ṭabaristān*, ed. Dorn, pp. 74–78; ed. Tasbīḥī, pp. 27–29; and Rabino, 'Dynasties du Māzandarān', pp. 430–431, 452.
146. Rashīd al-Dīn, pp. 170–173; Kāshānī, pp. 208–210; Ḥāfiẓ Abrū, pp. 259–261; Mīrkhwānd, *Rawḍat al-ṣafāʾ*, vol. 4, pp. 222–224, and vol. 7, pp. 519–521; Khwānd Amīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar*, vol. 2, p. 474; and Hodgson, *Order*, p. 183.
147. The only Nizārī biography of Rāshid al-Dīn Sinān is the so-called *Faṣl min al-lafẓ al-sharīf, hādhihi manāqib al-mawlā Rāshid al-Dīn*, a hagiographic work containing various anecdotes based on the oral tradition of the Syrian Nizārīs, written by a

certain Abū Firās, now generally identified with the Syrian *dāʿī* Abū Firās Shihāb al-Dīn al-Maynaqī, who died towards the middle of the 10th/16th century. This work was first published with French translation by S. Guyard under the title of 'Un grand maître des Assassins au temps de Saladin', *JA*, 7 série, 9 (1877), translation pp. 387–450, text pp. 452–489. Guyard had earlier published excerpts of this work, from an anonymous Ismāʿīlī collection, in his *Fragments relatifs à la doctrine des Ismaélîs*. The entire text of the *Faṣl* was republished by Mehmet Şerefeddin in *Darülfünun Ilâhiyat Fakültesi Mecmuasi* (Istanbul), 2, no. 7 (1928), pp. 45–71; and M. Ghālib produced a new edition of the text in his *Sinān Rāshid al-Dīn, shaykh al-jabal al-thālith* (Beirut, 1967), pp. 163–214. Our references to the *Faṣl* are to its text and translation contained in Guyard's article. Amongst the non-Ismāʿīlī sources, the most important biographical account of Sinān is related by Ibn al-ʿAdīm (d. 660/1262) in his *Bughyat al-ṭalab fī taʾrīkh Ḥalab*. The volume of the *Bughyat* containing Sinān's biography has not so far been recovered, but the bulk of its text has survived indirectly in at least three recensions in the works of Quṭb al-Dīn al-Yūnīnī (d. 726/1326), Shams al-Dīn al-Dhahabī (d. 748/1348), and Khalīl b. Aybak al-Ṣafadī (d. 764/1363). Al-Yūnīnī's text, the fullest of the three recensions, has served as the chief source for the edition produced by B. Lewis in his 'Three Biographies from Kamāl ad-Dīn', pp. 336–344; a better edition with English translation is contained in B. Lewis, 'Kamāl al-Dīn's Biography of Rāšid al-Dīn Sinān', *Arabica*, 13 (1966), pp. 225–267; reprinted in his *Studies in Classical and Ottoman Islam*, article X. Of the secondary sources on the career of Sinān and his times, mention may be made of Defrémery, 'Ismaéliens de Syrie', *JA*, 5 (1855), pp. 5–32; Lewis, 'Ismāʿīlites and the Assassins', pp. 120–127; also his *Assassins*, pp. 110–118; Hodgson, *Order*, pp. 185–207; Mirza, *Syrian Ismailism*, pp. 22–39; also his 'Rashid al-Din Sinan', in *Great Ismaili Heroes*, pp. 72–80; Filippani-Ronconi, *Ismaeliti*, pp. 201–222; ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Murtaḍā al-Khawābī, *al-Falak al-dawwār fī sammāʾal-aʾimma al-aṭhār* (Aleppo, 1933), pp. 207–221; ʿĀrif Tāmir, *Sinān wa-Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn* (Beirut, 1956); Ḥusayn, *Ṭāʾifat al-Ismāʿīliyya*, pp. 99–106; Ghālib, *Taʾrīkh*, pp. 278–283; also his *Aʿlām*, pp. 295–303; Poonawala, *Bio*, pp. 289–290; Ivanow, *Ismaili Literature*, pp. 169–170, 173; also his 'Rāshid al-Dīn Sinān', *EI*, vol. 3, pp. 1123–1124; and F. Daftary, 'Rāshid al-Dīn Sinān', *EI2*, vol. 8, pp. 442–443.

148. According to Abū Firās, *Faṣl*, translation pp. 391–394, text pp. 454–455, Sinān waited for seven years at Kahf, teaching children and healing the sick. This period of waiting seems to be long, unless, as Hodgson, *Order*, p. 186, has suggested, it is assumed that Sinān left Alamūt a few years before Ḥasan II's accession, perhaps fearing persecution by Muḥammad b. Buzurg-Ummīd. On this point, see also Lewis, 'Kamāl al-Dīn's Biography', p. 251.

149. See, for instance, William of Tyre, *Historia*, in *RHC*: *Historiens Occidentaux*, pp. 995–996; ed. Huygens, vol. 2, pp. 953–954; tr. Babcock and Krey, vol. 2, pp. 390–391; L. Hellmuth, *Die Assassinenlegende in der österreichischen Geschichtsdichtung des Mittelalters* (Vienna, 1988), pp. 78–116; Daftary, *Assassin Legends*, pp. 67–74, 94ff., and his 'The Ismaʿilis and the Crusaders: History and Myth', in Z. Hunyadi and J. Laszlovszky, ed., *The Crusades and the Military Orders: Expanding the Frontiers of Medieval Latin Christianity* (Budapest, 2001), pp. 21–41; reprinted in *IMMS*, pp. 149–170.

150. William of Tyre, *Historia*, in *RHC: Historiens Occidentaux*, pp. 996–997; ed. Huygens, vol. 2, pp. 954–956; tr. Babcock and Krey, vol. 2, pp. 392–394. Walter of Map, writing in 1182 AD, relates the same story in his *De nugis curialium* [Cymmrodorion Record Series, no. IX] (London, 1923), p. 37; ed. and tr. M. R. James et al. (Oxford, 1983), pp. 66–67. See also Grousset, *Croisades*, vol. 2, pp. 598–603, suggesting that it was in fear of Nūr al-Dīn that the Nizārīs approached Amalric; Runciman, *Crusades*, vol. 2, pp. 396–397; Elisséeff; *Nūr ad-Dīn*, vol. 2, pp. 687–688; M. Melville, *La vie des Templiers* (Paris, 1974), pp. 118–119; J. Hauziński, 'On Alleged Attempts at Converting the Assassins to Christianity in the Light of William of Tyre's Account', *Folia Orientalia*, 15 (1974), pp. 229–246; and M. Barber, *The New Knighthood: A History of the Order of the Temple* (Cambridge, 1994), pp. 100–104.
151. Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, vol. 5, pp. 184–189; tr. de Slane, vol. 3, pp. 339–341; see also Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *Zubdat al-ḥalab*, ed. Dahan, vol. 2, p. 340; Abū Shāma, *Kitāb al-rawḍatayn*, vol. 1, pp. 228–230; and Lewis, 'Kamāl al-Dīn's Biography', pp. 254–256.
152. In 577/1181–1182, Saladin sent a letter to the caliph in Baghdad, accusing the Zangids of being in league with the heretical Nizārīs and the Crusaders; see Abū Shāma, *al-Rawḍatayn*, vol. 2, pp. 23–24, in *RHCHO*, vol. 4, pp. 214–215.
153. On Nizārī attempts on Saladin's life, see *Bustān*, p. 141; Bahāʾ al-Dīn Ibn Shaddād, *al-Nawādir al-sulṭāniyya*, in *RHCHO*, vol. 3, pp. 62–63; English trans., *The Rare and Excellent History of Saladin or al-Nawādir al-Sulṭāniyya*, tr. D. S. Richards (Aldershot, Hampshire, 2002), p. 53; Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *Zubdat al-ḥalab*, ed. Dahan, vol. 3, pp. 30–34; French trans., *L'histoire d'Alep*, tr. Blochet, in *Revue de l'Orient Latin*, 3 (1895), p. 563, and 4 (1896), pp. 145–146; Abū Shāma, *al-Rawḍatayn*, vol. 1, pp. 239–240, 258; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, vol. 11, pp. 158, 163, in *RHCHO*, vol. 1, pp. 618–619, 623–624; Sibṭ, *Mirʾāt*, ed. Jewett, pp. 207, 212; Abu'l-Fidā, *al-Mukhtaṣar*, vol. 3, pp. 57, 58, in *RHCHO*, vol. 1, pp. 46–47; Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʿUmarī, *Masālik al-abṣār*, selections ed. and tr. Eva R. Lundquist as *Saladin and the Crusades* (Lund, 1992), pp. 24–26, 32–34; B. Lewis, 'Saladin and the Assassins', *BSOAS*, 15 (1953), pp. 239–245; reprinted in his *Studies in Classical and Ottoman Islam*, article IX; and Lyons and Jackson, *Saladin*, pp. 87–88, 99, 105–106, 108–109.
154. See Abū Shāma, *al-Rawḍatayn*, vol. 1, p. 261, in *RHCHO*, vol. 4, pp. 183–184; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, vol. 11, p. 165, in *RHCHO*, vol. 1, p. 626; Abu'l-Fidā, *al-Mukhtaṣar*, vol. 3, p. 59, in *RHCHO*, vol. 1, p. 47; al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, vol. 1, pp. 172, 173; French trans., *Histoire d'Égypte*, tr. E. Blochet, in *Revue de l'Orient Latin*, 8 (1900), pp. 72–73; tr. Broadhurst, pp. 54–55. According to Abū Firās, *Faṣl*, translation pp. 398–408, text pp. 458–463, it was Saladin, terrified by Sinān's supernatural powers and a Nizārī dagger placed at his bedside, who took the peace initiative.
155. Ibn Jubayr, *Riḥla*, ed. W. Wright, second edition revised by M. J. de Goeje (Leiden–London, 1907), pp. 249–250; English trans., *The Travels*, tr. Ronald J. C. Broadhurst (London, 1952), pp. 259–260; French trans., *Voyages*, tr. M. Gaudefroy-Demombynes (Paris, 1949–1965), vol. 3, pp. 287–288. See also Sibṭ, *Mirʾāt*, ed. Jewett, p. 208, and Abū Firās, *Faṣl*, translation pp. 418–419, text pp. 470–471.
156. *Bustān*, p. 142, places the event in 572 AH; Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *Zubdat al-ḥalab*, ed. Dahan, vol. 3, pp. 32–33; French trans., *L'histoire d'Alep*, tr. Blochet in *Revue de l'Orient Latin* (1896), pp. 148–150; Abū Shāma, *al-Rawḍatayn*, vol. 1, pp. 274–275,

in *RHCHO*, vol. 4, pp. 189–191; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, vol. 11, p. 168, in *RHCHO*, vol. 1, pp. 631–632; Sibṭ, *Mirʾāt*, ed. Jewett, p. 219; and Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Ḥamawī, *al-Taʾrīkh al-Manṣūrī*, ed. P. A. Gryaznevich (Moscow, 1963), p. 184, a chronicle completed in 631/1233 by a Syrian functionary of the Ayyūbids.

157. Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *Zubdat al-ḥalab*, ed. Dahan, vol. 3, pp. 38–39, and Abū Shāma, *al-Rawḍatayn*, vol. 2, p. 16.
158. *Bustān*, p. 136, under the year 561/1165–1166 reports that the Syrian Ismāʿīlīs changed their doctrine, ate and drank during the month of Ramaḍān, and stopped praying; and al-Ḥamawī, *al-Taʾrīkh al-Manṣūrī*, p. 176, records the same event under the year 560/1164–1165, naming Sinān as its instigator. Al-Dhahabī and Ibn al-ʿAdīm also relate that Sinān broke the fast of Ramaḍān and abolished the *sharīʿa*; see Lewis, 'Kamāl al-Dīn's Biography', pp. 230, 241, 261.
159. Lewis, 'Kamāl al-Dīn's Biography', pp. 231, 248–249, 262.
160. *Fragments*, ed. Guyard, text pp. 193–195, translation pp. 275–284; English translation in Hodgson, *Order*, pp. 199–201.
161. See Ibn Jubayr, *Riḥla*, p. 255; tr. Broadhurst, p. 264; tr. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, vol. 3, p. 294; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, vol. 5, p. 185; tr. de Slane, vol. 3, p. 340; al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, vol. 1, p. 173; tr. Broadhurst, p. 55; and ʿĀrif Tāmir, 'Sinān Rāshid al-Dīn aw shaykh al-jabal', *al-Adīb*, 12, no. 5 (1953), pp. 43–46.
162. See, for instance, Abū Firās, *Faṣl*, translation pp. 437–438, text p. 482; *Fragments*, ed. Guyard, text pp. 247, 249–250, translation pp. 391–392, 395–398; Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʿUmarī, *Masālik al-abṣār*, ed. Sayyid, pp. 77–78; and al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, vol. 13, pp. 238–239.
163. R. Dussaud, *Histoire et religion des Noṣairîs*, pp. 23, 34, 45, 54, 79ff., 157–158; also his 'Influence de la religion Noṣairî sur la doctrine de Râchid ad-Dîn Sinân', *JA*, 9 série, 16 (1900), pp. 61–69.
164. Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *Zubdat al-ḥalab*, ed. Dahan, vol. 3, pp. 31–32; tr. Blochet, in *Revue de l'Orient Latin* (1896), pp. 147–148; and Lewis, 'Kamāl al-Dīn's Biography', pp. 230, 241–242, 261.
165. For a survey of the occidental sources on this assassination, see R. Röhricht, *Geschichte des Königreichs Jerusalem* (Innsbruck, 1898), pp. 614–616; D. Schaffner, 'The Relations of the Order of the Assassins with the Crusaders during the Twelfth Century' (M.A. thesis, University of Chicago, 1939), pp. 39–49; and Hellmuth, *Die Assassinenlegende*, pp. 54–62. Amongst the Muslim sources, mention may be made of ʿImād al-Dīn's *al-Fatḥ al-qussī fi'l-fatḥ al-qudsī*, ed. C. Landberg (Leiden, 1888), pp. 420–422; Ibn Shaddād, *al-Nawādir al-sulṭāniyya*, in *RHCHO*, vol. 3, p. 297; tr. Richards, pp. 200–201; Abū Shāma, *al-Rawḍatayn*, vol. 2, p. 196, in *RHCHO*, vol. 5, pp. 52–54; Abu'l-Fidā, *al-Mukhtaṣar*, vol. 3, p. 82; and Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, vol. 12, p. 31, in *RHCHO*, vol. 2, pp. 58–59. The accounts of ʿImād al-Dīn and Ibn al-Athīr are translated into English in F. Gabrieli, *Arab Historians of the Crusades*, tr. E. J. Costello (Berkeley, 1969), pp. 238–242. See also Grousset, *Croisades*, vol. 3, pp. 91ff., and Runciman, *Crusades*, vol. 3, pp. 64–65.
166. Abū Firās, *Faṣl*, translation pp. 408–412, text pp. 463–466; English translation in Gabrieli, *Arab Historians*, pp. 242–245.
167. *Bustān*, p. 151; Ibn al-ʿAdīm in Lewis, 'Kamāl al-Dīn's Biography', pp. 230, 261; Sibṭ, *Mirʾāt*, ed. Jewett, p. 269, and al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, vol. 1, p. 122; the last two

sources place Sinān's death in 588 AH. See also Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz*, vol. 7, p. 120; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Nujūm*, vol. 6, p. 117; and John G. Phillips, 'Mashhad Rāshid al-Dīn Sinān: A 13th-Century Ismāʿīlī Monument in the Syrian Jabal Anṣārīya', *JRAS* (1984), pp. 19–37.

168. Ibn Isfandiyār, *Taʾrīkh*, vol. 2, pp. 163, 174; tr. Browne, pp. 255–256; Āmulī, *Taʾrīkh*, pp. 150–151; Marʿashī, *Taʾrīkh-i Ṭabaristān*, ed. Dorn, pp. 79, 264; ed. Tasbīḥī, pp. 30, 118; and Rabino, 'Dynasties du Māzandarān', pp. 432, 453.
169. Al-Rāwandī, *Rāḥat al-ṣudūr*, p. 390; Juwaynī, vol. 2, pp. 43–44; tr. Boyle, vol. 1, pp. 312–313; and Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, vol. 12, p. 93.
170. For a general survey of relations between the Nizārīs of Quhistān and their neighbours in Sīstān, see C. Edmund Bosworth, 'The Ismaʿilis of Quhistān and the Maliks of Nīmrūz or Sīstān', in *MIHT*, pp. 221–229, and his *History of the Saffarids*, pp. 387–410.
171. *Taʾrīkh-i Sīstān*, p. 392; tr. Gold, p. 320; Jūzjānī, *Ṭabaqāt*, vol. 1, p. 396; tr. Raverty, vol. 1, p. 449; Juwaynī, vol. 2, p. 49; tr. Boyle, vol. 1, p. 316; and Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, vol. 12, pp. 65, 73.
172. Jūzjānī, *Ṭabaqāt*, vol. 1, p. 403; tr. Raverty, vol. 1, pp. 484ff.; Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Nasawī, *Sīrat al-sulṭān Jalāl al-Dīn Minkubirtī*, ed. and tr. O. Houdas as *Histoire du Sultan Djelal ed-Din Mankobirti* (Paris, 1891–1895), vol. 1 (text), pp. 212ff., and vol. 2 (French translation), pp. 353ff.; and the anonymous Persian translation of the same work, dating from the first half of the 7th/13th century, *Sīrat-i Jalāl al-Dīn Mīnkubirnī*, ed. M. Mīnuvī (Tehran, 1344/1965), pp. 229ff. See also Juwaynī, vol. 2, p. 59; tr. Boyle, vol. 1, p. 326; Abu'l-Fidā, *al-Mukhtaṣar*, vol. 3, p. 106; and Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, vol. 12, pp. 82–83.
173. Al-Rāwandī, *Rāḥat al-ṣudūr*, p. 399; Juwaynī, vol. 2, pp. 45–46; tr. Boyle, vol. 1, pp. 313–314; and Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, vol. 12, p. 62.
174. Al-Nasawī, *Sīra*, vol. 1, p. 27, and vol. 2, pp. 47–48; ed. Mīnuvī, pp. 40–41.
175. Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, vol. 12, pp. 76–77.
176. Juwaynī, vol. 3, pp. 241–242; tr. Boyle, vol. 2, pp. 698–699; Rashīd al-Dīn, p. 173; Kāshānī, p. 214; and Ḥāfiẓ Abrū, p. 261.
177. On Jalāl al-Dīn Ḥasan III's reign and his teachings, see Juwaynī, vol. 3, pp. 243–249; tr. Boyle, vol. 2, pp. 699–704; Rashīd al-Dīn, pp. 174–178; Kāshānī, pp. 214–217; Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Taʾrīkh*, ed. and tr. Browne, vol. 1, pp. 524–525, and vol. 2, pp. 129–130; ed. Navāʾī, pp. 524–525; Ḥāfiẓ Abrū, pp. 264–266; Mīrkhwānd, *Rawḍat al-ṣafāʾ*, vol. 4, pp. 224–227; Khwānd Amīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar*, vol. 2, p. 475; and Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, vol. 12, p. 115. See also Hodgson, *Order*, pp. 217–225; his 'State', pp. 468–472; Lewis, *Assassins*, pp. 78–81; and Filippani-Ronconi, *Ismaeliti*, pp. 229–236.
178. Kāshānī, *Taʾrīkh-i Uljāytū*, pp. 57–58, extract in Schefer, *Chrestomathie Persane*, vol. 2, text pp. 95–96, translation p. 100, and in H. L. Rabino, 'Deux descriptions du Gîlân du temps des Mongols', *JA*, 238 (1950), pp. 328–329. See also Rabino, 'Rulers of Gilan', pp. 288–289; his 'Dynasties locales du Gîlân', pp. 314–315; and Qazvīnī's notes to Juwaynī, vol. 3, pp. 418–424.
179. Jūzjānī, *Ṭabaqāt*, vol. 2, pp. 182–183; tr. Raverty, vol. 2, pp. 1197–1198.
180. Al-Nasawī, *Sīra*, ed. and tr. Houdas, vol. 1, pp. 212–213, and vol. 2, p. 355; ed. Mīnuvī, p. 230.

181. On the campaign against Mengli, see Juwaynī, vol. 3, pp. 245–246, tr. Boyle, vol. 2, pp. 701–702; Rashīd al-Dīn, pp. 176–177; Kāshānī, pp. 216–217; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, vol. 12, pp. 114, 116, 118, placing the battle in 612/1215; and Qazvīnī's notes to Juwaynī, vol. 3, pp. 407–409.
182. Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, vol. 12, pp. 121–122; al-Nasawī, *Sīra*, vol. 1, p. 13, and vol. 2, p. 23; ed. Mīnuvī, p. 21; Juwaynī, vol. 2, p. 121; tr. Boyle, vol. 2, p. 391; and Qazvīnī's notes to Juwaynī, vol. 3, pp. 414–417.
183. On Muḥammad III and his deteriorating relations with his advisers and eldest son and successor Rukn al-Dīn Khurshāh, see Juwaynī, vol. 3, pp. 249–259; tr. Boyle, vol. 2, pp. 704–712; Rashīd al-Dīn, pp. 178–184; Kāshānī, pp. 218–224; Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Taʾrīkh*, ed. and tr. Browne, vol. 1, pp. 525–526, and vol. 2, p. 130; ed. Navāʾī, pp. 525–526; Ḥāfiẓ Abrū, pp. 268–272; Mīrkhwānd, *Rawḍat al-ṣafāʾ*, vol. 4, pp. 227–229; and Khwānd Amīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar*, vol. 2, pp. 475–476. See also Hodgson, *Order*, pp. 225ff., 244–246, 250–262; also his 'State', pp. 476–480; Filippani-Ronconi, *Ismaeliti*, pp. 236–257; Lewis, *Assassins*, pp. 82–91; his "ʿAlāʾ-al-Dīn Moḥammad', *EIR*, vol. 1, p. 780; and F. Daftary, 'Muḥammad III b. Ḥasan', *EI2*, vol. 12, Supplement, pp. 632–633.
184. On the Ismāʿīlī affiliation and writings of Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī, see Shihāb al-Dīn ʿAbd Allāh b. Faḍl Allāh Shīrāzī, better known as Waṣṣāf, *Taʾrīkh-i Waṣṣāf* (Bombay, 1269/1853), pp. 20–30; al-Shūshtarī, *Majālis al-muʾminīn*, vol. 2, pp. 201–207; Muḥammad Bāqir Khwānsārī, *Rawḍat al-jannāt* (Tehran, 1360/1981), vol. 6, pp. 221–222; *Dabistān-i madhāhib*, vol. 1, p. 258; Muḥammad Taqī Mudarris Raḍavī, *Aḥvāl va āthār-i . . . Abū Jaʿfar Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṭūsī* (2nd ed., Tehran, 1354/1975), pp. 3–16, 83–93; and M. Mudarrisī Zanjānī, *Sargudhasht va ʿaqāʾid-i falsafī-yi Khwāja Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī* (Tehran, 1335/1956), pp. 27–34, 54–56, 125–130. Raḍavī and Mudarrisī, like other Twelver authors, categorically refuse to concede that al-Ṭūsī may have been even temporarily an Ismāʿīlī, while Mīnuvī in the introduction to his edition of al-Ṭūsī's *Akhlāq-i Nāṣirī*, ed. M. Mīnuvī and ʿA. Ḥaydarī (2nd ed., Tehran, 1360/1981), pp. 14–32, allows for this possibility, which is also admitted by M. T. Dānishpazhūh, the editor of al-Ṭūsī's *Akhlāq-i Muḥtashamī* (2nd ed., Tehran, 1361/1982), pp. 9–11, 20. W. Madelung in his 'Naṣīr ad-Dīn Ṭūsī's Ethics between Philosophy, Shiʿism, and Sufism', in Richard G. Hovannisian, ed., *Ethics in Islam* (Malibu, CA, 1985), pp. 85–101, discusses the Ismāʿīlī character of the *Akhlāq-i Nāṣirī* and argues that al-Ṭūsī joined the Ismāʿīlīs out of his philosophical concerns. See also W. Ivanow, 'An Ismailitic work by Nasiru'd-din Tusi', *JRAS* (1931), pp. 527–537, and his remarks in the *Rawḍat al-taslīm*, introduction pp. 23–26, suggesting that al-Ṭūsī may even have been born into an Ismāʿīlī family; Hodgson, *Order*, pp. 239–243; also his 'State', pp. 475–476; R. Strothmann, *Die Zwölfer-Schīʿa* (Leipzig, 1926), pp. 17–24, 31, 33ff.; also his 'al-Ṭūsī, Naṣīr al-Dīn', *EI*, vol. 4, pp. 980–981; H. Daiber, 'al-Ṭūsī, Naṣīr al-Dīn', *EI2*, vol. 10, pp. 746–750; H. Dabashi, 'The Philosopher/Vizier: Khwāja Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī and the Ismaʿilis', in *MIHT*, pp. 231–245, arguing that the religious affiliation of someone like al-Ṭūsī, who was normally looking for patrons, should not be investigated within narrow sectarian boundaries. See also H. Landolt, 'Khwāja Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī (597/1201–672/1274), Ismāʿīlism and Ishrāqī Philosophy', in N. Pourjavady and Ž. Vesel, ed., *Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī, philosophe et savant de XIII^e siècle* (Tehran, 2000), pp. 13–30; and F. Daftary, 'Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī and the Ismailis of the Alamūt Period', in

Pourjavady and Vesel, ed., *Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī*, pp. 59–67; reprinted in *IMMS*, pp. 171–182.

185. Al-Ṭūsī, *Sayr va sulūk*, ed. Mudarris Raḍavī, especially pp. 38–42, 46, 51–52, 54–55; ed. and tr. Badakhchani, text pp. 3–7, 11–12, 17–18, 20–21, translation pp. 26–32, 38–39, 47–48, 52–53; and J. Humāʾī, 'Muqaddima-yi qadīm-i Akhlāq-i Nāṣirī', *Majalla-yi Dānishkada-yi Adabiyyāt, Dānishgāh-i Tehran*, 3, (1335/1956), pp. 17–25.

186. See al-Ṭūsī's *Maṣāriʿ al-muṣāriʿ*, ed. W. Madelung (Tehran, 2004), and the editor's introduction, pp. 1–8.

187. A brief treatment of the Nizārī thought after the *qiyāma* times, reflecting the modifications of Muḥammad III's period, is contained in al-Ṭūsī's *Maṭlūb al-muʾminīn*, ed. W. Ivanow, in *Two Early Ismaili Treatises*, pp. 43–55. Other works of al-Ṭūsī, especially his *Sayr va sulūk*, are also relevant here; see Mudarris Raḍavī, *Aḥvāl va āthār*, pp. 449–457, 558–560, 591–594, 597; Ivanow, *Ismaili Literature*, pp. 134–136; Poonawala, *Bio*, pp. 261–263; and Daftary, *Ismaili Literature*, pp. 157–159. See also Badakhchani's introduction to his edition of al-Ṭūsī's *Sayr va sulūk*, pp. 8–19.

188. See H. Landolt's introduction to al-Ṭūsī, *Rawḍa*, ed. and tr. Badakhchani, pp. 1–11.

189. The best modern exposition of the doctrine of the *satr* may be found in Hodgson, *Order*, pp. 225–238, and also his 'State', pp. 472–475. See also Madelung, 'Imamat', pp. 48ff., 61 ff., 101–114; Corbin's *Cyclical Time*, pp. 37–58, 78–84; Christian Jambet's 'A Philosophical Commentary' in al-Ṭūsī, *Rawḍa*, ed. and tr. Badakhchani, pp. 178–242; and F. Daftary, 'Satr', *EI2*, vol. 12, Supplement, pp. 712–713.

190. Al-Ṭūsī, *Rawḍa*, ed. Ivanow, text pp. 62–63, 101–102, 110, 117–118, 143, 145, translation pp. 69, 115–116, 126, 136; ed. Badakhchani, text pp. 82, 134–135, 146, 156–157, 190, 192–193, translation pp. 71, 109–110, 118–119, 125–126, 153–154, 155. For reiteration of these ideas in post-Alamūt Nizārī works, see Abū Isḥāq, *Haft bāb*, text pp. 38–39, 43, translation pp. 38–39, 43; Khayrkhwāh, *Kalām-i pīr*, text p. 67, translation pp. 62–63; and also Khayrkhwāh-i Harātī, *Taṣnīfāt*, ed. W. Ivanow (Tehran, 1961), pp. 18–19.

191. *Rawḍa*, ed. Ivanow, text p. 119, translation p. 138; ed. Badakhchani, text pp. 158–159, translation pp. 127–28; Abū Isḥāq, *Haft bāb*, text p. 38, translation pp. 38–39; and Khayrkhwāh, *Kalām-i pīr*, text p. 63, translation p. 58.

192. *Rawḍa*, ed. Ivanow, text p. 61, translation pp. 67–68; ed. Badakhchani, text p. 80, translation p. 69; Abū Isḥāq, *Haft bāb*, text pp. 42–43, translation pp. 42–43; and Khayrkhwāh, *Kalām-i pīr*, text pp. 66–67, translation pp. 61–62.

193. *Rawḍa*, ed. Ivanow, text pp. 61, 132–133, 147, 149, translation pp. 67–68, 154–155, 173, 175; ed. Badakhchani, text pp. 80, 175–176, 195, 197–198, translation pp. 69, 140–141, 157–158, 159. See also Abū Isḥāq, *Haft bāb*, text pp. 11–12, 39, translation pp. 11–12, 39; Khayrkhwāh, *Kalām-i pīr*, text pp. 19, 64, translation pp. 13, 58–59, also his *Faṣl dar bayān-i shinākht-i imām*, ed. W. Ivanow (3rd ed., Tehran, 1960), pp. 1–2, 28; English trans., *On the Recognition of the Imam*, tr. W. Ivanow (2nd ed., Bombay, 1947), pp. 18, 43.

194. *Rawḍa*, ed. Ivanow, text p. 110, translation p. 126; ed. Badakhchani, text p. 146, translation pp. 118–119.

195. *Rawḍa*, ed. Ivanow, text pp. 76, 82, 83ff., 100, 104–105, 122–123, 126, 127, translation pp. 86–87, 92–93, 94ff., 114, 119, 143, 147, 148; ed. Badakhchani, text pp. 100, 107, 108ff., 133, 138–139, 163, 167, 168–169, translation pp. 84–85, 90, 91ff., 108, 112–

113, 131, 134, 135–136; also al-Ṭūsī, *Maṭlūb al-muʾminīn*, pp. 48–49; Abū Isḥāq, *Haft bāb*, text pp. 16, 17, 43, 50, translation pp. 16, 17, 44, 50; and Khayrkhwāh, *Kalām-i pīr*, text pp. 22, 26, 68, 94, translation pp. 17, 21, 63, 88.

196. *Rawḍa*, ed. Ivanow, text p. 142, translation p. 166; ed. Badakhchani, text pp. 187–188, translation p. 151; and al-Ṭūsī, *Maṭlūb al-muʾminīn*, pp. 54–55.

197. *Rawḍa*, ed. Ivanow, text pp. 42, 76–77, 83–84, translation pp. 46–47, 87, 94–95; ed. Badakhchani, text pp. 58, 100–101, 109–110, translation pp. 52, 85, 92.

198. Jūzjānī, *Ṭabaqāt*, vol. 2, pp. 182–185, 186–188; tr. Raverty, vol. 2, pp. 1197–1205, 1212–1214. See also Bosworth, *History of the Saffarids*, pp. 399ff., 408–409.

199. On these interferences and the prosperous conditions of the Quhistānī Nizārīs at the time, see Jūzjānī, *Ṭabaqāt*, vol. 1, pp. 282–283, 284–285, and vol. 2, pp. 184–185; tr. Raverty, vol. 1, pp. 195–197, 199–201, and vol. 2, pp. 1203–1205; *Taʾrīkh-i Sīstān*, pp. 393–395; tr. Gold, pp. 321–322; and Bosworth, *History of the Saffarids*, pp. 404–405, 408.

200. Al-Nasawī, *Sīra*, vol. 1, pp. 70–71, and vol. 2, pp. 118–119; ed. Mīnuvī, p. 95.

201. Al-Nasawī, *Sīra*, vol. 1, p. 168, and vol. 2, pp. 280–281; the section dealing with the letter of Sirāj al-Dīn al-Muẓaffar, the Syrian Nizārī chief, sent to the Anatolian ruler, and a few other sections, are omitted in the anonymous Persian translation of al-Nasawī's *Sīrat-i Jalāl al-Dīn*.

202. The Indian Nizārī tradition on the commencement of the Nizārī *daʿwa* in India is analyzed in Azim Nanji, *The Nizārī Ismāʿīlī Tradition in the Indo–Pakistan Subcontinent* (Delmar, NY, 1978), pp. 50–96. See also Syed Mujtaba Ali, *The Origin of the Khojāhs and their Religious Life Today* (Würzburg, 1936), pp. 39–44; Hollister, *Shiʿa*, pp. 339–362; Misra, *Muslim Communities*, pp. 10–12, 54–65; Ivanow, *Ismaili Literature*, pp. 174–177; his 'Satpanth', in W. Ivanow, ed., *Collectanea*: Vol. 1 (Leiden, 1948), pp. 1–19; Poonawala, *Bio*, pp. 298–300, and his 'Nūr Satgur', *EI2*, vol. 8, pp. 125–126.

203. See W. Ivanow, 'Shums Tabrez of Multan', in S. M. Abdullah, ed., *Professor Muḥammad Shafiʿ Presentation Volume* (Lahore, 1955), pp. 109–118; Tazim R. Kassam, *Songs of Wisdom and Circles of Dance: Hymns of the Satpanth Ismāʿīlī Muslim Saint, Pīr Shams* (Albany, NY, 1995), pp. 75–116; Zawahir Moir, 'The Life and Legends of Pir Shams as Reflected in the Ismaili Ginans: A Critical Review', in F. Mallison, ed., *Constructions hagiographiques dans le monde Indien. Entre mythe et histoire* (Paris, 2001), pp. 365–384; I. K. Poonawala, 'Pīr Shams or Shams al-Dīn', *EI2*, vol. 8, p. 307; and F. Daftary, 'Pīr Shams', *EWI*, vol. 5, pp. 912–913.

204. See, for instance, Dawlatshāh, *Tadhkirat al-shuʿarāʾ*, p. 195; al-Shūshtarī, *Majālis al-muʾminīn*, vol. 2, p. 110, and A. Semenov, 'Sheikh Dzhelal-ud-Din-Rumi po predstavleniyam shughnanskikh ismailitov', analyzing the ideas of the Nizārīs of Shughnān on Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī who is considered, by the contemporary Nizārīs of Central Asia and some other regions, to have been one of their co-religionists.

205. Al-Nasawī, *Sīra*, vol. 1, pp. 132–134, and vol. 2, pp. 219–223; ed. Mīnuvī, pp. 163–166; and Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, vol. 12, p. 182.

206. Al-Nasawī, *Sīra*, vol. 1, pp. 129–130, 143–145, and vol. 2, pp. 215–216, 237–240; ed. Mīnuvī, pp. 161–162, 175–176; Juwaynī, vol. 2, pp. 204–205; tr. Boyle, vol. 2, pp. 471–472; and J. A. Boyle, 'Dynastic and Political History of the Īl-Khāns', in *Cambridge History of Iran*, vol. 5, p. 332.

207. Al-Nasawī, *Sīra*, vol. 1, pp. 157–158, and vol. 2, pp. 262–264.

208. Al-Nasawī, *Sīra*, vol. 1, p. 196, and vol. 2, p. 327.
209. Al-Nasawī, *Sīra*, vol. 1, pp. 212–216, and vol. 2, pp. 353–360; ed. Mīnuvī, pp. 229–233. See also Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, vol. 12, pp. 192–193.
210. Āmulī, *Taʾrīkh*, pp. 152–153; Marʿashī, *Taʾrīkh-i Ṭabaristān*, ed. Dorn, pp. 80–81; ed. Tasbīḥī, pp. 30–31; and Rabino, 'Dynasties du Māzandarān', p. 454.
211. Rashīd al-Dīn, p. 181, and Kāshānī, p. 222. According to *Dabistān-i madhāhib*, vol. 1, p. 265, this *shaykh* had secretly embraced Ismāʿīlism.
212. Juwaynī, vol. 1, pp. 205, 213; tr. Boyle, vol. 1, pp. 250, 258; Rashīd al-Dīn, *Jāmiʿ al-tawārīkh: taʾrīkh-i Ghāzānī*, vol. 2, ed. E. Blochet (Leiden–London, 1911), pp. 243, 248; also his *Jāmiʿ al-tawārīkh*, ed. B. Karīmī (Tehran, 1338/1959), vol. 1, pp. 568, 570; English trans., *The Successors of Genghiz Khan*, tr. John A. Boyle (New York, 1971), pp. 181, 184, hereafter cited as *Successors*.
213. Juwaynī, vol. 1, pp. 211–212; tr. Boyle, vol. 1, pp. 256–257; Rashīd al-Dīn, *Jāmiʿ al-tawārīkh*, ed. Blochet, pp. 247–248; ed. Karīmī, vol. 1, p. 570; *Successors*, p. 183.
214. Jūzjānī, *Ṭabaqāt*, vol. 2, pp. 181–182; tr. Raverty, vol. 2, pp. 1189–1197; Rashīd al-Dīn, *Jāmiʿ al-tawārīkh: taʾrīkh-i Ghāzānī (Histoire des Mongols de la Perse)*, ed. and tr. Quatremère, pp. 118–128; also his *Jāmiʿ al-tawārīkh*, vol. 3, ed. A. A. Alizade (Baku, 1957), pp. 20–21, and his *Jāmiʿ al-tawārīkh*, ed. Karīmī, vol. 2, pp. 684–685.
215. *Bustān*, p. 151; Sibṭ, *Mirʾāt*, ed. Jewett, p. 261; Ibn al-ʿAdīm in Lewis, 'Kamāl al-Dīn's Biography', pp. 231, 262; and Mufaḍḍal b. Abiʾl-Faḍāʾil, *al-Nahj al-sadīd*, ed. and tr. E. Blochet as *Histoire des sultans Mamlouks*, in *Patrologia Orientalis*, 12 (1919), p. 516.
216. On the general situation of the Syrian Nizārīs between Sinān's death and the fall of Alamūt, see Defrémery, 'Ismaéliens de Syrie' *JA* (1855), pp. 32–47; Lewis, 'Ismāʿīlites and the Assassins', pp. 127–129; also his *Assassins*, pp. 119–121; Hodgson, *Order*, pp. 207–209, 246–250; and Mirza, *Syrian Ismailism*, pp. 41–55.
217. For the inscriptional evidence on the Syrian castles, see van Berchem, 'Épigraphie des Assassins de Syrie', pp. 455–457, 467, 478, 482, 488–489, 495–499, also reflecting the information contained in Ibn Wāṣil's *Mufarrij al-kurūb*. Ibn Wāṣil (604–697/1208–1298), a native of Syria was personally acquainted with Tāj al-Dīn Abuʾl-Futūḥ, a Persian who came from Alamūt and led the Syrian Nizārīs at least from 637/1239–1240 to 646/1249. See also al-Ḥamawī, *al-Taʾrīkh al-Manṣūrī*, pp. 293–294, 330, 340, and al-Nasawī, *Sīra*, vol. 1, pp. 132, 168, and vol. 2, pp. 220, 280; ed. Mīnuvī, p. 163; and Bosworth, *The New Islamic Dynasties*, pp. 68–69.
218. Abū Shāma, *Tarājim rijāl al-qarnayn*, ed. M. Z. al-Kawtharī (Cairo, 1947), pp. 78, 81; also his *al-Rawḍatayn*, in *RHCHO*, vol. 5, p. 159, placing the event in 609/1212–1213; Mufaḍḍal, *al-Nahj*, tr. Blochet, p. 517; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, vol. 12, p. 115; Sibṭ, *Mirʾāt*, ed. Jewett, p. 363; Abuʾl-Fidā, *al-Mukhtaṣar*, vol. 3, p. 114, in *RHCHO*, vol. 1, p. 86; and van Berchem, 'Épigraphie', pp. 475–477, quoting Ibn Wāṣil, *Mufarrij al-kurūb*, ed. J. al-Shayyāl (Cairo, 1954–1961), vol. 3, p. 211, and others.
219. Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *Zubdat al-ḥalab*, ed. Dahan, vol. 3, pp. 166; tr. Blochet, *Histoire d'Alep* (1897), pp. 48–49; al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, vol. 1, pp. 299, 301; tr. Broadhurst, pp. 159–160; Grousset, *Croisades*, vol. 3, pp. 195–196; and Cahen, *Syrie du nord*, pp. 620–621.
220. Al-Ḥamawī, *al-Taʾrīkh al-Manṣūrī*, p. 340.
221. Ibid., p. 348.
222. Ibid., pp. 335–336.
223. Ibid., pp. 340–341.

224. Edwin J. King, *The Knights Hospitallers in the Holy Land* (London, 1931), pp. 216, 234–235, reproducing the papal letter. See also Cahen, *Syrie du nord*, pp. 344, 526, 620, 641, 665, and J. Riley-Smith, *The Knights of St. John in Jerusalem and Cyprus* (London, 1967), pp. 138–140, 162, 164.
225. In addition to John of Joinville's account in his already-cited *Histoire de Saint Louis*, which is the chief source on these dealings, see Defrémery, 'Ismaéliens de Syrie', (1855), pp. 45–46; van Berchem, 'Épigraphie', pp. 478–480; King, *Knights Hospitallers*, p. 249; Grousset, *Croisades*, vol. 3, pp. 516–518; Runciman, *Crusades*, vol. 3, pp. 279–280; Daftary, *Assassin Legends*, pp. 79–82; and Barber, *The New Knighthood*, pp. 152–153.
226. On the operations of Hülegü's advance guard in Persia, see Rashīd al-Dīn, *Jāmiʿal-tawārīkh*, ed. Quatremère, pp. 138, 166–174; ed. Alizade, pp. 22–23, 27–28; ed. Karīmī, vol. 2, pp. 686, 689–690. Juwaynī, vol. 3, pp. 72, 94–95; tr. Boyle, vol. 2, pp. 596, 610, has only brief references. See also John A. Boyle, 'The Ismāʿīlīs and the Mongol Invasion', in Nasr, ed., *Ismāʿīlī Contributions*, pp. 7–11, and also his 'Dynastic and Political History of the Īl-Khāns', pp. 340–342. On the participation of the Caspian rulers in the Mongol siege of Girdkūh, see Ibn Isfandiyār's continuator, *History of Ṭabaristān*, tr. Browne, pp. 258–259; Āmulī, *Taʾrīkh*, pp. 160–162, 163–164; Marʿashī, *Taʾrīkh-i Ṭabaristān*, ed. Dorn, pp. 84–87; ed. Tasbīḥī, pp. 32–34; Mullā Shaykh ʿAlī Gīlānī, *Taʾrīkh-i Māzandarān*, ed. M. Sutūda (Tehran, 1352/1973), p. 50; and Rabino, 'Dynasties du Māzandarān', p. 455.
227. On Rukn al-Dīn Khurshāh's brief reign, see Juwaynī, vol. 3, pp. 259–278; tr. Boyle, vol. 2, pp. 712–725; Rashīd al-Dīn, pp. 185–195; and Kāshānī, pp. 224–233; all three authors cover the events of Khurshāh's reign at the end of their histories of the Nizārī state in Persia. Hülegü's expedition against the Nizārīs is also covered separately in Juwaynī, vol. 3, pp. 89–142; tr. Boyle, vol. 2, pp. 607–640; and in Rashīd al-Dīn's history of Hülegü; see his *Jāmiʿal-tawārīkh*, ed. Quatremère, pp. 144ff., 174–220; ed. Alizade, pp. 24ff., 29–38; ed. Karīmī, vol. 2, pp. 687ff., 691–697. See also Jūzjānī, *Ṭabaqāt*, vol. 2, pp. 180ff., 186; tr. Raverty, vol. 2, pp. 1187ff., 1205–1211; Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Taʾrīkh*, ed. and tr. Browne, vol. 1, pp. 526–527, and vol. 2, pp. 130–131; ed. Navāʾī, pp. 527–528; Ḥāfiẓ Abrū, pp. 275–281; Mīrkhwānd, *Rawḍat al-ṣafāʾ*, vol. 4, pp. 229–235, and vol. 5, pp. 228–234; and Khwānd Amīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar*, vol. 2, pp. 477–479, and vol. 3, pp. 94–95. See also Constantin M. d'Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongols* (2nd ed., The Hague–Amsterdam, 1834–1835), vol. 3, pp. 188–202, the European classic on the subject, and Henry H. Howorth, *History of the Mongols* (London, 1876–1927), vol. 3, pp. 90ff., 95–108. The late Professor John A. Boyle, the leading modern authority on the Mongol period of Persian history, treated the subject in his 'Ismāʿīlīs and the Mongol Invasion', pp. 11–22, and 'Dynastic and Political History of the Īl-Khāns', pp. 341–345; see also Hodgson, *Order*, pp. 263–271; his 'State', pp. 480–482; Lewis, *Assassins*, pp. 91–96; and F. Daftary, 'Rukn al-Dīn Khurshāh', *EI2*, vol. 8, pp. 598–599.
228. Juwaynī, vol. 3, pp. 102–103; tr. Boyle, vol. 2, pp. 615–616; Rashīd al-Dīn, *Jāmiʿ al-tawārīkh*, ed. Quatremère, pp. 180–181; ed. Alizade, pp. 29–30; ed. Karīmī, vol. 2, p. 691.
229. Juwaynī, vol. 3, p. 263; tr. Boyle, vol. 2, p. 714; Rashīd al-Dīn, p. 187; Kāshānī, p. 225–226; and Khwānd Amīr, *Dastūr al-wuzarāʾ*, p. 229.

230. This is the date given by Juwaynī, vol. 3, pp. 133, 267, who personally witnessed Khurshāh's surrender. In his history of Hülegü, Rashīd al-Dīn places this event a day later, on 1 Dhu'l-Qaʿda/20 November, also quoting a chronogram composed to that effect by Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī; see Rashīd al-Dīn, *Jāmiʿal-tawārīkh*, ed. Quatremère, pp. 210–212; ed. Alizade, p. 35; ed. Karīmī, vol. 2, p. 695. However, Rashīd al-Dīn himself corroborates Juwaynī's date in relating the events of Khurshāh's reign in his Ismāʿīlī history, *Jāmiʿ al-tawārīkh: qismat-i Ismāʿīliyān*, p. 190.
231. Juwaynī, vol. 3, pp. 186, 269–273; tr. Boyle, vol. 2, pp. 666, 719–721.
232. Juwaynī, vol. 3, p. 273; tr. Boyle, vol. 2, p. 721; Rashīd al-Dīn, p. 192, and Kāshānī, pp. 230–231; see also Rashīd al-Dīn, *Jāmiʿ al-tawārīkh*, ed. Quatremère, p. 212; ed. Alizade, p. 35; ed. Karīmī, vol. 2, p. 695.
233. Juwaynī, vol. 3, p. 275; tr. Boyle, vol. 2, p. 723; see also Rashīd al-Dīn, p. 193; and Kāshānī, p. 232.
234. Hodgson, *Order*, pp. 259–260, and also his 'State', pp. 481–482.
235. Juwaynī, vol. 3, p. 137; tr. Boyle, vol. 2, p. 637.
236. Rashīd al-Dīn, *Jāmiʿ al-tawārīkh*, ed. Quatremère, pp. 218–220; ed. Alizade, p. 38; ed. Karīmī, vol. 2, p. 697.
237. Rashīd al-Dīn, *Jāmiʿ al-tawārīkh*, ed. Quatremère, pp. 212–213; ed. Alizade, pp. 35–36, 140; ed. Karīmī, vol. 2, pp. 695, 766; and Rashīd al-Dīn, *Taʾrīkh-i mubārak-i Ghāzānī: dar dāstān-i Abāghā Khān va Sulṭān Aḥmad va Arghūn Khān va Gaykhātū Khān*, ed. K. Jahn (Prague, 1941), p. 29, reprinted (The Hague, 1957), p. 29. See also Jūzjānī, *Ṭabaqāt*, vol. 2, p. 186; tr. Raverty, vol. 2, pp. 1206–1211, stating that the garrison of Girdkūh, reduced to one or two hundred men, was still holding out against the Mongols in 658/1260, when Jūzjānī was writing. Of the key Nizārī castles in Persia, Girdkūh is the one least studied in modern times. The rock of Girdkūh and the remains of its fortifications, including those of its three outer walls, visited in 1985 by the author, are indeed impressive. The ruins of the living quarters built by the besieging Mongols and the two different types of mangonel stones, used by the Nizārīs and the Mongols, which are still scattered on the northeastern slope of the Girdkūh rock, attest to the fierce and extended fighting that must have raged during the siege of that last Nizārī stronghold in Persia.
238. See Rashīd al-Dīn, *Taʾrīkh-i mubārak-i Ghāzānī: dāstān-i Ghāzān Khān*, ed. K. Jahn (London, 1940), pp. 30, 56; also his *Jāmiʿ al-tawārīkh*, ed. Alizade, pp. 272, 286–287; ed. Karīmī, vol. 2, pp. 860–861, 883; extract in Dorn, *Auszüge aus muhammedanischen Schriftstellern*, pp. 132, 137.
239. On the situation of the Syrian Nizārīs in the period between the fall of Alamūt and the subjugation of their castles by the Mamlūks, see Defrémery, 'Ismaéliens de Syrie', (1855), pp. 47–65; Lewis, 'Ismāʿīlites and the Assassins', pp. 130–132; also his *Assassins*, pp. 121–124; Hodgson, *Order*, pp. 272–275; Abdul-Aziz Khowaiter, *Baibars the First: His Endeavours and Achievements* (London, 1978), pp. 118–126; P. Thorau, *The Lion of Egypt: Sultan Baybars I and the Near East in the Thirteenth Century*, tr. P. M. Holt (London, 1992), pp. 147, 164, 169, 176, 194, 201–203, 208; and Mirza, *Syrian Ismailism*, pp. 57–68.
240. Ibn Muyassar, *Akhbār*, p. 102, and Abū Firās, *Faṣl*, ed. and tr. Guyard, in his 'Un grand maître', translation pp. 415–417, text pp. 468–470.

241. Ibn Muyassar, *Akhbār*, p. 102. Some sources give the name of this Nizārī leader as Riḍā al-Dīn; see Mufaḍḍal, *al-Nahj*, tr. Blochet, pp. 433–434.
242. Ibn ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir, *Sīrat al-malik al-Ẓāhir*, partial ed. and tr. S. Fatima Sadeque as *Baybars I of Egypt* (Dacca, 1956), text p. 45, translation pp. 138–139.
243. ʿIzz al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Ibrāhīm b. Shaddād, *Taʾrīkh al-malik al-Ẓāhir*, ed. A. Ḥuṭayṭ (Wiesbaden, 1983), pp. 268–269; Mufaḍḍal, *al-Nahj*, tr. Blochet, p. 433; and Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz al-durar*, vol. 8, ed. U. Haarmann (Cairo, 1971), pp. 84–85.
244. Ibn Muyassar, *Akhbār*, p. 102; Ibn Shaddād, *Taʾrīkh*, pp. 323, 327, 358; Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʿUmarī, *Masālik al-abṣār*, pp. 132–133; al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, vol. 1, p. 121, and vol. 4, pp. 146–147; al-Maqrīzī, *Ittiʿāẓ*, vol. 3, p. 109; and W. Popper, *Egypt and Syria under the Circassian Sultans, 1382–1468 A.D.* (Berkeley, 1955–1957), vol. 1, pp. 17–19.
245. Ibn ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir, *Sīra*, in Sadeque, *Baybars I*, text pp. 70–71, translation pp. 171–172, and al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, vol. 1, p. 554; French trans., *Histoire des Sultans Mamlouks de l'Égypte*, tr. Étienne Quatremère (Paris, 1845), vol. 1, part 1, p. 198.
246. Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, vol. 2, p. 32; tr. Quatremère, *Sultans Mamlouks*, vol. 1, part 2, p. 24; and Badr al-Dīn ʿAynī, *ʿIqd al-jumān*, extract in *RHCHO*, vol. 2, part 1, p. 223.
247. Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, vol. 2, pp. 42–43, 44; tr. Quatremère, *Sultans Mamlouks*, vol. 1, part 2, pp. 32, 40, 42.
248. Abu'l-Fidā, *al-Mukhtaṣar*, vol. 4, p. 6, in *RHCHO*, vol. 1, p. 153; Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz*, vol. 8, pp. 143–144; and al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, vol. 2, p. 65; tr. Quatremère, *Sultans Mamlouks*, vol. 1, part 2, pp. 79–80.
249. Ibn Shaddād, *Taʾrīkh*, p. 88.
250. On the final subjugation of the Nizārī strongholds in Syria, see Ibn Shaddād, *Taʾrīkh*, pp. 37, 60, 323; Abu'l-Fidā, *al-Mukhtaṣar*, vol. 4, pp. 6, 7, in *RHCHO*, vol. 1, pp. 153–154, and al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, vol. 2, pp. 70, 76, 83; tr. Quatremère, *Sultans Mamlouks*, vol. 1, part 2, pp. 87, 99–100, 112–113.
251. See Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʿUmarī, *Masālik al-abṣār*, p. 77; Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz*, vol. 8, pp. 157–158; and al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, vol. 13, p. 245. See also Charles Melville, 'Sometimes by the Sword, Sometimes by the Dagger: The Role of the Ismaʿilis in Mamlūk-Mongol Relations in the 8th/14th Century', in *MIHT*, pp. 247–263.
252. ʿAynī, *ʿIqd*, in *RHCHO*, vol. 2, part 1, p. 247; *Les Gestes des Chiprois*, in *RHC: Documents Arméniens*, vol. 2, pp. 775, 779; Defrémery, 'Ismaéliens de Syrie', (1855), pp. 65–75; Grousset, *Croisades*, vol. 3, pp. 646–647, 663; King, *Knights Hospitallers*, pp. 272–273; and Runciman, *Crusades*, vol. 3, p. 338.
253. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, *Riḥla*, ed. and tr. Ch. Defrémery and B. R. Sanguinetti as *Voyages d'Ibn Battūta* (Paris, 1853–1859), vol. 1, pp. 166–167, 171; English trans., *The Travels of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa*, tr. H. A. R. Gibb (Cambridge, 1958–1971), vol. 1, pp. 106–107, 108–109.

Notes to Chapter 7

1. For an interesting anthropological investigation of some of these complex issues, in the Muslim–Hindu context of South Asia, see Dominique-Sila Khan, *Crossing the*

Threshold: Understanding Religious Identities in South Asia (London, 2004), especially pp. 30–93, and her 'La tradition de Rāmdev Pīr au Rajasthan: Acculturation et syncrétisme', in J. Assayag and G. Tarabout, ed., *Altérité et identité, Islam et Christianisme en Inde* (Paris, 1997), pp. 121–140.

2. For descriptions of the few Muḥammad-Shāhī works recovered so far, see Ivanow, *Ismaili Literature*, pp. 165–167, and Poonawala, *Bio*, pp. 270–275, 278, 280–281.
3. See Ivanow's introductory remarks to his edition of Abū Isḥāq's *Haft bāb*, pp. 1–8; Ivanow, *Ismaili Literature*, pp. 141–142; and Poonawala, *Bio*, pp. 269–270.
4. See Ivanow's introduction to his edition of Khayrkhwāh's *Faṣl dar bayān-i shinākht-i imām*, pp. 5ff.; Ivanow, *Ismaili Literature*, pp. 142–144; Poonawala, *Bio*, pp. 275–277; and F. Daftary, 'Khayrkhwāh-i Harātī', *EI2*, vol. 12, Supplement, pp. 527–528.
5. See A. A. Semenov, 'Ismailitskaya oda, posvyashchennaya voploshcheniyam 'Aliya-boga', *Iran*, 2 (1928), pp. 1–24; Ivanow's introduction to his edition of an abbreviated version of Khākī Khurāsānī's *Dīwān* (Bombay, 1933), pp. 1–15; Z. Jafferali, 'Khaki Khorasani', in *Great Ismaili Heroes*, pp. 95–97; Ivanow, *Guide*, pp. 109–111; also his *Ismaili Literature*, pp. 145–148; and Poonawala, *Bio*, pp. 279–280.
6. Mumtaz Tajddin Sadikali, 'Pir Shahabu'd Din Shah al-Husayni', in *Great Ismaili Heroes*, pp. 100–101; Bertel's and Bakoev, *Alphabetic Catalogue*, pp. 51, 59–60; Ivanow, *Guide*, pp. 116–117; also his *Ismaili Literature*, pp. 149–150; Poonawala, *Bio*, pp. 283–284; and F. Daftary, 'Shihāb al-Dīn al-Ḥusaynī', *EI2*, vol. 9, p. 435.
7. Details on Fidāʾī's life and works were given to the author by his grandson, Ṣadr al-Dīn Mīrshāhī, who mentions some of this information in his unpublished biography of Fidāʾī as well as in the introduction to one of his collections of Fidāʾī's works. This collection, transcribed by Mr Mīrshāhī from autograph manuscript copies, includes the *Kashf al-ḥaqāʾiq, Irshād al-sālikīn, Hidāyat al-muʾminīn*, and Fidāʾī's correspondence with Shaykh Sulaymān, a Syrian Nizārī leader from Salamiyya. I would like to express my gratitude to Mr Mīrshāhī for having given me a copy of this collection. Unfortunately, the original manuscripts of some of Fidāʾī's works have been taken by different persons from his descendants on the pretence of publishing them. On Fidāʾī, see A. A. Semenov, 'Ismailitskiy panegirik obozhestvlyonnomu 'Aliyu Fedai Khorasanskogo', *Iran*, 3 (1929), pp. 51–70; Semenov's introductory section to his edition of Fidāʾī's *Hidāyat al-muʾminīn*, pp. 5–24, reprinted (without Semenov's Russian introduction) with the same pagination (Tehran, 1362/1983); Ivanow's introduction to Khayrkhwāh's *Faṣl*, pp. 2–3; Ivanow, *Guide*, p. 117; also his *Ismaili Literature*, pp. 153–154; Poonawala, *Bio*, pp. 284–285; Daftary, *Ismaili Literature*, p. 112, and his 'Fedāʾī K̲orāsānī', *EIR*, vol. 9, p. 470.
8. Bertel's and Bakoev, *Alphabetic Catalogue*, pp. 19–105. Five of the works recovered by this expedition, including *Āfāq-nāma, Umm al-khiṭāb* and *Uṣūl-i ādāb*, were subsequently published in a collection entitled *Panj risāla dar bayān-i āfāq va anfus*, ed. Andrey E. Bertel's (Moscow, 1970).
9. See Ivanow's foreword to Suhrāb Valī Badakhshānī's *Sī va shish ṣaḥīfa*, pp. 9–15; Ghālib, *Aʿlām*, pp. 304–305, wrongly attributing a number of anonymous works to this author; Ivanow, *Ismaili Literature*, pp. 163–164; and Poonawala, *Bio*, pp. 267–268.
10. Ivanow, *Ismaili Literature*, pp. 172–173, and Poonawala, *Bio*, pp. 293–297.
11. See Sami Makarem's introductory remarks to his edition of *al-Shāfiya*, pp. 13–20, an anonymous *qaṣīda*, originally composed by a Ḥāfiẓī Mustaʿlian poet and then

revised by a Nizārī author, erroneously attributed to Abū Firās; see also Ghālib, *Aʿlām*, pp. 313–315; Ivanow, *Ismaili Literature*, p. 172; and Poonawala, *Bio*, pp. 294–295, 350.

12. See the following works by Ali S. Asani: 'The *Ginān* Literature of the Ismailis of Indo-Pakistan: Its Origins, Characteristics, and Themes', in D. L. Eck and F. Mallison, ed., *Devotion Divine: Bhakti Traditions from the Regions of India* (Groningen, 1991), pp. 1–18; reprinted in a revised version in his *Ecstasy and Enlightenment: The Ismaili Devotional Literature of South Asia* (London, 2002), pp. 25–53; 'The Ismaili *ginān*s as Devotional Literature', in R. S. McGregor, ed., *Devotional Literature in South Asia: Current Research*, *1985–1988* (Cambridge, 1992), pp. 101–112; and his 'Ginān', *ER*, vol. 5, pp. 560–561. See also C. Shackle and Z. Moir, *Ismaili Hymns from South Asia: An Introduction to the Ginans* (London, 1992), pp. 3–54.
13. See Ali S. Asani, 'The Ismaili *ginān*s: Reflections on Authority and Authorship', in *MIHT*, pp. 265–280; reprinted in his *Ecstasy and Enlightenment*, pp. 82–99.
14. For lists of the major *ginān*s, see Ivanow, *Ismaili Literature*, pp. 176–181; Poonawala, *Bio*, pp. 298–311; and Nanji, *Nizārī Tradition*, pp. 143–149. See also N. Tajdin, *A Bibliography of Ismailism* (Delmar, NY, 1985), pp. 162–170.
15. Juwaynī, *Taʾrīkh*, vol. 3, pp. 277–278; tr. Boyle, vol. 2, pp. 724–725.
16. Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Taʾrīkh-i guzīda*, ed. and tr. Browne, vol. 1, p. 583, and vol. 2, p. 143; ed. Navāʾī, p. 592; Rabino, 'Rulers of Gilan', pp. 293–294; and E. G. Browne, *A History of Persian Literature under Tartar Dominion* (Cambridge, 1920), p. 25. For a survey of the early post-Alamūt Nizārī activities in Persia, see Shafique N. Virani, 'The Eagle Returns: Evidence of Continued Ismāʿīlī Activity at Alamūt and in the South Caspian Region following the Mongol Conquests', *JAOS*, 123 (2003), pp. 351–370.
17. For some of the earliest historical references to the Nizārīs of Quhistān in the immediate aftermath of the Mongol conquests, see Sayf b. Muḥammad al-Harawī, *Taʾrīkh-nāma-yi Harāt*, ed. M. Z. al-Ṣiddiqī (Calcutta, 1944), pp. 267–268, 302.
18. On Nizārī Quhistānī, see Dawlatshāh, *Tadhkirat al-shuʿarāʾ*, pp. 231–234; Nūr al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Jāmī, *Bahāristān*, ed. and tr. O. M. Schlechta-Wssehrd (Vienna, 1846), text p. 100, translation p. 116; Mīrkhwānd, *Rawḍat al-ṣafāʾ*, vol. 4, p. 193; Khwānd Amīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar*, vol. 2, p. 457; Amīn Aḥmad Rāzī, *Haft iqlīm*, ed. J. Fāḍil (Tehran, n.d.), vol. 2, pp. 322–323; Luṭf ʿAlī Beg Ādhar, *Ātashkada* (Bombay, 1299/1881 –1882), p. 106; (Tehran, 1337 /1958), p. 104; Riḍā Qulī Khān Hidāyat, *Majmaʿ al-fuṣaḥāʾ* (Tehran, 1295/1878), vol. 1, p. 607; ed. M. Muṣaffā (Tehran, 1336–1340/1957–1961), vol. 3, pp. 1358–1359; and Shihāb al-Dīn Shāh, *Khiṭābāt*, p. 36. Amongst the secondary sources, see Browne, *A History of Persian Literature under Tartar Dominion*, pp. 154–155; the introductory comments of Evgeniy Bertel's to his edition and Russian translation of Nizārī's *Dastūr-nāma*, in *Vostochnïy Sbornik*, 1 (1926), pp. 37ff.; M. Mujtahidzāda Bīrjandī, *Nasīm-i bahārī dar aḥvāl-i Ḥakīm Nizārī* (Mashhad, 1344 /1925); Muḥammad Ḥusayn Āyatī Bīrjandī, *Bahāristān dar taʾrīkh va tarājim-i rijāl-i Qāʾināt va Quhistān* (Tehran, 1327 /1948), pp. 198–207; Chingiz G. Baradin, 'Ḥakīm Nizārī Quhistānī', *Farhang-i Īrān Zamīn*, 6 (1337/1958), pp. 178–203; J. Dorri, 'Baʿze maʿlumot dar borai Nizori', *Sharqi Surkh*, 9 (1958), pp. 140–154; Ghulām Riḍā Riyāḍī, *Dānishvarān-i Khurāsān* (Mashhad, 1336 /1957), p. 296; Muḥammad Bāqir Āyatī Bīrjandī, *Rijāl-i Qāʾin*, in S. Kāẓim Mūsavī, ed., *Sih risāla dar ʿilm-i rijāl* (Tehran, 1344 /1965), pp. 8–9; ʿAlī Riḍā Mujtahidzāda, 'Saʿd al-milla

wa'l-dīn Ḥakīm Nizārī Quhistānī', *Revue de la Faculté des Lettres de Meched*, 2 (1345 /1966), pp. 71–100, 298–315; Dh. Ṣafā, *Ta'rīkh-i adabiyyāt dar Īrān* (2nd ed., Tehran, 1355/1976), vol. 3, part 2, pp. 731–745; Chingiz G. A. Bayburdi, 'Rukopisi proizvedeniy Nizārī', *Kratkie Soobshcheniya Instituta Narodov Azii* (Moscow), 65 (1964), pp. 13–24; also his *Zhizn i tvorchestvo Nizārī-Persidskogo poeta XIII–XIV vv*. (Moscow, 1966); Persian trans., *Zindagī va āthār-i Nizārī*, tr. M. Ṣadrī (Tehran, 1370 /1991), a detailed study of the life and works of Nizārī with numerous selections of his poetry; J. Rypka, 'Poets and Prose Writers of the late Saljuq and Mongol Periods', in *Cambridge History of Iran*, vol. 5, pp. 604–605; also his *History of Iranian Literature*, pp. 255–256; Ivanow, *Guide*, pp. 105–106; also his *Ismaili Literature*, pp. 137–138; Poonawala, *Bio*, pp. 263–267; Daftary, *Ismaili Literature*, pp. 141–142; and J. T. P. de Bruijn, 'Nizārī Ḳuhistānī', *EI2*, vol. 8, pp. 83–84. For the best modern study of Nizārī, see Nadia Eboo Jamal, *Surviving the Mongols: Nizārī Quhistānī and the Continuity of Ismaili Tradition in Persia* (London, 2002), especially pp. 57–146.

19. *Ta'rīkh-i Sīstān*, pp. 406, 407, 408; tr. Gold, pp. 331, 332, 333. For a summary description of Quhistān's political situation at this time, see Bosworth, *History of the Saffarids*, pp. 410–424, 429–440.
20. Eboo Jamal, *Surviving the Mongols*, pp. 124–135. Nizārī's *Safar-nāma* is used extensively in this book on the basis of the earliest and most complete copy of his *Kulliyyāt*, dated 838/1434 and preserved at the National Library in St Petersburg.
21. See Nizārī Quhistānī's *Dīwān*, ed. M. Muṣaffā (Tehran, 1371–1373/1992–1994), vol. 1, pp. 583–584, 617, 632–633, 634–635, 642–643, 660, 674–675, 724–725, 753–754, 795, 860, 866, 880, 881, 966–968, 994–995, 1359–1360, and elsewhere in his poetry. See also L. Lewisohn, 'Sufism and Ismāʿīlī Doctrine in the Persian Poetry of Nizārī Quhistānī (645–721/1247–1321)', *Iran, Journal of the British Institute of Persian Studies*, 41 (2003), pp. 229–251.
22. For a few biographical details on the Imam Shams al-Dīn, reflecting the oral tradition of the Nizārīs, see Shihāb al-Dīn Shāh, *Khiṭābāt*, p. 42; Fidā'ī, *Hidāyat al-mu'minīn*, pp. 117–118; Ghālib, *Ta'rīkh*, pp. 291–293; also his *Aʿlām*, pp. 311–312; Tāmir, *al-Imāma*, p. 196, placing Shams al-Dīn's death in the year 711 AH; Ḥusayn, *Ṭā'ifat al-Ismāʿīliyya*, p. 86; Ivanow, *Brief*, p. 18; Hollister, *Shiʿa*, p. 331; the genealogical chart prepared by the late Sherali Alidina and published in Kassim Ali, *Ever Living Guide* (Karachi, 1955), facing p. 1, and F. Daftary, 'Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad', *EI2*, vol. 9, pp. 295–296, where Shams-i Dīn Shāh Nīmrūz ʿAlī is erroneously taken to refer to Imam Shams al-Dīn rather than the Mihrabānid ruler of Nīmrūz, Shams al-Dīn ʿAlī.
23. On some poems by Abū Firās Shihāb al-Dīn al-Maynaqī, and by Shaykh Sulaymān b. Ḥaydar (d. 1212/1797–1798), a Syrian Muḥammad-Shāhī *dāʿī*, naming the Mu'minī imams from Mu'min Shāh until Amīr Muḥammad al-Bāqir, the last imam of this line, see Abū Firās Shihāb al-Dīn, *Qaṣīda, nasab al-a'imma al-Fāṭimiyyīn*, in Abū Firās al-Maynaqī, *Risālat al-tarātīb al-sabʿa*, ed. and tr. ʿĀrif Tāmir and Yves Marquet as *L'épître des sept degrés* (Paris, 2002), text pp. 123–129, French translation and commentary pp. 219–248; Sulaymān b. Ḥaydar, *al-Qaṣīda al-Sulaymāniyya (al-Ḥaydariyya)*, ed. ʿĀrif Tāmir, in his *Murājaʿāt Ismāʿīliyya* (Beirut, 1415 /1994), pp. 5–20; also in Abū Firās, *Risālat al-tarātīb*, text, pp. 131–147, translation and commentary pp. 251–270. For further details on the Muḥammad-Shāhī (Mu'minī) Nizārīs

and their imams, according to the Syrian Nizārīs, see ʿĀrif Tāmir, 'Furūʿ al-shajara al-Ismāʿīliyya al-Imāmiyya', *al-Mashriq*, 51 (1957), pp. 581–612; also his *al-Imāma*, pp. 157–158, 169–178, 192–196, 197ff., and Poonawala, *Bio*, pp. 295–296.

24. W. Ivanow was the first Western scholar who referred to these Muḥammad-Shāhī authors and to the schism in question, see several of his works: 'An Ismailitic Pedigree', *Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, NS, 18 (1922), pp. 403–406; *Concise Descriptive Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts in the Collection of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* (Calcutta, 1924), pp. 370–371; 'A Forgotten Branch of the Ismailis', *JRAS* (1938), pp. 57–58, 64–76; *Brief*, p. 18; *Guide*, pp. 111–112, and *Ismaili Literature*, pp. 10, 165, 166–167. See also Ḥusayn, *Ṭāʾifat al-Ismāʿīliyya*, pp. 86–87; Ghālib, *Taʾrīkh*, pp. 294–295; also his *Aʿlām*, p. 312, supporting the claims of Qāsim Shāh; and Poonawala, *Bio*, pp. 270–271, 281.
25. Abū Isḥāq, *Haft bāb*, text p. 24, translation p. 24, and Khayrkhwāh, *Kalām-i pīr*, text p. 51, translation p. 44.
26. On Kiyā Sayf al-Dīn and his pro-Nizārī activities in Daylamān, see Ẓahīr al-Dīn Marʿashī, *Taʾrīkh-i Gīlān va Daylamistān*, ed. H. L. Rabino (Rasht, 1330 /1912), pp. 64–67; ed. M. Sutūda (Tehran, 1347 /1968), pp. 66–68; H. L. Rabino, *Les provinces Caspiennes de la Perse: Le Guîlân* (Paris, 1917), pp. 281, 403–404; Persian trans., *Vilāyāt-i dār al-marz-i Īrān: Gīlān*, tr. J. Khumāmī-Zāda (Tehran, 1350/1971), pp. 326, 469–470; also his 'Rulers of Gilan', p. 295, and his 'Dynasties locales du Gîlân', pp. 316–317.
27. Marʿashī, *Taʾrīkh-i Gīlān*, ed. Rabino, pp. 50–51, 67–68, 74ff.; ed. Sutūda, pp. 52, 69–70, 76ff.
28. On Khudāwand Muḥammad and his activities, see Marʿashī, *Taʾrīkh-i Gīlān*, ed. Rabino, pp. 51–64, 120–121; ed. Sutūda, pp. 52–66, 123–124; Rabino, *Provinces Caspiennes*, pp. 402–403; tr. Khumāmī-Zāda, pp. 468–469; Rabino, 'Rulers of Gilan', pp. 293–294; also his 'Dynasties locales du Gîlân', pp. 315–316, 317–318; and Sutūda, *Qilāʿ*, pp. 83–88, reproducing the relevant extracts from Ẓahīr al-Dīn Marʿashī.
29. Marʿashī, *Tarʾīkh-i Gīlān*, ed. Rabino, pp. 79ff., 86–87, 118, 120, 122–127; ed. Sutūda, pp. 81ff., 89, 121, 123, 125–130. See also the following works of Rabino: *Provinces Caspiennes*, pp. 405, 409–410; tr. Khumāmī-Zāda, pp. 471, 475–476; 'Rulers of Lahijan and Fuman, in Gilan, Persia', *JRAS* (1918), pp. 88–89, 94; 'Rulers of Gilan', pp. 287, 294, 296; and 'Dynasties locales du Gîlân', pp. 318–320, 322–323.
30. This is reported by Ẓahīr al-Dīn Marʿashī in his *Taʾrīkh-i Gīlān*, ed. Rabino, p. 64; ed. Sutūda, p. 65, a work completed in 881/1476–1477 and later continued by its author to the year 894/1489.
31. See Marʿashī, *Taʾrīkh-i Gīlān*, ed. Rabino, pp. 132ff., 165ff., 199, 240–241; ed. Sutūda, pp. 135ff., 169ff., 204–205, 247.
32. Shaykh ʿAlī Gīlānī, *Taʾrīkh-i Māzandarān*, pp. 88–89, 100. See also ʿAbd al-Fattāḥ Fūmanī, *Taʾrīkh-i Gīlān*, ed. B. Dorn (St Petersburg, 1858), pp. 127–129, 192–195; ed. M. Sutūda (Tehran, 1349 /1970), pp. 164–166, 241–244; Rabino, *Provinces Caspiennes*, p. 438; tr. Khumāmī-Zāda, p. 506, and Rabino, 'Dynasties du Māzandarān', pp. 472–473; Iskandar Beg Munshī, *Taʾrīkh-i ʿālamārā-yi ʿAbbāsī*, ed. Īraj Afshār (2nd ed., Tehran, 1350 /1971), vol. 2, pp. 399, 499, 503–504, 513, 521, 534, 535–537; extracts in Dorn, ed., *Auszüge aus muhammedanischen Schriftstellern*, pp. 330–333, 341, 345–346, 348–351; Riḍā Qulī Khān Hidāyat, *Rawḍat al-ṣafā-yi Nāṣirī* (Tehran, 1339/1960),

vol. 8 (published as the continuation of the Tehran edition of Mīrkhwānd's *Rawḍat al-ṣafāʾ*), pp. 299, 303; Rabino, *Provinces Caspiennes*, p. 438; tr. Khumāmī-Zāda, p. 506; and Rabino, 'Dynasties du Māzandarān', pp. 472–473.

33. For instance, see Shihāb al-Dīn Shāh, *Khiṭābāt*, p. 42; Fidāʾī, *Hidāyat al-muʾminīn*, pp. 118–119; Ghālib, *Taʾrīkh*, pp. 294–300; also his *Aʿlām*, pp. 116–117, 427–429, 445–446; Tāmir, *al-Imāma*, pp. 220–221; and Hollister, *Shīʿa*, pp. 332–334.
34. Niẓām al-Dīn Shāmī, *Ẓafar-nāma*, ed. F. Tauer (Prague, 1937 –1956), vol. 1, p. 136; Sharaf al-Dīn ʿAlī Yazdī, *Ẓafar-nāma*, ed. Mawlawī Muḥammad Ilahdād (Calcutta, 1887–1888), vol. 1, p. 621; ed. M. ʿAbbāsī (Tehran, 1336 /1957), vol. 1, pp. 443–444; ed. A. Urunbayev (Tashkent, 1972), p. 500; see also Mīrkhwānd, *Rawḍat al-ṣafāʾ*, vol. 6, pp. 211–212.
35. See Shāmī, *Ẓafar-nāma*, vol. 1, p. 128; Sharaf al-Dīn ʿAlī, *Ẓafar-nāma*, ed. Ilahdād, vol. 1, p. 577; ed. ʿAbbāsī, vol. 1, pp. 413–414; ed. Urunbayev, pp. 476–477; Mīrkhwānd, *Rawḍat al-ṣafāʾ*, vol. 6, p. 207; and John Malcolm, *The History of Persia* (New ed., London, 1829), vol. 1, pp. 294–295; Persian trans., *Taʾrīkh-i Īrān*, tr. I. Hairat (Bombay, 1323 /1906; reprinted, Tehran, 1362 /1983), vol. 1, p. 232.
36. On Maḥmūd Shabistarī and his mystical poem, see Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn Shīrwānī, *Riyāḍ al-siyāḥa*, ed. A. Ḥāmid Rabbānī (Tehran, 1339/1960), pp. 89–92; Riḍā Qulī Khān Hidāyat, *Riyāḍ al-ʿārifīn*, ed. M. Garakānī (Tehran, 1344 /1965), pp. 221–227; H. Ethé, 'Neupersische Litteratur', in Geiger, ed., *Grundriss der iranischen Philologie*, vol. 2, pp. 299, 301; Browne, *A History of Persian Literature under Tartar Dominion*, pp. 146–150; Arthur J. Arberry, *Classical Persian Literature* (London, 1958), pp. 301–305; Rypka, 'Poets and Prose Writers', p. 603; also his *History of Iranian Literature*, p. 254; Ṣafā, *Taʾrīkh-i adabiyyāt*, vol. 3, part 2, pp. 763–766; B. A. Dar, 'Maḥmūd Shabistari, al-Jīli, and Jāmi', in Sharif, ed., *A History of Muslim Philosophy*, vol. 2, pp. 839–843; L. Lewisohn, *Beyond Faith and Infidelity: The Sufi Poetry and Teachings of Maḥmūd Shabistarī* (Richmond, Surrey, 1995); and J. T. P. de Bruijn, 'Maḥmūd Shabistarī', *EI2*, vol. 6, pp. 72–73. The first complete edition of the *Gulshan-i rāz* with a versified German translation was prepared by J. von Hammer-Purgstall under the title of *Rosenflor des Geheimnisses* (Pesth–Leipzig, 1838), and subsequently Edward H. Whinfield (1836–1922) produced a critical edition of the Persian text of the poem with a prose English version entitled *Gulshan i Raz: The Mystic Rose Garden* (London, 1880). Meanwhile, the text of the *Gulshan-i rāz* was lithographed in Bombay in 1280/1863, and elsewhere. The text of this poem also appears at the end of the edition of its commentary by Muḥammad Lāhījī, *Mafātīḥ al-iʿjāz fī sharḥ-i gulshan-i rāz*, ed. K. Samīʿī (Tehran, 1337 /1958), pp. 723–771.
37. This anonymous Nizārī commentary entitled *Baʿḍī az taʾwīlāt-i gulshan-i rāz* has been edited and translated into French with commentaries by H. Corbin in his *Trilogie Ismaélienne*, text pp. 131–161, translation pp. 1–174. See also W. Ivanow, 'An Ismaili Interpretation of the Gulshani Raz', *JBBRAS*, NS, 8 (1932), pp. 69–78, describing the work on the basis of a single manuscript transcribed in 1312/1895 and subsequently used by Corbin for preparing his edition; Ivanow, *Guide*, p. 99; also his *Ismaili Literature*, p. 164; Bertel's and Bakoev, *Alphabetic Catalogue*, p. 83; and Poonawala, *Bio*, pp. 274, 351.
38. See Khayrkhwāh, *Faṣl*, p. 13; tr. Ivanow, p. 29; Fidāʾī, *Hidāyat al-muʾminīn*, pp. 113–116, 138; Ivanow, 'Ismailitskie rukopisi', pp. 379–384; also his *Guide*, pp. 97, 104–105,

118–119; and his *Ismaili Literature*, pp. 129–131, 155, 164, 185; and his introduction to his edition of the *Chirāgh-nāma*, a Sufi poem preserved in Badakhshan, published in *Revue Iranienne d'Anthropologie*, 3 (1338 /1959), English pp. 13–17, Persian pp. 53–70.

39. See M. Molé's introduction to his edition of Nasafī's *Kitāb al-insān al-kāmil* (Tehran–Paris, 1962), especially pp. 20–27, 34–36; Semenov, 'Opisanie ismailitskikh rukopisey', pp. 2187–2188; Ivanow, *Guide*, p. 99; Bertel's and Bakoev, *Alphabetic Catalogue*, pp. 63–64, 81–82; and Daftary, *Ismaili Literature*, p. 166. Nasafī's *Zubdat al-ḥaqāʾiq*, lithographed in Tehran in 1320/1902–1903, has been edited, on the basis of copies preserved in Badakhshan, in *Panj risāla dar bayān-i āfāq va anfus*, ed. Bertel's, pp. 91–207.
40. Fidāʾī, *Hidāyat al-muʾminīn*, p. 107; Ghālib, *Aʿlām*, pp. 505–507; and Ivanow, *Guide*, p. 118.
41. On Ḥaydar Āmulī's thought and the relationship between Shīʿism and Sufism in general, see al-Shūshtarī, *Majālis al-muʾminīn*, vol. 2, pp. 51–54; Corbin, *Histoire*, pp. 47ff., 56, 70–71, 88ff., 98, 141, 300; and his *En Islam Iranien*, vol. 1, pp. 74–85, and vol. 3, pp. 149–213; Kāmil M. al-Shaybī, *Tashayyuʿ va taṣawwuf*, tr. ʿAlī Riḍā Dh. Qaraguzlū (Tehran 1359 /1980), pp. 64–71, 112–125, being a translation of al-Shaybī's *al-Fikr al-Shīʿa wa'l-nazaʿāt al-ṣūfiyya* (Baghdad, 1386 /1966); J. van Ess, 'Ḥaydar-i Āmulī', *EI2*, vol. 12, Supplement, pp. 363–365; and E. Kohlberg, 'Āmolī', *EIR*, vol. 1, pp. 983–985, where further sources are cited. See also S. H. Nasr, 'Le Shîʿisme et le Soufisme', in Fahd, ed., *Le Shîʿisme Imâmite*, pp. 215–233; his *Sufi Essays* (London, 1972), pp. 104–120; and also his *Ideals*, pp. 115–140.
42. See, for instance, Ḥaydar Āmulī, *Jāmiʿ al-asrār wa-manbaʿal-anwār*, ed. H. Corbin and O. Yahya, in a collection of Āmulī's treatises entitled *La philosophie Shiʿite* (Tehran–Paris, 1969), pp. 47, 116–117, 216–217, 220–222, 238, 388, 611–615. See also Ḥaydar Āmulī, *Asrār al-sharīʿa wa-aṭwār al-ṭarīqa wa-anwār al-ḥaqīqa*, ed. M. Khvājavī (Tehran, 1982), pp. 5ff., 23ff.
43. On the Ḥurūfīs and the Nuqṭawīs and their doctrines, which have barely been investigated, see the pioneering studies of E. G. Browne, especially his 'Some Notes on the Literature and Doctrines of the Ḥurūfī Sect', *JRAS* (1898), pp. 61–94; 'Further Notes on the Literature of the Hurufis and their Connection with the Bektashi Order of Dervishes', *JRAS* (1907), pp. 533–581, and *A History of Persian Literature under Tartar Dominion*, pp. 365–375, 449–452. Clément Huart (1854 –1926) edited and translated into French a number of Persian Ḥurūfī texts in a collection entitled *Textes Persans relatifs à la secte des Houroûfîs* (Leiden–London, 1909), also containing a study on the Ḥurūfī religion by Rizā Tevfīq, pp. 219–313. See also *Dabistān-i madhāhib*, vol. 1, pp. 273–278; English trans., *The Dabistān or School of Manners*, tr. D. Shea and A. Troyer (Washington–London, 1901), pp. 337–344; John K. Birge, *The Bektashi Order of Dervishes* (London, 1937), pp. 58–62, 148–158, 281–282; Ṣādiq Kiyā, *Nuqṭawiyān yā Pasīkhāniyān* (Tehran, 1320 /1941); H. Ritter, 'Studien zur Geschichte der islamischen Frömmigkeit, II: Die Anfänge der Ḥurūfīsekte', *Oriens*, 7 (1954), pp. 1–54; Naṣr Allāh Falsafī, *Zindagānī-yi Shāh ʿAbbās-i avval* (Tehran, 1334 –1352/1955–1973), vol. 3, pp. 40–51; Nūr al-Dīn Mudarrisī Chahārdihī, *Sayrī dar taṣawwuf* (Tehran, 1359 /1980), pp. 144–151; S. Amir Arjomand, *The Shadow of God and the Hidden Imam* (Chicago, 1984), pp. 71–74, 198–199; B. Scarcia Amoretti, 'Religion in the Timurid

and Safavid Periods', in *The Cambridge History of Iran*: Volume 6, *The Timurid and Safavid Periods*, ed. P. Jackson and L. Lockhart (Cambridge, 1986), pp. 623–625, 644–646; A. Amanat, 'The Nuqṭawī Movement of Maḥmūd Pisīkhānī and his Persian Cycle of Mystical-Materialism', in *MIHT*, pp. 281–297; K. Babayan, *Mystics, Monarchs, and Messiahs: Cultural Landscapes of Early Modern Iran* (Cambridge, MA, 2002), pp. 57–108; H. T. Norris, 'The Ḥurūfī Legacy of Faḍlullāh of Astarābād', in L. Lewisohn, ed., *The Heritage of Sufism*: Volume II, *The Legacy of Medieval Persian Sufism (1150–1500)* (Oxford, 1999), pp. 87–97; Ivanow, *Ismaili Literature*, pp. 12–13, 188–192; Cl. Huart, 'Ḥurūfī', *SEI*, pp. 141–142; A. Bausani, 'Ḥurūfiyya', *EI2*, vol. 3, pp. 600–601; H. Algar, 'Horufism', *EIR*, vol. 12, pp. 483–490, with an extensive bibliography, and his 'Nuḳtawiyya', *EI2*, vol. 8, pp. 114–117; and S. Bashir, *Fazlallah Astarabadi and the Hurufis* (Oxford, 2005).

44. Iskandar Beg Munshī, *ʿĀlamārā*, vol. 1, pp. 473–477; Hidāyat, *Rawḍat al-ṣafā-yi Nāṣirī*, vol. 8, pp. 273–276; Kiyā, *Nuqṭawiyān*, pp. 37–45; and Falsafī, *Zindagānī*, vol. 2, pp. 338–344.
45. See *Dabistān-i madhāhib*, vol. 1, pp. 298–299; Shāh Nawāz Khān, *Maʾāthir al-umarāʾ*, ed. Maulavī ʿAbd al-Raḥīm and Maulavī Mīrzā Ashraf ʿAlī (Calcutta, 1888 –1891), vol. 3, pp. 285–290; English trans., *The Maaṣiru-l-umarā; being Biographies of the Muhammadan and Hindu Officers of the Timurid Sovereigns of India*, tr. H. Beveridge (Calcutta, 1911–1952), vol. 2, pp. 812–816; and Kiyā, *Nuqṭawiyān*, pp. 45–48.
46. Mīrkhwānd, *Rawḍat al-ṣafāʾ*, vol. 6, pp. 691–694; Khwānd Amīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar*, vol. 3, pp. 615–617; al-Shūshtarī, *Majālis al-muʾminīn*, vol. 2, pp. 44–47; and R. M. Savory, 'A 15th-Century Ṣafavid Propagandist at Harāt', in *American Oriental Society, Middle West Branch: Semi-centennial Volume*, ed. D. Sinor (Bloomington, IN, 1969), pp. 189–197.
47. See Amīn Aḥmad Rāzī, *Haft iqlīm*, vol. 2, pp. 431–432; ʿAbd al-Bāqī Nihāwandī, *Maʾāthir-i Raḥīmī*, ed. M. Hidayat Husain (Calcutta, 1910–1931), vol. 3, pp. 1497–1506; Hidāyat, *Riyāḍ al-ʿārifīn*, pp. 275–276; Mīrzā Ḥasan Fasāʾī, *Fārs-nāma-yi Nāṣirī* (Tehran, 1312 –1313/1894–1896), vol. 2, pp. 142–143; Kiyā, *Nuqṭawiyān*, pp. 59–61, 65–68; Falsafī, *Zindagānī*, vol. 3, pp. 44, 45–46; Ivanow, *Guide*, p. 108; also his *Ismaili Literature*, pp. 144–145, 189; Poonawala, *Bio*, pp. 277–278, and his 'Amrī', *EIR*, vol. 1, p. 996.
48. On Anjudān and its Nizārī antiquities, see W. Ivanow, 'Tombs of Some Persian Ismaili Imams', *JBBRAS*, NS, 14 (1938), pp. 52–56; F. Daftary, 'Anjedān', *EIR*, vol. 2, p. 77; and M. Samīʿī, 'Anjidān', *GIE*, vol. 10, pp. 314–315. Ibrāhīm Dihgān (d. 1984) who was a native of Arāk has many details on the geography and history of the area in his *Kārnāma yā du bakhsh-i dīgar az taʾrīkh-i Arāk* (Tehran, 1345 /1966), pp. 9–185.
49. Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh Qājār, *Safar-nāma-yi ʿIrāq-i ʿAjam* (Tehran, 1311 /1893), pp. 44ff.
50. Ghālib, *Taʾrīkh*, pp. 301–303; also his *Aʿlām*, pp. 398–399; Tāmir, *al-Imāma*, p. 222; and Sherali Alidina's genealogical chart in Kassim Ali, *Ever Living Guide*.
51. The earliest lists of the Qāsim-Shāhī Nizārī imams of the Anjudān period are contained in Abū Isḥāq, *Haft bāb*, text p. 24, and in Khayrkhwāh, *Kalām-i pīr*, text p. 51; Khayrkhwāh's list has been continued for several more generations by later scribes. The versified list given in the *Qaṣīda-yi dhurriyya* composed by ʿAlī Qulī Raqqāmī Khurāsānī (Dizbādī), ed. Semenov in 'Ismailitskaya oda', pp. 8–13, is extended down to the forty-eighth imam, Sulṭān Muḥammad Shāh, Aga Khan III, probably by Fidāʾī

Khurāsānī. In some manuscripts, Raqqāmī's father Khākī Khurāsānī is named as the original composer of this poem. The imams are listed also in Shihāb al-Dīn Shāh, *Khiṭābāt*, pp. 42–43, 45. See also Ivanow, 'Ismailitica', pp. 67, 69; Mujtaba Ali, *Origin of the Khojāhs*, pp. 54–58; Hollister, *Shiʿa*, p. 332; Ghālib, *Taʾrīkh*, table 4 at the end of the book; also his *Aʿlām*, table 4; Tāmir, *al-Imāma*, pp. 159–161, 178–179; and Nanji, *Nizārī Tradition*, pp. 141–142. The official list of the imams currently circulating amongst the Qāsim-Shāhī Nizārīs is cited, for instance, in Sherali Alidina's genealogical chart in Kassim Ali, *Ever Living Guide*, published by the former Ismailia Association Pakistan, Karachi, reproduced in Poonawala, *Bio*, pp. 372–373, and it is also recited at the end of the daily prayers by the modern-day Nizārīs. Brief biographical notices on the imams of the Anjudān period after Mustanṣir bi'llāh II, with few reliable details, are given in Ghālib, *Taʾrīkh*, pp. 304–319; also his *Aʿlām*, pp. 285–286, 332–335, 412–413, 491–492, 508–509, 575–576; and Tāmir, *al-Imāma*, pp. 222–225. Fidāʾī, *Hidāyat al-muʾminīn*, pp. 133–140, mainly praises the imams without supplying particular biographical details.

52. Hodgson, *Venture of Islam*, vol. 2, pp. 493ff.
53. Cl. Cahen, 'Le problème du Shîʿisme dans l'Asie Mineure turque préottomane', in Fahd, ed., *Le Shîʿisme Imâmite*, pp. 118ff.
54. On the spread of Shīʿism through the Sufi orders in pre-Ṣafawid Persia, and the activities of certain Shīʿī-related movements of social protest during this period, see al-Shaybī, *Tashayyuʿ va taṣawwuf*, pp. 155–340; Ilya P. Petrushevsky, *Islam in Iran*, tr. H. Evans (London, 1985), pp. 302–326; Hodgson, *Venture of Islam*, vol. 2, pp. 455ff., 490–500; Michel M. Mazzaoui, *The Origins of the Ṣafawids*: *Šīʿism, Ṣūfism, and the Ġulāt* (Wiesbaden, 1972), pp. 22ff., 37–40, 41ff., 63–71, 83–85; Arjomand, *Shadow of God*, pp. 66–84; and Scarcia Amoretti, 'Religion in the Timurid and Safavid Periods', pp. 610–634.
55. On Muḥammad Nūrbakhsh and the Nūrbakhshī Sufi order, see al-Shūshtarī, *Majālis al-muʾminīn*, vol. 2, pp. 143–156; Muḥammad Maʿṣūm Shīrāzī, better known under his Sufi name of Maʿṣūm ʿAlī Shāh, *Ṭarāʾiq al-ḥaqāʾiq*, ed. Muḥammad Jaʿfar Maḥjūb (Tehran, 1339–1345/1960–1966), vol. 2, pp. 319–322, 334ff., and vol. 3, pp. 127–130, an important work on the Persian Sufi orders and their leaders written by a member of a branch of the Niʿmat Allāhī order; and J. Ṣadaqiyānlū, *Taḥqīq dar aḥvāl va āthār-i Sayyid Muḥammad Nūrbakhsh Uvaysī Quhistānī* (Tehran, 1351 /1972), containing some writings ascribed to Nūrbakhsh. See also the important studies of M. Molé, including his 'Les Kubrawiya entre Sunnisme et Shiisme aux huitième et neuvième siècles de l'hégire', *REI*, 29 (1961), pp. 61–142, and *Les mystiques Musulmans* (Paris, 1965), pp. 99–122; ʿAbd al-Ḥusayn Zarrīnkūb, *Dunbāla-yi justijū dar taṣawwuf-i Īrān* (Tehran, 1362 /1983), pp. 159–188; R. Gramlich, *Die schiitischen Derwischorden Persiens* (Wiesbaden, 1965–1981), vol. 1, pp. 13–26; J. Spencer Trimingham, *The Sufi Orders in Islam* (Oxford, 1971), pp. 55–58, 99ff.; M. I. Waley, 'Najm al-Dīn Kubrā and the Central Asian School of Sufism (The Kubrawiyyah)', in S. H. Nasr, ed., *Islamic Spirituality: Manifestations* (London, 1991), pp. 80–104; and H. Algar, 'Nūrbakhshiyya', *EI2*, vol. 8, pp. 134–136.
56. On Shāh Niʿmat Allāh Walī and his *ṭarīqa*, see J. Aubin, ed., *Matériaux pour la biographie de Shāh Niʿmatullāh Walī Kermānī* (Tehran–Paris, 1956), containing the earliest biographies of this Sufi master; Dawlatshāh, *Tadhkirat al-shuʿarāʾ*, pp. 333–336;

al-Shūshtarī, *Majālis al-muʾminīn*, vol. 2, pp. 47–50; Shīrwānī, *Riyāḍ al-siyāḥa*, pp. 583–602; Maʿṣūm ʿAlī Shāh, *Ṭarāʾiq al-ḥaqāʾiq*, vol. 2, pp. 325–334, and vol. 3, pp. 1–48, 84–104; and Javād Nūrbakhsh, *Zindagī va āthār-i Shāh Niʿmat Allāh Valī Kirmānī* (Tehran, 1337 /1958), and his 'Niʿmatullāhī', in Nasr, ed., *Islamic Spirituality: Manifestations*, pp. 144–161, written by the present master of one of the Niʿmat Allāhī branches. See also Browne, *A History of Persian Literature under Tartar Dominion*, pp. 463–473; N. Pourjavady and Peter L. Wilson, *Kings of Love: The Poetry and History of the Niʿmatullāhī Sufi Order* (Tehran, 1978), especially pp. 13–92; Zarrīnkūb, *Dunbāla*, pp. 189–200; Arjomand, *Shadow of God*, pp. 116–118; Gramlich, *Die schiitischen Derwischorden*, vol. 1, pp. 27ff.; Trimingham, *Sufi Orders*, pp. 101–102; T. Graham, 'Shāh Niʿmatullāh Walī: Founder of the Niʿmatullāhī Sufi Order' in Lewisohn, ed., *Heritage of Sufism*, vol. 2, pp. 173–190; and H. Algar, 'Niʿmat-Allāhiyyaʾ, *EI2*, vol. 8, pp. 44–48.

57. Shāh Niʿmat Allāh has referred to his genealogy in one of his *risāla*s which remains unpublished, and in a poem; see his *Kulliyyāt-i dīwān*, ed. M. ʿIlmī (Tehran, 1333/1954), pp. 585–586. This poem and the genealogy derived from it are reproduced in near-contemporary biographies written by ʿAbd al-Razzāq Kirmānī (d. after 911/1505) and ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Wāʿiẓī (d. after 839/1436), edited by Aubin in *Matériaux*, pp. 21–23, 274–276, respectively. See also Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn Shīrwānī, *Bustān al-siyāḥa* (Tehran, 1310 /1893), p. 526; also his *Riyāḍ al-siyāḥa*, p. 583; Maʿṣūm ʿAlī Shāh, *Ṭarāʾiq al-ḥaqāʾiq*, vol. 3, pp. 1–2; and Hidāyat, *Riyāḍ al-ʿārifīn*, p. 232.
58. See Bertel's and Bakoev, *Alphabetic Catalogue*, pp. 32, 34, 61–62, and N. Pourjavady and P. L. Wilson, 'Ismāʿīlīs and Niʿmatullāhīs', *Studia Islamica*, 41 (1975), pp. 115–116.
59. See Muḥammad Mufīd Yazdī, *Jāmiʿ-i Mufīdī*, in Aubin, ed., *Matériaux*, pp. 199–268; N. Pourjavady and P. L. Wilson, 'The Descendants of Shāh Niʿmatullāh Walī', *Islamic Culture*, 48 (1974), pp. 49–57; and F. Daftary, 'Halîllullâh-i Kirmânî', *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfi Islām Ansiklopedisi* (Istanbul, 1997), vol. 15, pp. 332–333.
60. On the Ṣafawī Sufi order and the background to the establishment of Ṣafawid rule in Persia, see Mazzaoui, *Origins of the Ṣafawids*, pp. 41–63, 71–82; R. Savory, *Iran under the Ṣafavids* (Cambridge, 1980), pp. 1–26; H. R. Roemer, 'The Safavid Period', in *Cambridge History of Iran*, vol. 6, pp. 189–212; and Ghulām Sarwar, *History of Shāh Ismāʿīl Ṣafawī* (Aligarh, 1939), pp. 3–29; all four citing the primary sources on the subject. See also Babayan, *Mystics, Monarchs, and Messiahs*, pp. 3–7, 121–196.
61. See Fidāʾī, *Hidāyat al-muʾminīn*, pp. 133, 136, 140.
62. Mustanṣir bi'llāh (II), *Pandiyāt-i javānmardī*, ed. and tr. W. Ivanow (Leiden, 1953). On this work, see Hollister, *Shiʿa*, pp. 362, 383, 407; Nanji, *Nizārī Tradition*, pp. 27, 65, 80–81, 85–86, 89; Ivanow, *Guide*, pp. 106–107; also his *Ismaili Literature*, pp. 139–140; Poonawala, *Bio*, p. 268; and F. Daftary, 'Pandiyāt-i javānmardī', *EWI*, vol. 5, pp. 768–769. See also M. Boivin, 'A Persian Treatise for the Ismāʿīlī Shīʿīs of India: Introduction to the *Pandiyāt-i Jawānmardī* (end of XVth C.)', in M. Alam et al., eds., *The Evolution of Medieval Indian Culture: The Indo-Persian Context* (New Delhi, 2000), pp. 117–128.
63. See *Pandiyāt*, text pp. 47, 56, translation pp. 29, 35.
64. Bertel's and Bakoev, *Alphabetic Catalogue*, pp. 36–37, and Ivanow's remarks in *Pandiyāt*, introduction p. 17.

65. Mustanṣir bi'llāh, *Pandiyāt*, text pp. 31, 57, 87, 90, 91, 99, 101, translation pp. 19, 36, 54, 55, 56, 61, 62.
66. Ibid., text pp. 11, 26, 27, 32, 39, 65, 86 and elsewhere, translation pp. 7, 17, 20, 24, 40, 53.
67. Ibid., text pp. 2–3, translation p. 2.
68. Ibid., text pp. 3, 11, 13, 14, 16, 21, 25, 27, 32, 36, 37, 39, 41, 42, 45, 46–47, 48–49, 50, 53, 57–58, 60, 62, 65–66, 67, 69, 70–71, 77, 80, 82, 86, 87, 93, 98, 99, 100–102, translation pp. 2, 7, 8, 9, 10, 13, 16, 17, 20, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 28–29, 30–31, 33, 36, 38, 39, 41, 42, 43, 44, 48, 50, 51, 53, 54, 57–58, 60, 61, 62–63.
69. Ibid., text pp. 34–36, 54–55, translation pp. 21–22, 34.
70. Ibid., text pp. 2, 11, 17, 21, 34, 60, 63–64, 70, 78, 82, 88–89, translation pp. 2, 8, 11, 13, 21, 37, 39, 43–44, 48–49, 51, 54–55.
71. See, for instance, Khayrkhwāh's *Taṣnīfāt*, p. 108, and *Faṣl dar bayān-i shinākht-i imām*, p. 33; English trans., *On the Recognition of the Imam*, tr. Ivanow, pp. 49–50; the latter treatise emphasizes the paramount importance of recognizing the sole legitimate imam of the time and his chief representative or *ḥujja*.
72. Ivanow, *Ismaili Literature*, pp. 140–141, and Poonawala, *Bio*, p. 269.
73. This date is mentioned by Khayrkhwāh in one of his poems; see his *Taṣnīfāt*, p. 120.
74. Khayrkhwāh, *Risāla*, in his *Taṣnīfāt*, pp. 1–75.
75. Khayrkhwāh, *Risāla*, in his *Taṣnīfāt*, pp. 35ff.
76. Ibid., p. 51.
77. Ibid., pp. 45–46, 55.
78. Ibid., pp. 46ff.
79. Ibid., pp. 34, 50.
80. Khayrkhwāh emphasizes such internal quarrels throughout his *Risāla* and elsewhere; see, for instance, his *Qiṭaʿāt*, in his *Taṣnīfāt*, pp. 94ff.
81. Fidā'ī, *Hidāyat al-mu'minīn*, p. 135.
82. Qāḍī Aḥmad Tatawī et al., *Ta'rīkh-i alfī*, ed. S. ʿAlī Āl-i Dāvūd (Tehran, 1378 /1999), pp. 725–726. The relevant passage from the *Ta'rīkh-i alfī* is cited also in Kiyā, *Nuqṭawiyān*, pp. 36–37, and in Falsafī, *Zindagāni-yi Shāh ʿAbbās*, vol. 3, p. 44. The part of the *Ta'rīkh-i alfī* containing this section was written by Jaʿfar Beg Āṣaf Khān (d. 1021/1612).
83. Qāḍī Aḥmad al-Qummī, *Khulāṣat al-tawārīkh*, ed. Iḥsān Ishrāqī (Tehran, 1359/1980), vol. 1, pp. 582–584; see also Hidāyat, *Rawḍat al-ṣafā-yi Nāṣirī*, vol. 8, pp. 145–146, and Dihgān, *Kār-nāma*, pp. 50–52.
84. Khayrkhwāh, *Risāla*, in his *Taṣnīfāt*, p. 52. Shihāb al-Dīn Shāh, *Khiṭābāt*, pp. 42–43, relates that the thirty-fourth imam, ʿAbbās Shāh, too, was obliged to live for some time away from his ancestral home, hence his epithet of Gharīb Mīrzā. On the persecutionary policies of the Ṣafawids, see Arjomand, *Shadow of God*, pp. 109–121, 160–187; K. Babayan, 'Sufis, Dervishes and Mullas: The Controversy over Spiritual and Temporal Domination in Seventeenth-Century Iran', in Charles Melville, ed., *Safavid Persia* (London, 1996), pp. 117–138; and T. Graham, 'The Niʿmatullāhī Order under Safavid Suppression and in Indian Exile', in L. Lewisohn and D. Morgan, ed., *The Heritage of Sufism*: Volume III, *Late Classical Persianate Sufism (1501–1750)* (Oxford, 1999), pp. 165–200.

85. This is the latest date mentioned in his poems; see Khākī Khurāsānī, *Dīwān*, p. 19. In 1985, the author found access at Dizbād to what seemed to be a complete collection of Khākī's poetical works. Perusing the manuscript, transcribed by Sayyid Badakhshānī and at the time owned by ʿAbd al-Sulṭān b. Mullā ʿAbbās, a descendant of Khākī Khurāsānī, the author did not come across any date later than 1056/1646.
86. Khākī Khurāsānī, *Dīwān*, pp. 10, 17, 67, 95, 104.
87. Ibid., pp. 10, 12, 17, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 31, 54, 66, 76, 101.
88. Ibid., pp. 9, 68–69.
89. Fidāʾī, *Hidāyat al-muʾminīn*, pp. 136–139.
90. For references to the Qāsim-Shāhī *daʿwa* organization during the Anjudān period, see *Pandiyāt-i javānmardī*, text pp. 41ff., 62ff., translation pp. 25ff., 39ff.; Abū Isḥāq, *Haft bāb*, text pp. 49–50, 59, translation pp. 49–50, 59; Khayrkhwāh, *Kalām-i pīr*, text pp. 44, 76–77, 93–94, 101, 110, translation pp. 37, 72, 88, 97, 106; also his *Taṣnīfāt*, pp. 3, 23, 58, 113ff., enumerating the hierarchy in a poem, and his *Faṣl*, pp. 1, 7, 32; tr. Ivanow, pp. 17, 24, 48–49; see also Khākī Khurāsānī, *Dīwān*, pp. 47, 70, 76, 79, 119.
91. Abū Isḥāq, *Haft bāb*, text pp. 11–12, 57, 60, 62, translation pp. 10–12, 57, 60, 63; Khayrkhwāh, *Kalām-i pīr*, text pp. 18–19, 98, 102, translation pp. 12–13, 94–95, 98; also his *Faṣl*, p. 28; tr. Ivanow, p. 43; and Khākī Khurāsānī, *Dīwān*, pp. 91, 125–126.
92. Abū Isḥāq, *Haft bāb*, text pp. 37, 67, translation pp. 37–38, 67; Khayrkhwāh, *Kalām-i pīr*, text pp. 72–73, 86, 104, 107, 114–116, translation pp. 67–69, 80, 100, 103, 111–112; and Khākī Khurāsānī, *Dīwān*, pp. 44–45, 55, 56, 58, 62, 103, 109, 118.
93. Abū Isḥāq, *Haft bāb*, text pp. 19–20, 67, translation pp. 19–20, 67–68, and Khayrkhwāh, *Kalām-i pīr*, text p. 46, translation pp. 38–39. See also Khākī Khurāsānī, *Dīwān*, pp. 12, 14, 19, 33, 49, 61, 64, 66, 68, 69, 75, 106, 115–117, 124–125.
94. Abū Isḥāq, *Haft bāb*, text pp. 53, 58, translation pp. 53–54, 58; Khayrkhwāh, *Kalām-i pīr*, text pp. 95–96, 100, translation pp. 91, 96, and also his *Taṣnīfāt*, pp. 18ff.
95. See Khayrkhwāh's *Taṣnīfāt*, pp. 1–35, and his *Faṣl*, pp. 11–32; tr. Ivanow, pp. 28–48.
96. Abū Isḥāq, *Haft bāb*, text pp. 33, 50, translation pp. 33, 50; Khayrkhwāh, *Kalām-i pīr*, text pp. 58, 94, translation pp. 52, 88; also his *Faṣl*, p. 9; tr. Ivanow, pp. 25–26; and Khākī Khurāsānī, *Dīwān*, pp. 72, 84.
97. Khayrkhwāh, *Taṣnīfāt*, pp. 20, 26, 52, 77, 78, 82, 89–90, 100, 102, 116, 120; his *Faṣl*, pp. 11, 13, 21–22; tr. Ivanow, pp. 28, 30, 36–37; and Khākī Khurāsānī, *Dīwān*, p. 18.
98. *Pandiyāt*, text pp. 42–43, 44–45, 64–65, translation pp. 26, 27–28, 40; Abū Isḥāq, *Haft bāb*, text pp. 17–18, 43, 50, 64–65, translation pp. 17–18, 43–44, 50, 64–65; Khayrkhwāh, *Kalām-i pīr*, text pp. 26, 67–68, 111–112, 116, translation pp. 21, 63–64, 107–108, 112; also his *Taṣnīfāt*, pp. 3ff., 20, 23–24, 26, 53, 86, 118, 127ff.; also his *Faṣl*, pp. 1–2, 6, 12, 21, 23; tr. Ivanow, pp. 18–19, 22, 29, 36, 38; and Khākī Khurāsānī, *Dīwān*, pp. 84, 85.
99. Khayrkhwāh, *Taṣnīfāt*, pp. 19, 92–93, and also his *Faṣl*, pp. 28, 32; tr. Ivanow, pp. 43, 48.
100. Abū Isḥāq, *Haft bāb*, text p. 43, translation pp. 43–44; Khayrkhwāh, *Kalām-i pīr*, text pp. 67–68, translation pp. 63–64, and also his *Faṣl*, pp. 2, 4–5; tr. Ivanow, pp. 18–19, 20–21.

101. On these categories and their particular characteristics, see Abū Isḥāq, *Haft bāb*, text pp. 21–22, 48, translation pp. 20–21, 48; Khayrkhwāh, *Kalām-i pīr*, text pp. 48, 92, 106ff., translation pp. 40–41, 86–87, 103ff.; his *Taṣnīfāt*, pp. 2–3, 18, 22, 86, 89–90, 92–93, 116ff.; also his *Faṣl*, pp. 6–7, 9, 11ff., 29–31, 32–36; tr. Ivanow, pp. 22–23, 25–26, 28ff., 45–46, 48–52; and Khākī Khurāsānī, *Dīwān*, pp. 84–85.
102. *Pandiyāt*, text pp. 48ff., 67, 81–82, 84, 96–97, 98–100, translation pp. 30ff., 42, 51, 52, 59–60, 61, also attacking those Shīʿīs, notably the Twelvers, who blindly followed their *ʿulamāʾ*. See also Khayrkhwāh, *Taṣnīfāt*, pp. 68, 91, and his *Faṣl*, pp. 32–33; tr. Ivanow, p. 49.
103. The best modern discussion of the spread of the Nizārī *daʿwa* on the Indian subcontinent during the early post-Alamūt and Anjudān periods may be found in Nanji, *Nizārī Tradition*, pp. 65–96, based on the *ginān* literature. The Khoja traditions are reflected also in the account of Misra, *Muslim Communities in Gujarat*, pp. 10–12, 54–65. For earlier discussions on the subject, see W. Ivanow, 'Satpanth', in Ivanow, ed., *Collectanea*, pp. 1–19; Ali, *Origin of the Khojāhs*, pp. 39–44; and Hollister, *Shiʿa*, pp. 339–362. See also Enthoven, *Tribes and Castes of Bombay*, vol. 2, pp. 217–230; A. Yusuf Ali, 'Khōdja', *EI*, vol. 2, pp. 960–962; W. Ivanow, 'Khōdja', *SEI*, pp. 256–257; and W. Madelung, 'Khōdja', *EI2*, vol. 5, pp. 25–27.
104. The Indian Nizārīs have preserved genealogies (*shajara*s) and lists of their *pīr*s; see, for instance, ʿAlī Muḥammad Khān, *Mirat-i Ahmadi*, Persian text, Supplement, p. 123; S. Nanjiani, *Khoja Vrattant* (Ahmedabad, 1892), pp. 258–262; S. Pīrzāda Dargāhvālā, *Tawārīkh-i pīr* (Navsari, 1914–1935), vol. 2, pp. 23–24, 265–272; Ivanow, 'Ismailitica', pp. 66–67; Ali, *Origin of the Khojāhs*, pp. 57–59; and Nanji, *Nizārī Tradition*, pp. 139–141.
105. Traditions concerning the initial phase of the Nizārī *daʿwa* in India are summarized in the *Jannatpuri (City of Paradise)*, a *ginān* attributed to Imām Shāh; this and other *ginān*s are translated into English in V. N. Hooda, 'Some Specimens of Satpanth Literature', in Ivanow, ed., *Collectanea*, especially pp. 130ff. See also Shackle and Moir, *Ismaili Hymns*, pp. 124–141.
106. For the relevant poems naming Qāsim Shāh, included in the so-called *Garbī ginān*s attributed to Pīr Shams al-Dīn, see Hooda, 'Some Specimens', pp. 60, 68, 70, 73, 84.
107. Pīrzāda, *Tawārīkh-i pīr*, vol. 2, pp. 83–89, and Alimohamed J. Chunara, *Nūr-i mubīn* (Bombay, 1937), pp. 495ff. (in Urdu).
108. Hooda, 'Some Specimens', pp. 106, 114, 131. According to Shihāb al-Dīn Shāh, *Khiṭābāt*, pp. 19–20, 42, Ṣadr al-Dīn was a descendant of Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl and he was sent to India from Sabzawār, Khurāsān, by Islām Shāh.
109. See Hamdani, *Ismāʿīlī Daʿwa in Northern India*, pp. 14–16, and Elliot and Dowson, *History of India*, vol. 1, pp. 483–497.
110. ʿAbd al-Ḥaqq Dihlawī, *Akhbār al-akhyār* (Delhi, 1891), pp. 204–205.
111. See W. Ivanow, 'The Sect of Imam Shah in Gujrat', *JBBRAS*, NS, 12 (1936), pp. 34, 50–51. See also Pīrzāda, *Tawārīkh-i pīr*, vol. 2, pp. 99–101.
112. John A. Subhan, *Sufism, its Saints and Shrines* (Revised ed., Lucknow, 1960), p. 359.
113. Ali S. Asani, *The Būjh Nirañjan: An Ismaili Mystical Poem* (Cambridge, MA, 1991).
114. The most detailed account of Imām Shāh and the group named after him is contained in the already-noted *Manāzil al-aqṭāb*, written in Persian, which provides the main source for Ivanow's detailed study of the subject in his 'Sect of Imam Shah in

Gujrat', pp. 19–70. See also Pīrzāda, *Tawārīkh-i pīr*, vol. 2, pp. 103–108, 121–126; Nanjiani, *Khoja Vrattant*, pp. 215–226; Chunara, *Nūr-i mubīn*, pp. 508ff., Abdul Hussain Nanjee, 'Syed Imamshah', in *Great Ismaili Heroes*, pp. 93–94; W. Ivanow, 'Imām-Shāh', *SEI*, p. 167; and A. A. A. Fyzee, 'Imām Shāh', *EI2*, vol. 3, p. 1163.

115. The account of this visit is related in the *Jannatpuri*, a *ginān* attributed to Imām Shāh, which is translated in Hooda, 'Some Specimens', pp. 122–137. The original text of this *ginān*, in Gujarātī written in Khōjkī script, was published in Bombay in 1905.
116. Khayrkhwāh, *Risāla*, in his *Taṣnīfāt*, pp. 54, 60–61.
117. On this Imām-Shāhī revolt, see ʿAlī Muḥammad Khān, *Mirat-i Ahmadi*, Persian text, vol. 1, pp. 320–324; tr. Lokhandwala, pp. 286–289, and Ivanow, 'Sect of Imam Shah in Gujrat', pp. 52–54. See also Enthoven, *Tribes and Castes of Bombay*, vol. 2, pp. 150–157.
118. On different Mōmna groups and their history, see M. Nūrmuḥammad, *Ismāʿīlī Momin Komno Ithihas* (Bombay, 1936); M. Ibrāhīm, *Mashāyikh Chishti-nu Jiwan-charita* (Bombay, 1372/1953); Enthoven, *Tribes and Castes of Bombay*, vol. 2, pp. 155–157, and vol. 3, pp. 62–64; and Misra, *Muslim Communities*, pp. 103–107.
119. Nanji, *Nizārī Tradition*, p. 93. See also Misra, *Muslim Communities*, pp. 64–65.
120. See Ivanow, 'Satpanth', pp. 19–28, and Kassam, *Songs of Wisdom*, pp. 9–26, where the author sums up her own impressions of modern Satpanth studies. See also Ali S. Asani, 'The Khojahs of South Asia: Defining a Space of their Own', *Cultural Dynamics*, 13 (2001), pp. 155–168, and his 'Creating Tradition through Devotional Songs and Communal Script: The Khojah Ismaʿilis of South Asia', in R. Eaton, ed., *India's Islamic Traditions 711–1750: Themes in Indian History* (New Delhi, 2003), pp. 285–310.
121. See Kassam, *Songs of Wisdom*, pp. 62–74.
122. Nanji, *Nizārī Tradition*, pp. 99–130, and also his 'Towards a Hermeneutic of Qurʾānic and Other Narratives in Ismaʿili Thought', in Richard C. Martin, ed., *Approaches to Islam in Religious Studies* (Tucson, AZ, 1985), pp. 164–173. See also the following works by Françoise Mallison: 'Hinduism as Seen by the Nizārī Ismāʿīlī Missionaries of Western India: The Evidence of the *Ginān*', in Günther D. Sontheimer and H. Kulke, ed., *Hinduism Reconsidered* (New Delhi, 1989), pp. 93–103; 'La secte Ismaélienne de Nizārī ou Satpanthī en Inde. Hétérodoxie Hindoue ou Musulmane?', in S. Bouez, ed., *Ascèse et renoncement en Inde ou la solitude bien-ordonnée* (Paris, 1992), pp. 105–113; 'Resistant Ginān̄s and the Quest for an Ismaili and Islamic Identity among the Khojas' in V. Dalmia et al., ed., *Charisma and Canon: Essays on the Religious History of the Indian Subcontinent* (New Delhi, 2001), pp. 360–375; and Dominique-Sila Khan, 'Diverting the Ganges: The Nizari Ismaili Model of Conversion in South Asia', in R. Robinson and S. Clarkes, ed., *Religious Conversions in India* (Delhi, 2003), pp. 29–53.
123. See Nanji, *Nizārī Tradition*, pp. 144–145. The section on the tenth *Avatāra* contained in the version ascribed to Pīr Ṣadr al-Dīn, which is longer than Shams al-Dīn's version but shorter than Imām Shāh's version, is translated into English in Hooda, 'Some Specimens', pp. 112–115. The entire version ascribed to Imām Shāh and preserved by the Imām-Shāhīs is quoted and translated into English in Gulshan Khakee, 'The Dasa Avatāra of the Satpanthi Ismailis and the Imam Shahis of Indo-Pakistan'

(Ph.D. thesis, Harvard University, 1972), pp. 62–478. For a wide selection of *ginān*s in English translation, see Hooda, 'Some Specimens of Satpanth Literature', in Ivanow, ed., *Collectanea*, pp. 55–137; Shackle and Moir, *Ismaili Hymns*, pp. 62–141; Kassam, *Songs of Wisdom*, pp. 163–170; and Aziz Esmail, *A Scent of Sandalwood: Indo-Ismaili Religious Lyrics (Ginans)*: Volume 1 (Richmond, Surrey, 2002).

124. See the following works of Dominique-Sila Khan: 'L'origine Ismaélienne du culte Hindou de Rāmdeo Pīr', *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*, 210 (1993), pp. 27–47; 'The Kāmaḍ of Rajasthan-Priests of a Forgotten Tradition', *JRAS*, 3rd series, 6 (1996), pp. 29–56; *Conversions and Shifting Identities: Ramdev Pir and the Ismailis in Rajasthan* (New Delhi, 1997), especially pp. 29–168; and her 'Jāmbhā, fondateur de le secte des Biśnoï au Rajasthan: de l'Islam Ismaélien à la dévotion Hindoue', in Mallison, ed., *Constructions hagiographiques dans le monde Indien*, pp. 337–364.

125. See Tāmir, 'Furūʿ al-shajara', pp. 587ff.; also his *al-Imāma*, pp. 200ff. and the sources cited in note 23 above.

126. On the origins and early development of Nizārī Ismāʿīlism in Central Asia, see Mīrzā Sang Muḥammad Badakhshī and Mīrzā Faḍl ʿAlī Beg Surkh Afsar, *Taʾrīkh-i Badakhshān*, ed. A. N. Boldyrev (Leningrad, 1959), pp. 227–253; Qurbān Muḥammad-Zāda and Muḥabbat Shāh-Zāda, *Taʾrīkh-i Badakhshān* (Moscow, 1973), pp. 87–94, and a number of studies by Aleksandr A. Semenov, including his 'Iz oblasti religioznïkh verovaniy shughnanskikh ismailitov', *Mir Islama*, 1 (1912), pp. 523–561, and 'Istoriya Shughnana', *Protokolï Turkestanskogo kruzhka lyubiteley arkheologii* (Tashkent), 21 (1917), pp. 1–24. See also W. Barthold et al., 'Badakhshān', *EI2*, vol. 1, pp. 851–854; V. Minorsky, 'Shughnān', *EI*, vol. 4, pp. 389–391, where the Russian sources are cited; and C. E. Bosworth, 'Shughnān', *EI2*, vol. 9, pp. 495–496.

127. Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥaydar Dūghlāt, *Taʾrīkh-i Rashīdī*, ed. W. M. Thackston (Cambridge, MA, 1996), pp. 185–187, 194; ed. ʿA. Ghaffārī Fard (Tehran, 1383/2004), pp. 346–348, 357–358; English trans., *A History of the Moghuls of Central Asia*, ed. and tr. N. Elias and E. Denison Ross (2nd ed., London, 1898), pp. 217–221, 227; English trans., *Tarikh-i Rashidi: A History of the Khans of Moghulistan*, tr. W. M. Thackston (Cambridge, MA, 1996), pp. 145–146, 152; and W. Barthold, *Guzīda-yi maqālāt-i taḥqīqī*, tr. K. Kishāvarz (Tehran, 1358/1979), pp. 326ff.

128. Firishta, *Taʾrīkh-i Firishta*, ed. J. Briggs (Bombay, 1832), especially vol. 2, pp. 213–231, a later edition (Cawnpore, 1301/1884), vol. 2, pp. 110–118; English trans., *History of the Rise of the Mahomedan Power in India*, tr. J. Briggs (London, 1829), vol. 3, pp. 216ff. John Briggs (1785–1875) omitted the section about Shāh Ṭāhir from his almost complete translation and only the references to Shāh Ṭāhir's diplomatic mediations are contained in the section on Burhān Niẓām Shāh. Earlier, Jonathan Scott (1754–1829) produced a partial English translation of this work entitled *Ferishta's History of Dekkan* (Shrewsbury, 1794), but Scott, too, omitted the section about Shāh Ṭāhir and included, in vol. 1, pp. 363ff., merely references to his diplomatic services. The earliest reference to Shāh Ṭāhir appears in Sām Mīrzā, *Tuḥfa-yi Sāmī*, ed. V. Dastgirdī (Tehran, 1314/1936), p. 29; ed. R. Humāyūn-Farrukh (Tehran, 1347/1968), pp. 43–44, a biographical work on poets written in 957/1550 by one of the Ṣafawid Shāh Ismāʿīl's sons who was a contemporary of Shāh Ṭāhir. Shāh Ṭāhir and his sons are also mentioned in a few works written slightly earlier

than the *Taʾrīkh-i Firishta;* see ʿAbd al-Qādir Badāʾūnī, *Muntakhab al-tawārīkh*, ed. Aḥmad ʿAlī et al. (Calcutta, 1864–1869), vol. 1, pp. 482–488, 490–491; English trans., *Muntakhabu-t-tawārīkh*, tr. George S. A. Ranking and W. H. Lowe (Calcutta, 1884–1898), vol. 1, pp. 624–632, 635–636; ʿAlī b. ʿAzīz Ṭabāṭabā, *Burhān-i maʾāthir* (Ḥaydarābād, 1936), pp. 251–270, 274ff., 281ff., 291, 308, 314, 324–326, 338–339, 361, 381, 433, 448–450, 452–454, 502–503, 505, 525, 557, 584; abridged English trans., *The History of the Niẓām Shāhī Kings of Aḥmadnagar*, tr. Wolseley Haig, in *Indian Antiquary*, 49 (1920), pp. 166–167, 177–188, 197ff., 217ff., and 50 (1921), pp. 1ff., 30, 196, 229–230, 231–232, and 51 (1922), pp. 34–35, 52 (1923), pp. 35, 259; Ṭabāṭabā was in the service of the Niẓām-Shāhs and began to compose his history in 1000/1592 at the request of Burhān Niẓām Shāh II; Amīn Aḥmad Rāzī, *Haft iqlīm*, vol. 3, pp. 203–207; and al-Shūshtarī, *Majālis al-muʾminīn*, vol. 2, pp. 234–240. Later works do not add any details to the accounts of Firishta, Ṭabāṭabā and al-Shūshtarī. See ʿAbd al-Bāqī Nihāwandī, *Maʾāthir-i Raḥīmī*, vol. 2, pp. 413–414; Khāfī Khān, *Muntakhab al-lubāb*, ed. Kabīr al-Dīn Aḥmad et al. (Calcutta, 1860–1925), vol. 3, pp. 162–182; Mīr ʿAbd al-Razzāq, *Bahāristān-i sukhan*, ed. S. Abdul Wahab Bukhari (Madras, 1957), pp. 403–406; Ādhar, *Ātashkada*, Bombay ed., pp. 238–239; Tehran ed., pp. 239–240; Hidāyat, *Riyāḍ al-ʿārifīn*, pp. 160–161; Maʿṣūm ʿAlī Shāh, *Ṭarāʾiq al-ḥaqāʾiq*, vol. 3, pp. 133–150; Shihāb al-Dīn Shāh, *Khiṭābāt*, pp. 40–41; and Fidāʾī, *Hidāyat al-muʾminīn*, pp. 119–132, confusing Shāh Ṭāhir with Muḥammad b. Islām Shāh, the thirty-first Qāsim-Shāhī imam. Of the secondary sources, mention may be made of Ivanow, 'A Forgotten Branch of the Ismailis', pp. 57ff.; also his 'Ṭāhir', *SEI*, p. 560; M. Hidayat Hosain, 'Shāh Ṭāhir of the Deccan', *New Indian Antiquary*, 2 (1939), pp. 460–473; reprinted in S. M. Katre and P. K. Gode, ed., *A Volume of Indian and Iranian Studies Presented to Sir E. Denison Ross* (Bombay, 1939), pp. 147–160; Masoom R. Kazimi, 'Shah Tahir-ul-Hussaini', *Indo-Iranica*, 18 (1965), pp. 41–49; R. Shyam, *The Kingdom of Ahmadnagar* (Delhi, 1966), pp. 63–64, 66, 72–76, 80–83, 84, 87ff., 93–94, 368, 379–380, 392; ʿĀrif Tāmir, 'Ṭāhir Shāh al-Nizārī al-Alamūtī', *al-Dirāsāt al-Adabiyya*, 1 (1959), pp. 83–93; also his *al-Imāma*, pp. 202–208; Ṣafā, *Taʾrīkh-i adabiyyāt*, vol. 5, part 2, pp. 662–670. See also Charles Rieu, *Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts in the British Museum* (London, 1879–1883), vol. 1, pp. 393–396; Storey, *Persian Literature*, vol. 1, pp. 740–741; Poonawala, *Bio*, pp. 271–275; his 'Shāh Ṭāhir', *EI2*, vol. 9, pp. 200–201; and F. Daftary, 'Shāh Ṭāhir and Nizārī Ismaili Disguises', in Lawson, ed., *Reason and Inspiration*, pp. 395–406.

129. See several works by Ivanow: 'An Ismailitic Pedigree', pp. 403–406; 'A Forgotten Branch of the Ismailis', pp. 70–79; *Guide*, pp. 111–112; *Ismaili Literature*, pp. 166–167; and Poonawala, *Bio*, p. 281.
130. See Tāmir, 'Furūʿ al-shajara', pp. 597–598, and also his *al-Imāma*, pp. 208–216.
131. On Nizār II, see Shihāb al-Dīn Shāh, *Khiṭābāt*, p. 43; Fidāʾī, *Hidāyat al-muʾminīn*, pp. 140–141; Tāmir, *al-Imāma*, p. 225; Ghālib, *Taʾrīkh*, pp. 320–322; also his *Aʿlām*, pp. 573–574; Ivanow, 'Tombs of Some Persian Ismaili Imams', pp. 56–59, describing Nizār's mausoleum at Kahak; also his *Ismaili Literature*, p. 148; Hollister, *Shiʿa*, pp. 335–336, based on Ivanow; Pourjavady and Wilson, 'Ismāʿīlīs and Niʿmatullāhīs', pp. 116–117; and Poonawala, *Bio*, pp. 281–282.
132. See Shihāb al-Dīn Shāh, *Khiṭābāt*, p. 43, and Aḥmad ʿAlī Khān Vazīrī, *Jughrāfiyā-yi Kirmān*, ed. Muḥammad I. Bāstānī Pārīzī (Tehran, 1353/1974), pp. 157, 199, an

important historical geography of Kirmān written in 1291/1874 and first published in *Farhang-i Īrān Zamīn*, 14 (1345–1346/1966–1967), pp. 5–286. For some references to Nizārī activities in Kirmān and adjacent regions during the subsequent decades, see Muḥammad Kāẓim Marwī, *ʿĀlamārā-yi Nādirī*, ed. N. D. Miklukho-Maklai (Moscow, 1960–1966), vol. 1, pp. 438, 549ff.; ed. Muḥammad A. Riyāḥī (Tehran, 1364/1985), vol. 1, pp. 283, 356ff.

133. Aḥmad ʿAlī Khān Vazīrī, *Taʾrīkh-i Kirmān*, ed. Muḥammad I. Bāstānī Pārīzī (2nd ed., Tehran, 1352/1973), p. 542.
134. Vazīrī, *Taʾrīkh*, p. 543. The Nizārī sources relate only some legendary and anachronistic details on Imam Ḥasan ʿAlī; see Shihāb al-Dīn Shāh, *Khiṭābāt*, p. 43, stating that Nādir Shāh persecuted this imam and eventually blinded him, a story repeated by Fidāʾī, *Hidāyat al-muʾminīn*, pp. 142–143. See also Tāmir, *al-Imāma*, p. 226; Ghālib, *Taʾrīkh*, pp. 326–328, and his *Aʿlām*, pp. 220–221.
135. See Shihāb al-Dīn Shāh, *Khiṭābāt*, p. 43; Fidāʾī, *Hidāyat al-muʾminīn*, p. 143; Tāmir, *al-Imāma*, p. 226; Ghālib, *Taʾrīkh*, pp. 329–330, and his *Aʿlām*, pp. 430–431, stating that Imam Qāsim ʿAlī married one of the daughters of Shāh Ṭahmāsp II (1135–1145/1722–1732), the last effective Ṣafawid ruler.
136. The most detailed account of this imam is contained in Vazīrī, *Taʾrīkh*, pp. 543–565; see also his *Jughrāfiyā*, pp. 72, 81, 86, 157. Other chroniclers of the Zand and Qājār dynasties of Persia make briefer references to Imam Abu'l-Ḥasan; see the *Dhayl* (continuation) written by Mīrzā ʿAbd al-Karīm b. ʿAlī Riḍā al-Sharīf to Muḥammad Ṣādiq Nāmī's *Taʾrīkh-i gītī-gushāy*, ed. S. Nafīsī (Tehran, 1317/1938), p. 327; ed. ʿAzīz Allāh Bayāt (Tehran, 1363/1984), pp. 97–98; ʿAlī Riḍā b. ʿAbd al-Karīm Shīrāzī, *Taʾrīkh-i Zandiyya*, ed. E. Beer (Leiden, 1888), pp. 52–56; ed. Ghulām Riḍā Varahrām (Tehran, 1365/1986), pp. 74–77, based on Beer's edition; Muḥammad Hāshim Āṣaf Rustam al-Ḥukamāʾ, *Rustam al-tawārīkh*, ed. M. Mushīrī (Tehran, 1348/1969), pp. 378, 415; Hidāyat, *Rawḍat al-ṣafā-yi Nāṣirī*, vol. 9, pp. 250, 252, 255; Muḥammad Ḥasan Khān Iʿtimād al-Salṭana, *Taʾrīkh-i muntaẓam-i Nāṣirī* (Tehran, 1298–1300/1881–1883), vol. 3, pp. 53–54; and Ḥasan Fasāʾī, *Fārs-nāma-yi Nāṣirī*, vol. 1, p. 232; English trans., *History of Persia under Qājār Rule*, tr. H. Busse (New York, 1972), pp. 37–38. Shihāb al-Dīn Shāh, *Khiṭābāt*, p. 43, merely mentions this imam's name as Bāqir Shāh, while other Nizārī sources relate few reliable details and omit the information found in the Persian chronicles. See Hooda, 'Some Specimens', p. 111; Fidāʾī, *Hidāyat al-muʾminīn*, pp. 143–144; Chunara, *Nūr-i mubīn*, pp. 560ff.; Tāmir, *al-Imāma*, p. 227; Ghālib, *Taʾrīkh*, pp. 331–332, and also his *Aʿlām*, pp. 392–393. See also Malcolm, *History of Persia*, vol. 2, pp. 109–110; tr. Hairat, vol. 2, p. 416; the introduction of Sir H. Jones Brydges to his English translation of ʿAbd al-Razzāq Dunbulī's *Maʾāthir-i sulṭāniyya*, entitled *The Dynasty of the Kajars* (London, 1833), p. 123; P. M. Sykes, *Ten Thousand Miles in Persia* (New York, 1902), p. 68; also his *A History of Persia* (3rd ed., London, 1930), vol. 2, pp. 284–285; Browne, *A History of Persian Literature in Modern Times*, p. 148; ʿAbbās Fayḍ, *Khulāṣat al-maqāl* (Qumm, 1330/1951), pp. 552–553; Hollister, *Shiʿa*, p. 336; Dihgān, *Kārnāma*, pp. 40–42; Maḥmūd H. Kirmānī, *Taʾrīkh-i mufaṣṣal-i Kirmān* (1350/1971), pp. 215–227; M. Roschanzamir, *Die Zand-Dynastie* (Hamburg, 1970), pp. 105–106; Pourjavady and Wilson, 'Ismāʿīlīs and Niʿmatullāhīs', pp. 119–121; John R. Perry, *Karim Khan Zand* (Chicago, 1979), pp. 135–136; M. Bāmdād,

Sharḥ-i ḥāl-i rijāl-i Īrān (Tehran, 1347–1350/1968–1971), vol. 1, pp. 37–38; H. Busse, 'Abu'l-Ḥasan Khan Maḥallātī', *EIR*, vol. 1, p. 310; and S. ʿAlī Āl-i Dāvūd, 'Abu'l-Ḥasan Khān Beglerbegi Maḥallātī', *GIE*, vol. 5, pp. 339–341.

137. On the revival of the Niʿmat Allāhī order in Persia and the renewed association between this Sufi order and the Nizārī imams, see Vazīrī, *Ta'rīkh*, pp. 556–560; Maʿṣūm ʿAlī Shāh, *Ṭarā'iq al-ḥaqā'iq*, vol. 3, pp. 170–192; Pourjavady and Wilson, *Kings of Love*, pp. 93–135, citing further Niʿmat Allāhī sources; Michel de Miras, *La méthode spirituelle d'un maître du Soufisme Iranien Nur ʿAli-Shah* (Paris, 1973), pp. 21–33; M. Humāyūnī, *Ta'rīkh-i silsilahā-yi ṭarīqa-yi Niʿmat Allāhiyya* (Tehran, 1358/1979), pp. 36–74; J. Nurbakhsh, *Masters of the Path: A History of the Masters of the Nimatullahi Sufi Order* (New York, 1980), pp. 75ff.; and L. Lewisohn, 'An Introduction to the History of Modern Persian Sufism, Part I: The Niʿmatullāhī Order: Persecution, Revival and Schism', *BSOAS*, 61 (1998), pp. 439–453.

138. See Ivanow, 'Tombs of Some Persian Ismaili Imams', pp. 60–61. The grave attributed to Imam Abu'l-Ḥasan is still intact in one of the chambers of the Mushtāqiyya, but the mausoleum of his relatives which was located near Mushtāqiyya, as reported by Ivanow, who visited the site in 1937, was no longer *in situ* when the author visited that locality in Kirmān in 1975. Imam Abu'l-Ḥasan was a learned man and a friend of the Sufis and also patronized the local artists. The author possesses a copy of the *Dīwān* of the famous Persian poet Ḥāfiẓ, with several miniatures of the Zand period, produced for the private library of this imam.

139. Muḥammad Taqī Lisān al-Mulk Sipihr, *Nāsikh al-tawārīkh: ta'rīkh-i Qājāriyya* (Tabrīz, 1319/1901), vol. 1, p. 32; ed. Muḥammad Bāqir Bihbūdī (Tehran, 1344/1965), vol. 1, p. 70; hereafter cited as *Qājāriyya*.

140. On Shāh Khalīl Allāh (III), see Hidāyat, *Rawḍat al-ṣafā-yi Nāṣirī*, vol. 9, pp. 551–553; Lisān al-Mulk, *Qājāriyya*, Tabrīz ed., vol. 1, p. 134; ed. Bihbūdī, vol. 1, pp. 292–294; Iʿtimād al-Salṭana, *Muntaẓam-i Nāṣirī*, vol. 3, p. 116; also his *Ṣadr al-tawārīkh*, ed. M. Mushīrī (Tehran, 1349/1970), p. 84; Shihāb al-Dīn Shāh, *Khiṭābāt*, pp. 43–44; Fidā'ī, *Hidāyat al-mu'minīn*, pp. 144–145; Chunara, *Nūr-i mubīn*, pp. 570ff.; Tāmir, *al-Imāma*, p. 227; Ghālib, *Ta'rīkh*, pp. 333–334, and his *Aʿlām*, pp. 287–288. We have already cited the references by the contemporary European travellers Rousseau and Fraser to Shāh Khalīl Allāh; see also Watson, *History of Persia*, pp. 191–192; Browne, *A History of Persian Literature in Modern Times*, p. 148; Fayḍ, *Khulāṣat al-maqāl*, pp. 553–556; Hollister, *Shiʿa*, p. 337; H. Algar, *Religion and State in Iran, 1785–1906* (Berkeley, 1969), pp. 55–56; and Bāmdād, *Sharḥ-i ḥāl-i rijāl*, vol. 1, pp. 486–487.

141. On these Niʿmat Allāhī Sayyids, the maternal grandfather and uncle of Āghā Khān I, see Shīrwānī, *Bustān al-siyāḥa*, p. 530; Maʿṣūm ʿAlī Shāh, *Ṭarā'iq al-ḥaqā'iq*, vol. 3, pp. 190, 209, 263–264, and Pourjavady and Wilson, 'Ismāʿīlīs and Niʿmatullāhīs', pp. 121–123.

142. See Masʿūd Mīrzā Ẓill al-Sulṭān Qājār, *Sargudhasht-i Masʿūdī* (Tehran, 1325/1907), p. 197. For Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh's religious attitude and policy, see Algar, *Religion and State in Iran*, pp. 45–72.

143. Ḥasan ʿAlī Shāh, Āghā Khān I, wrote an autobiography, the *ʿIbrat-afzā*, relating the events of his youth and his dealings with the Qājār regime in Persia, culminating in his permanent settlement in British India. The *ʿIbrat-afzā* was lithographed in Bombay in 1278/1862, reprinted with numerous typographical errors by Ḥusayn Kūhī

Kirmānī (Tehran, 1325/1946), and also published in M. Sāʿī, *Āqā Khān Maḥallātī va firqa-yi Ismāʿīliyya* (Tehran, 1329/1950), pp. 25–68. A Gujarātī translation of this work appeared in India soon after its first publication. According to Ivanow, *Guide*, p. 114, and also his *Ismaili Literature*, pp. 148–149, the *ʿIbrat-afzā* was actually written on behalf of the Āghā Khān by Mīrzā Aḥmad Viqār Shīrāzī (d. 1298/1881), son of the celebrated poet Viṣāl, who stayed briefly with the imam in Bombay in 1266/1850; see also M. Navābī, *Khānadān-i Viṣāl-i Shīrāzī* (Tehran, 1335/1956), pp. 56ff., 74. Fidāʾī Khurāsānī devoted a large section of his *Hidāyat al-muʾminīn*, pp. 146–176, to the first Āghā Khān and his deeds. The sections on the Āghā Khāns appearing in the *Hidāyat al-muʾminīn* were evidently written mainly around 1328/1910 and added to Fidāʾī's original text by Mūsā Khān b. Muḥammad Khān Khurāsānī, who died in Poona in 1937; see Daftary's review of the *Hidāyat al-muʾminīn* in *Nashr-i Dānish*, 4 (June–July, 1984), pp. 32–37. Shihāb al-Dīn Shāh, the eldest grandson of Āghā Khān I, who wrote his *Khiṭābāt* in Bombay during the latter part of his grandfather's imamate, merely names this imam, pp. 44, 45. For the notices of other Ismāʿīlī authors on Āghā Khān I, see Chunara, *Nūr-i mubīn*, pp. 583–623; Tāmir, *al-Imāma*, p. 228; Ghālib, *Taʾrīkh*, pp. 335–338, and his *Aʿlām*, pp. 214–219. See also Watson, *History of Persia*, pp. 331–334; Sykes, *Ten Thousand Miles*, pp. 69–70; Naoroji M. Dumasia, *A Brief History of the Aga Khan* (Bombay, 1903), pp. 66–95; also his *The Aga Khan and His Ancestors* (Bombay, 1939), pp. 25–59; Fayḍ, *Khulāṣat al-maqāl*, pp. 556–561; Muḥammad ʿAlī Muʿallim Ḥabīb-Ābādī, *Makārim al-āthār* (Tehran, 1377–1397/1957–1977), vol. 3, pp. 662–672; Bāmdād, *Sharḥ-i ḥāl-i rijāl*, vol. 1, pp. 354–358; H. Maḥbūbī Ardakānī, 'Āqā Khān Maḥallātī', *EII*, vol. 1, pp. 111–112; H. A. R. Gibb, 'Agha Khān', *EI2*, vol. 1, p. 246; H. Algar, 'Maḥallātī, Āghā Khān', *EI2*, vol. 5, pp. 1221–1222; his 'Āqā Khan I Maḥallātī', *EIR*, vol. 2, pp. 170–172; and 'Āqā Khān', *GIE*, vol. 1, pp. 460–463. The Qājār chronicles and modern sources dealing specifically with the first Āghā Khān's political activities in Persia are cited below.

144. Āghā Khān Maḥallātī, Ḥasan ʿAlī Shāh, *ʿIbrat-afzā*, ed. Kūhī Kirmānī, p. 7, our subsequent references are to this edition; Lisān al-Mulk, *Qājāriyya*, Tabrīz ed., vol. 1, p. 252; ed. Bihbūdī, vol. 2, p. 158; Iʿtimād al-Salṭana, *Muntaẓam-i Nāṣirī*, vol. 3, p. 161; and Aḥmad Mīrzā ʿAḍud al-Dawla, *Taʾrīkh-i ʿAḍudī*, ed. Ḥ. Kūhī Kirmānī (Tehran, 1328/1949), pp. 9, 69; ed. ʿAbd al-Ḥusayn Navāʾī (Tehran, 1355/1976), pp. 21–22, 127, 310, 319.

145. Āghā Khān I's governorship of Kirmān and his subsequent military confrontations with the Qājār regime are related in the *ʿIbrat-afzā*, especially pp. 9–56, reflecting the imam's own version of the events. The same events, depicted as rebellious acts, are recorded in a number of Qājār chronicles; see especially Hidāyat, *Rawḍat al-ṣafā-yi Nāṣirī*, vol. 10, pp. 169, 249–253, 259–261; Lisān al-Mulk, *Qājāriyya*, Tabrīz ed., vol. 2, pp. 291, 331, 338–341, 342–343, 344; ed. Bihbūdī, vol. 2, pp. 248, 334–335, 350–356, 358–360, 364; Iʿtimād al-Salṭana, *Muntaẓam-i Nāṣirī*, vol. 3, pp. 165, 167, 173–174, 175–176, 177; and his *Mirʾāt al-buldān-i Nāṣirī* (Tehran, 1294–1297/1877–1880), vol. 1, pp. 539, 570, 578, 579; ed. P. Nūrī ʿAlāʾ and M. ʿAlī Sipānlū (Tehran, 1364/1985), vol. 1, pp. 623, 653, 661, 662. See also Muḥammad Jaʿfar Khūrmūjī, *Ḥaqāʾiq al-akhbār-i Nāṣirī*, ed. Ḥusayn Khadīv Jam (2nd ed., Tehran, 1363/1984), pp. 25, 28–31; Vazīrī, *Taʾrīkh*, pp. 602–604, 608–613; also his *Jughrāfiyā*, pp. 64, 66, 106–107, 124, 162–163, 191; and Yaḥyā Aḥmadī Kirmānī, *Farmāndihān-i Kirmān*,

ed. M. I. Bāstānī Pārīzī (2nd ed., Tehran, 1354/1975), pp. 72–82, originally published in *Farhang-i Īrān Zamīn*, 12 (1343/1964), pp. 24–30. Amongst the modern Persian works on the subject, mention may be made of F. Ādamīyat, *Amīr Kabīr va Īrān* (3rd ed., Tehran, 1348/1969), pp. 251–258; I. Rāʾīn, *Ḥuqūq bigīrān-i Ingilīs dar Īrān* (Tehran, 1347/1968), pp. 332–350; and M. I. Bāstānī Pārīzī, *Farmānfarmā-yi ʿālam* (Tehran, 1364/1985), pp. 305–323, 337–342, 345–346, 352–353, 366. See also H. Algar, 'The Revolt of Āghā Khān Maḥallātī and the Transference of the Ismāʿīlī Imamate to India', *Studia Islamica*, 29 (1969), especially pp. 61–81, the best modern account on the subject.

146. Ḥabīb Allāh Qāʾānī, *Dīwān* (Bombay, 1322/1904), pp. 54–55; ed. Muḥammad J. Maḥjūb (Tehran, 1336/1957), pp. 180–181.
147. Āghā Khān Maḥallātī, *ʿIbrat-afzā*, pp. 23–24. Āghā Khān I's successor as governor, Fīrūz Mīrzā Farmānfarmā, who participated in the operations at Bam, recalls this incident in his *Safar-nāma-yi Kirmān va Balūchistān*, ed. M. Niẓām-Māfī (Tehran, 1342/1963), p. 7.
148. *ʿIbrat-afzā*, pp. 24–25.
149. Parts of the high walls and turrets encircling this compound are still *in situ* in Maḥallāt, in addition to a Ḥusayniyya built by Āghā Khān I. One of the buildings constructed by the Āghā Khān was later used as a residence by the Qājār governors of the locality; see A. Houtum-Schindler, *Eastern Persian Irak* (London, 1896), p. 92, and Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh Qājār, *Safar-nāma-yi ʿIrāq-i ʿAjam*, p. 31, relating that many of the houses in the Āghā Khān's compound were already destroyed when this monarch passed through Maḥallāt in 1309/1892.
150. *ʿIbrat-afzā*, p. 13.
151. *ʿIbrat-afzā*, pp. 12–16; Ẓill al-Sulṭān Qājār, *Sargudhasht-i Masʿūdī*, pp. 197–198; Shīrwānī, *Riyāḍ al-siyāḥa*, p. 690; Maʿṣūm ʿAlī Shāh, *Ṭarāʾiq al-ḥaqāʾiq*, vol. 3, pp. 280ff., 286, 327–328, 390; Pourjavady and Wilson, 'Ismāʿīlīs and Niʿmatullāhīs', pp. 125–131; Pourjavady and Wilson, *Kings of Love*, pp. 147–151, 155–158; Algar, 'Revolt of Āghā Khān', pp. 73–74; Humāyūnī, *Niʿmat Allāhiyya*, pp. 184–185, 191; Gramlich, *Die schiitischen Derwischorden*, vol. 1, pp. 50ff.; and Lewisohn, 'An Introduction to the History of Modern Persian Sufism', pp. 446–449.
152. Muḥammad Maʿṣūm Shīrāzī (Maʿṣūm ʿAlī Shāh), *Tuḥfat al-ḥaramayn* (Bombay, 1306/1889), pp. 292–297, reproduced with the same pagination in Tehran in 1362/1983, and also his *Ṭarāʾiq al-ḥaqāʾiq*, vol. 3, pp. 399, 528, 561.
153. On these documents, see Vazīrī, *Taʾrīkh*, pp. 608–609, and Bāstānī Pārīzī's comments therein, and Bāstānī Pārīzī, *Farmānfarmā-yi ʿālam*, pp. 305–306.
154. Āghā Khān I relates his account of this and subsequent campaigns in Kirmān in *ʿIbrat-afzā*, pp. 30–47.
155. See Ādamīyat, *Amīr Kabīr*, p. 255, citing a letter written in 1262/1846 by Ḥājjī Mīrzā Āqāsī to the British legation in Tehran.
156. *ʿIbrat-afzā*, pp. 47–54.
157. See *Correspondence Relating to Persia and Affghanistan* (London, 1839), pp. 36–37, 64, citing also a relevant dispatch sent in 1837 by John McNeill, the British minister in Tehran, to Henry J. Palmerston, the foreign secretary in London.
158. The date of 17 Dhu'l-Qaʿda 1258 AH, mentioned in Āghā Khān, *ʿIbrat-afzā*, ed. Kūhī Kirmānī, p. 56, and reproduced in Algar, 'Revolt of Āghā Khān', p. 77, is a

misprint; it is inconsistent with the dates of the Āghā Khān's subsequent activities in Afghanistan. See also Isaac N. Allen, *Diary of a March through Sinde and Affghanistan* (London, 1843), pp. 200–205, relating interesting details on the situation of Āghā Khān I in Afghanistan.

159. Āghā Khān, *ʿIbrat-afzā*, pp. 59ff.; William F. P. Napier, *The Conquest of Scinde* (London, 1845), pp. 369, 372, 404–405; also his *The History of General Sir Charles Napier's Conquest of Scinde* (2nd ed., London, 1857), pp. 224, 226, 245; also his *History of General Sir Charles Napier's Administration of Scinde* (London, 1851), pp. 75–76, and his *The Life and Opinions of General Sir Charles James Napier* (London, 1857), vol. 2, p. 342, and vol. 3, pp. 45, 127. See also J. Outram, *The Conquest of Scinde: A Commentary* (Edinburgh, 1846), pp. 186ff.; Richard F. Burton, *Scinde* (London, 1851), vol. 1, pp. 190–196; Frederic J. Goldsmid, *James Outram: A Biography* (London, 1880), vol. 1, pp. 293ff.; Dumasia, *A Brief History of the Aga Khan*, pp. 77–82; also his *The Aga Khan*, pp. 37–42; H. T. Lambrick, *Sir Charles Napier and Sind* (Oxford, 1952), pp. 157ff.; and Priscilla Napier, *I Have Sind: Charles Napier in India, 1841–1844* (Salisbury, Wiltshire, 1990), pp. 155–156, 177, 238–240, 242, 258–260.

160. Āghā Khān, *ʿIbrat-afzā*, pp. 64–65, 70–73; Hidāyat, *Rawḍat al-ṣafā-yi Nāṣirī*, vol. 10, p. 306; Iʿtimād al-Salṭana, *Mirʾāt al-buldān*, lithographed ed., vol. 1, pp. 589–590; ed. Nūrī ʿAlāʾ and Sipānlū, vol. 1, p. 673; Vazīrī, *Taʾrīkh*, pp. 612–613; Fīrūz Mīrzā Farmānfarmā, *Safar-nāma-yi Kirmān*, p. 30; Sykes, *Ten Thousand Miles*, pp. 78, 105; Chunara, *Nūr-i mubīn*, p. 611; Fayḍ, *Khulāṣat al-maqāl*, pp. 560–561; and Abu'l-Ḥasan Buzurg-Ummīd, *Az māst kih bar māst* (2nd ed., Tehran, 1363/1984), pp. 15–16, written by Sardār Abu'l-Ḥasan Khān's grandson, Mukhbir Humāyūn (1878–1966), the younger brother of the author's maternal grandfather Nāṣir Qulī Āghā Khān, Mukhbir al-Sulṭān (1873–1941). A warrior and an accomplished hunter, Sardār Abu'l-Ḥasan Khān was also a calligrapher. The author is in possession of an illuminated Qurʾān produced by him in 1291/1874 for his Qājār wife.

161. See Ādamīyat, *Amīr Kabīr*, pp. 254–256, and Dumasia, *The Aga Khan*, pp. 43ff.

162. *ʿIbrat-afzā*, pp. 77–78, and Ādamīyat, *Amīr Kabīr*, pp. 256–257. See also Khān Malik Sāsānī, *Siyāsatgarān-i dawra-yi Qājār* (Tehran, 1338/1959), pp. 59, 124.

163. *ʿIbrat-afzā*, pp. 80–81.

164. Iʿtimād al-Salṭana, *Muntaẓam-i Nāṣirī*, vol. 3, p. 306, and Buzurg-Ummīd, *Az māst*, p. 18, relating that yet another elephant was sent from India to Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh by the Āghā Khān's family in 1304/1886–1887.

165. See Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh Qājār, *Safar-nāma-yi ʿatabāt*, ed. Īraj Afshār (Tehran, 1363/1984), pp. 98, 118, 119, 128, 146, and Muʿallim Ḥabīb-Ābādī, *Makārim al-āthār*, vol. 3, pp. 670–672.

166. The long judgement pertaining to the case of 'Advocate General of Bombay v. Muhammad Husen Huseni', known as the Aga Khan Case, was reported in *Bombay High Court Reports*, 12 (1866), pp. 323–363, also published separately in Bombay in 1867. The text of the judgement may also be found in Picklay, *History of the Ismailis*, pp. 113–170, also in Fyzee, *Cases in the Muhammadan Law of India and Pakistan*, pp. 504–549; analyzed in Shodan, *A Question of Community*, pp. 82–116. See also James C. Masselos, 'The Khojas of Bombay: The Defining of Formal Membership Criteria during the Nineteenth Century', in I. Ahmad, ed., *Caste and Social Stratification among Muslims in India* (New Delhi, 1973), pp. 1–20, and Amrita

Shodan, 'Legal Formulation of the Question of Community: Defining the Khoja Collective', *Indian Social Science Review*, 1 (1999), pp. 137–151.

167. On Āqā ʿAlī Shāh, Āghā Khān II, see Fidāʾī, *Hidāyat al-muʾminīn*, pp. 176–183, 193; Tāmir, *al-Imāma*, pp. 228–229; Ghālib, *Taʾrīkh*, pp. 339–341; also his *Aʿlām*, pp. 373–376; Dumasia, *A Brief History of the Aga Khan*, pp. 96–99; also his *The Aga Khan*, pp. 60ff.; Hollister, *Shiʿa*, p. 371; Bāmdād, *Sharḥ-i ḥāl-i rijāl*, vol. 2, p. 379; Maḥbūbī Ardakānī, 'Āqā Khān Maḥallātī', *EII*, vol. 1, p. 112; and Algar, 'Āqā Khan II', *EIR*, vol. 2, pp. 172–173.

168. On Āghā Khān II's association with the Niʿmat Allāhī order, see Maʿṣūm ʿAlī Shāh, *Ṭarāʾiq al-ḥaqāʾiq*, vol. 3, pp. 328, 413, 434, 445–446, 528; also his *Tuḥfat al-ḥaramayn*, pp. 295, 297–298; Humāyūnī, *Niʿmat Allāhiyya*, pp. 194, 259, 267–270, 277–279, 285–287, 289, citing Ṣafī ʿAlī Shāh's own unpublished account of his visit to Āghā Khān II in Bombay; Pourjavady and Wilson, 'Ismāʿīlīs and Niʿmatullāhīs', pp. 131–132; Pourjavady and Wilson, *Kings of Love*, pp. 155ff., 252–253; and Lewisohn, 'An Introduction', pp. 453–454.

169. Aside from Shihāb al-Dīn Shāh's already-noted *Khiṭābāt-i ʿāliya*, see his unfinished *Risāla dar ḥaqīqat-i dīn*, ed. and tr. W. Ivanow (Bombay, 1933). Subsequently, Ivanow produced a facsimile edition of this *Risāla* from its autograph copy in 1947 (reprinted in 1955) in Bombay, published in the series of the Ismaili Society of Bombay. Ivanow's English translation of the *Risāla* entitled *True Meaning of Religion*, appeared in the same series in 1947 and 1956. Shihāb al-Dīn Shāh's *Risāla* has been translated also into Arabic, Gujarātī and Urdu; see Poonawala, *Bio*, p. 284.

170. Many details on Aga Khan III's life, teachings and political career are contained in his own memoirs entitled *The Memoirs of Aga Khan: World Enough and Time* (London, 1954), as well as in his *Aga Khan III: Selected Speeches and Writings of Sir Sultan Muhammad Shah*, ed. K. K. Aziz (London, 1997–1998), 2 vols., containing an extensive introduction by the editor, vol. 1, pp. 1–199. Sulṭān Muḥammad Shāh has been the subject of a number of modern biographies; see especially Dumasia, *The Aga Khan*, pp. 62–338; Sirdar Ikbal Ali Shah, *The Prince Aga Khan: An Authentic Life Story* (London, 1933); also his *The Controlling Minds of Asia* (London, 1937), pp. 85–124; Harry J. Greenwall, *His Highness the Aga Khan: Imam of the Ismailis* (London, 1952); S. Jackson, *The Aga Khan* (London, 1952); Qayyum A. Malick, *His Royal Highness Prince Aga Khan III, Guide, Philosopher and Friend of the World of Islam* (Karachi, 1954); and W. Frischauer, *The Aga Khans* (London, 1970), pp. 53–213. The modernization policies of Aga Khan III are covered in Michel Boivin, 'The Reform of Islam in Ismaili Shīʿism from 1885 to 1957', in Françoise 'Nalini' Delvoye, ed., *Confluences of Cultures: French Contributions to Indo-Persian Studies* (New Delhi, 1994), pp. 197–216, and in his *La rénovation du Shîʿisme Ismaélien en Inde et au Pakistan. D'après les ecrits et les discours de Sulṭān Muḥammad Shah Aga Khan (1902–1954)* (London, 2003). See also Chunara, *Nūr-i mubīn*, pp. 631–760; Tāmir, *al-Imāma*, pp. 229–237; Ghālib, *Taʾrīkh*, pp. 342–401; also his *Aʿlām*, pp. 459–479; Ḥusayn, *Ṭāʾifat al-Ismāʿīliyya*, pp. 114–129; A. le Chatelier, 'Aga Khan', *Revue du Monde Musulman*, 1 (1906), pp. 48–85; Hollister, *Shiʿa*, pp. 371–377; Maḥbūbī Ardakānī, 'Āqā Khān Maḥallātī', *EII*, vol. 1, pp. 112–113; H. Algar, 'Āqā Khan III', *EIR*, vol. 2, pp. 173–175; 'Āqa Khān', *GIE*, vol. 1, pp. 463–465; A. Nanji, '*Sharīʿat* and *Ḥaqīqat*: Continuity and Synthesis in the Nizārī Ismāʿīlī Muslim Tradition',

in Katherine P. Ewing, ed., *Sharīʿat and Ambiguity in South Asian Islam* (Berkeley, 1988), pp. 63–76, and his 'Aga Khan', *Encyclopedia of Islam and the Muslim World*, ed. Richard C. Martin (New York, 2004), vol. 1, pp. 24–25.

171. Aga Khan, *Memoirs*, p. 34, and Hollister, *Shiʿa*, pp. 391–392.
172. Aga Khan, *Memoirs*, pp. 72–73.
173. See 'Judgement of the Honourable Mr. Justice Russell in the Aga Khan Case heard in the High Court of Bombay, from 3rd February to 7th August 1908; Judgement delivered 1st September 1908' (Bombay, 1908); 'Hajji Bibi v. H. H. Sir Sultan Mahomed Shah, the Aga Khan', in *Bombay Law Reporter*, 11 (1908), pp. 409–495; Aga Khan, *Memoirs*, pp. 79–80, and Boivin, *Le rénovation*, pp. 289–291.
174. Aga Khan, *Memoirs*, pp. 35–36, 77–78, 114–116, 120; his *Selected Speeches*, vol. 1, pp. 325–327; M. S. Jain, *The Aligarh Movement* (Agra, 1965), pp. 65, 156; Boivin, *Le rénovation*, pp. 99–103; Aziz Ahmad, *Islamic Modernism in India and Pakistan, 1857–1964* (London, 1967), pp. 65–66, 87; Sheikh Mohammad Ikram, *Modern Muslim India and the Birth of Pakistan, 1858–1951* (2nd ed., Lahore, 1970), pp. 81–83, 103, 110, 138, 182ff.; and R. Gopal, *Indian Muslims* (Bombay, 1964), pp. 98–99, 102–103, 118–120, 209–210, 329ff.
175. Aga Khan, *Memoirs*, pp. 130, 190–191, 322, and M. Yegar, *The Muslims of Burma* (Wiesbaden, 1972), p. 46.
176. Aga Khan, *Memoirs*, pp. 142–143, and Sykes, *A History of Persia*, vol. 2, p. 447.
177. Aga Khan, Sulṭān Muḥammad Shāh, *India in Transition: A Study in Political Evolution* (Bombay, 1918); extract in his *Selected Speeches*, vol. 1, pp. 530–611.
178. Aga Khan, *Memoirs*, pp. 209–210, and his *Selected Speeches*, vol. 2, pp. 829–841.
179. Aga Khan, *Memoirs*, pp. 285–286.
180. *Aga Khan III*: *Selected Speeches*, vol. 2, pp. 1147–1150.
181. On the Nizārī Khojas of East Africa, and their organization and socio-economic progress, aside from the general sources investigating the East African Ismāʿīlīs, cited previously in connection with the Ṭayyibī Bohra settlers there, see Hatim M. Amiji, 'The Asian Communities', in Kritzeck and Lewis, ed., *Islam in Africa*, pp. 141ff., 145–155, 168ff.; also his 'Islam and Socio-Economic Development: A Case Study of a Muslim Minority in Tanzania', *Journal, Institute of Muslim Minority Affairs*, 4 (1982), pp. 175–187; Robert J. Bocock, 'The Ismailis in Tanzania: A Weberian Analysis', *British Journal of Sociology*, 22 (1971), pp. 365–380; Azim Nanji, 'Modernization and Change in the Nizari Ismaili Community in East Africa – A Perspective', *Journal of Religion in Africa*, 6 (1974), pp. 123–139; and G. Thompson, 'The Ismailis in Uganda', in M. Twaddle, ed., *Expulsion of a Minority*: *Essays on Ugandan Asians* (London, 1975), pp. 30–52, 211–215. See also Habib Keshavjee, *The Aga Khan and Africa* (Durban, 1946); Harold S. Morris, 'The Divine Kingship of the Aga Khan: A Study of Theocracy in East Africa', *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology*, 14 (1958), pp. 454–472; his *The Indians in Uganda: Caste and Sect in a Plural Society* (London, 1968), pp. 77–90, studying the Nizārīs in the wider perspective of the Ugandan Muslim community; and Jean Claude Penrad, 'La presénce Ismaʿilienne en Afrique de l'Est: note sur l'histoire commerciale et l'organisation communautaire', in D. Lombard and J. Aubin, ed., *Marchands et hommes d'affaires Asiatiques dans l'Océan Indien et la Mer de Chine 13^{e}–20^{e}* siècles (Paris, 1988), pp. 221–236. See also Shirin

R. Walji, 'A History of the Ismaili Community in Tanzania' (Ph.D. thesis, University of Wisconsin, Madison, 1974).

182. See Hatim M. Amiji, 'Some Notes on Religious Dissent in Nineteenth-century East Africa', *African Historical Studies*, 4 (1971), pp. 603–616; Boivin, *La rénovation*, pp. 286–288, and A. Sachedina, 'Khojas', *Oxford Encyclopedia of the Modern Islamic World*, vol. 2, pp. 423–427.
183. Aga Khan, *Memoirs*, p. 167. See also Boivin, *La rénovation*, pp. 272–277.
184. Numerous collections of Aga Khan III's *firmans* exist in The Institute of Ismaili Studies Library, London, and elsewhere in the Nizārī community. See, for instance, *Kalām-i imām-i mubīn: Holy Firmans of Mowlana Hazar Imam Sultan Mohamed Shah the Aga Khan* (Bombay, 1950); Sherali Alidina and Kassim Ali, comp., *Precious Pearls: Firman Mubarak of Hazrat Imam Mowlana Sultan Mahomed Shah* (Karachi, 1954); *Message of H.R.H. Prince Aga Khan III to Nation of Pakistan and World of Islam* (4th ed., Karachi, 1968); *Majmūʿa-yi farāmīn-i mubārak-i Mawlānā Sulṭān Muḥammad Shāh* (Mashhad, 1363/1984); Boivin, *La rénovation*, pp. 277–278; and A. K. Adatia and N. Q. King, 'Some East African *Firmans* of H. H. Aga Khan III', *Journal of Religion in Africa*, 2 (1969), pp. 179–191.
185. See Boivin, *La rénovation*, pp. 278–282.
186. On the history and conditions of the Syrian Nizārīs since the beginning of the nineteenth century, see Tāmir, 'Furūʿal-shajara', pp. 590–593; also his *al-Imāma*, pp. 171–173, 214–216; Ghālib, *Taʾrīkh*, pp. 353–365, 395–401; also his *Ismailis of Syria* (Beirut, 1970), pp. 149–172; Norman N. Lewis, 'The Ismaʿilis of Syria Today', *Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society*, 39 (1952), pp. 69–77; also his *Nomads and Settlers in Syria and Jordan, 1800–1980* (Cambridge, 1987), pp. 58–67; and Dick Douwes and Norman N. Lewis, 'The Trials of Syrian Ismaʿilis in the First Decade of the 20th Century', *IJMES*, 21 (1989), pp. 215–232.
187. The history of the Persian Nizārīs and the conditions of their community during the last one and a half centuries have not been adequately studied. W. Ivanow, who on his first visits to Persia spent a few years in Khurāsān during the 1910s, included some notes on the geographical distribution and social conditions of the Persian Ismāʿīlīs of the time in his 'Ismailitica', pp. 50–58. More recently, Rafique H. Keshavjee conducted field research in Iran investigating the progress made by the Nizārīs of Khurāsān; see his 'The Quest for Gnosis and the Call of History: Modernization Among the Ismailis of Iran' (Ph.D. thesis, Harvard University, 1981), and his *Mysticism and the Plurality of Meaning: The Case of the Ismailis of Rural Iran* (London, 1998). In 1985, the author obtained much information on the present conditions of the Persian Nizārīs from the leaders of the community in Mashhad, Dizbād, Maḥallāt and Tehran. The leaders of the *jamāʿat* in northern Khurāsān were particularly helpful in providing details on various socio-economic and religious aspects of the community and its oral traditions. Ṣadr al-Dīn Mīrshāhī, the then librarian at the Nāṣir-i Khusraw Library at the Mashhad *jamāʿat-khāna*, made a number of unpublished documents and Ismāʿīlī works available to the author, who is deeply indebted to him.
188. See Ivanow, *Guide*, pp. 112–113; also his *Ismaili Literature*, pp. 150–151; and Poonawala, *Bio*, pp. 282–283.

189. These details are culled from an unpublished biography of Fidāʾī written in 1961 by his grandson, Ṣadr al-Dīn b. Mullā Shams al-Dīn Mīrshāhī.
190. Aga Khan, *Memoirs*, pp. 169–177, 187ff. See also Shihāb al-Dīn Shāh, *Khiṭābāt*, pp. 22–28, 32–33, 52ff., 67ff., and his *Risāla dar ḥaqīqat-i dīn*, 1947 ed., pp. 65ff.; tr. Ivanow, 1947 ed., pp. 42ff.
191. Aga Khan, *Memoirs*, p. 324.
192. Gabrielle van den Berg, 'Ismaili Poetry in Tajik Badakhshan: A Safavid Connection', *Persica*, 17 (2001), pp. 1–10, and her *Minstrel Poetry from the Pamir Mountains: A Study on the Songs and Poems of the Ismâʿîlîs of Tajik Badakhshan* (Wiesbaden, 2004). On the earlier modern history of the Central Asian Ismāʿīlīs, see L. N. Kharyukov, *Anglo-russkoe sopernichestvo v Tsentral'noy Azii i ismailizm* (Moscow, 1995), adopting a Marxist approach in the context of the nineteenth-century Anglo-Russian rivalry.
193. Aga Khan, *Memoirs*, pp. 180ff.; A. Nanji, 'Sabz ʿAlī', *EI2*, vol. 8, p. 694; and Y. Bregel, 'Central Asia: vii. In the 12th–13th/18th–19th Centuries', *EIR*, vol. 5, pp. 193–205.
194. See Qudrat Allāh Beg, *Taʾrīkh-i ʿahd-i ʿatīq-i riyāsat-i Hunza* (Baltit, 1980), vol. 1, pp. 140–141, 173–178, 304–305; W. Holzwarth, *Die Ismailiten in Nordpakistan* (Berlin, 1994), especially pp. 19–78; F. M. Hunzai, 'A Living Branch of Islam: Ismailis of the Mountains of Hunza', *Oriente Moderno*, NS, 23 (2004), pp. 147–160; and Willey, *Eagle's Nest*, pp. 255–261. See also The Aga Khan Trust for Culture, *Historic Cities Support Programme: Karimabad and Baltit Project Development* (Geneva, 1996), and S. Bianca, ed., *Karakoram: Hidden Treasures in the Northern Areas of Pakistan* (Geneva, 2005).
195. Qudrat Allāh Beg, *Taʾrīkh*, pp. 332–336, 362–365.
196. A full account of Aga Khan IV's modernization policies and achievements remains to be written. Much relevant information may be found in this imam's *firman*s, and speeches delivered over the years on various special occasions, as well as in a variety of publications by different institutions within the Aga Khan Development Network. For some overviews, see Frischauer, *The Aga Khans*, pp. 206–272; A. Thobani, *Islam's Quiet Revolutionary: The Story of Aga Khan IV* (New York, 1993); Paul J. Kaiser, *Culture, Transnationalism, and Civil Society: Aga Khan Social Service Initiatives in Tanzania* (Westport, CT, 1996); and Azim A. Nanji, 'Aga Khan', *Oxford Encyclopedia of the Modern Islamic World*, vol. 1, pp. 44–45.
197. His Highness the Aga Khan Shia Imami Ismailia Supreme Council for Africa, *The Constitution of the Shia Imami Ismailis in Africa* (Nairobi, 1962). See also James N. D. Anderson, 'The Ismaʿili Khojas of East Africa: A New Constitution and Personal Law for the Community', *Middle Eastern Studies*, 1 (1964), pp. 21–39; also his *Islamic Law in Africa*, pp. 322ff.; and B. Scarcia Amoretti, 'Controcorrente? Il Caso della comunità Khogia di Zanzibar', *Oriente Moderno*, NS, 14 (1995), pp. 153–170.
198. See, for instance, His Royal Highness Prince Aga Khan Ismailia Federal Council for Pakistan, *The Constitution of the Councils and Jamats of Shia Imami Ismaili Muslims of Pakistan* (Karachi, 1962).
199. *The Constitution of the Shia Imami Ismaili Muslims* (London, 1986), pp. 4ff., and *The Constitution of the Shia Imami Ismaili Muslims* (London, 1998), pp. 6ff.
200. Azim A. Nanji, 'Aga Khan Foundation', *Oxford Encyclopedia of the Modern Islamic World*, vol. 1, pp. 45–46.

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